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WITH A

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# HERODOTUS,

WITH

## A COMMENTARY

BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMS BLAKESLEY, B.D.

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# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ.

### ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ.

ΟΙ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ 1  
 Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος<sup>2</sup> ἤρχε, πρώτους μὲν Περινήθους Megabazus  
 Ἑλλησποντιῶν, οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι Δαρείου, κατ- proceeds  
 εστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παίωνων τρηχέως. to take  
 οἱ γὰρ ὦν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Παίονες, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρα- Perinthus,  
 τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περινήθους καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσων- which had  
 ται σφεας οἱ Περινήθιοι ὀνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρέειν, previously  
 ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν<sup>3</sup>, ἐποίουν οἱ Παίονες ταῦτα· suffered by  
 ἀντικατιζόμενων δὲ τῶν Περινήθων ἐν τῷ προαστήρῳ, ἐνθαῦτα an assault  
 μουνομαχίῃ τριφασίῃ ἐκ προκλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα of the  
 ἄνδρῃ, καὶ ἵππου ἵππῳ συνέβαλον, καὶ κύνα κυνὶ νικώντων δὲ τὰ Paeonians.  
 δύο τῶν Περινήθων, ὡς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλλοντο οἱ  
 Παίονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι· καὶ εἰπὼν κου παρὰ  
 σφίσι αὐτοῖσι “νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν νῦν  
 ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον” οὕτω τοῖσι Περινήθιοις παιωνίσασι ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> καταλειφθέντες. The narrative is resumed from iv. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Μεγάβαζος. One MS (b) has Μεγάβυζος. See the note 367 on iv. 143.

<sup>3</sup> ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν. These words are omitted in one MS (S). The presumption is that the omission arises from a whole line being

left out by the transcriber, owing to his eye falling upon the second ἐπιχειρέειν instead of the first. But it is possible that there is here a real variation; for the sense will be a perfectly complete one without the words, although the construction will not be so symmetrical. See note 531 on ii. 173.

He then attacks Thrace, and reduces the parts near the sea (§ 10).

2 χεیرهόσιν οἱ Παίονες, καὶ πολλῶ<sup>4</sup> τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπόν σφεων ὀλίγους. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παίωνων πρότερον γενόμενα ἄδε ἐγένετο τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινόμενων τῶν Περινθίων, οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν πλήθει. ὥς δὲ ἐχειρώθη<sup>5</sup> ἡ Πέρινθος, ἤλανε τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Μεγάβαζος διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων ἡμεροῦμενος βασιλεῖ· ταῦτα γάρ οἱ ἐντέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Θρηίκην καταστρέφειν.

Magnitude of the Thracian race.

Their customs are the same, except in the case of the *Getæ*, *Trasæ*.

3 Θρηίκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι, μετὰ γε Ἰνδοῦς, πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ ταῦτό, ἀμαχόν τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ πολλῶ<sup>4</sup> κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν<sup>6</sup>. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ κοτε ἐγγένηται, εἰσὶ δὴ<sup>7</sup> κατὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέες. οὐνόματα δὲ πολλὰ ἔχουσι κατὰ χώρας ἕκαστοι νόμοισι δὲ οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν<sup>8</sup> καὶ τῶν κατὰ ὑπερθε Κρηστωναίων<sup>9</sup> οἰκεόντων. Τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ

<sup>4</sup> πολλῶ. The majority of the MSS, which Gaisford follows, have πολλόν, and in § 102, below, all have πολλὸν ἐσσώθησαν. But the more general form is πολλῶ, and this is probably latent here under πολλῶν, the reading of S.

<sup>5</sup> ἐχειρώθη. One manuscript (F) has ἐπεχειρώθη, which would be a fitting word if Perinthus was an addition to former conquests; and this was probably the case, although Perinthus was the first city attacked subsequently to the return of Darius (§ 1).

<sup>6</sup> κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. THUCYDIDES, whose close connexion with Thrace gave him a right to form a judgment, takes a very different view of the matter: ἡ βασιλεία μεγίστη ἐγένετο χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ· ἰσχυρὴ δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν (ii. 97). But the notion of Thrace formed by Herodotus was one of a more extensive territory.

<sup>7</sup> εἰσὶ δὴ, "they are, after all." See note 6 on i. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Τραυσῶν. If these are the inhabitants of the valley of the *Trauos*, the information relative to them would probably be derived from the Hellenic town *Dicæa*. See vii. 104, below.

<sup>9</sup> Κρηστωναίων. These persons appear to be the inhabitants of the town *Creston*, mentioned by Herodotus (above,

i. 57) as inhabited by "Tyrrhenes," inland of whom were some "Pelasgians," apparently the same people that are here coupled with the *Trasæ* and *Getæ*. Whether these are to be regarded as Thracians or Pelasgians, it would seem that they are a very anomalous people, retaining customs of an oriental character which, in the belief of the writer, are peculiar to themselves. It will be observed that he gives them no name (either here or in i. 57), and the account of their customs may very well have passed through two or three hands before it reached him. *Creston* is simply described by STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS as a Thracian town, and its local deity appears to have been exactly identical (even as regards his sacred symbol, the wolf) with the Roman *Mars*. LYCOPHRON speaks of τὸν Κρηστώνης θεὸν Κανθαῖον ἢ Μάμερτον, δ' πλὶ τὴν λύκον (937). And that Thracians, Crestonians, Pelasgians, and Tyrrhenes belonged to the same race, that is, were different waves of the great human flood which set westward from Asia and poured down into the Italian and Hellenic peninsulas, seems evident from the circumstance of their all being mixed up together in the peninsula of Mount Athos, where they formed a bilingual population. (See THUCYDIDES quoted in note 186 on i. 57.) The two languages were no doubt

ἀθανατίζοντες ποιεῖσι, εἰρηταί μοι. Τραυσοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα <sup>si, and the tribes</sup> πάντα κατὰ ταῦτὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι<sup>10</sup> Θρηξὶ ἐπιτελέουσι, κατὰ δὲ <sup>"above</sup> τὸν γινόμενόν σφι καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιεῖσι τοιάδε· τὸν μὲν <sup>Creslon."</sup> γενόμενον περιζόμενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρονται, ὅσα μιν δέει <sup>Some peculiarities of these.</sup> ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἀναπλῆσαι κακὰ, ἀνηγεόμενοι τὰ ἀνθρωπήια πάντα πάθεα· τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παίζοντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι γῇ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεὶς ἔστι ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ<sup>11</sup>. Οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρηστωναιῶν<sup>12</sup> ποιεῖσι 5 τοιάδε· ἔχει γυναικας ἕκαστος πολλὰς· ἐπεὰν ὦν τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνῃ, κρίσις γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαὶ ἰσχυραὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἥτις αὐτέων ἐφιλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἥ δ' ἂν κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐγκωμιασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τάφον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκηϊοτάτου ἐωντῆς, σφαχθεῖσα δὲ συνθάπτεται τῷ ἀνδρὶ· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεῖνται· ὄνειδος γάρ σφι τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Θρητικῶν ἐστὶ ὅδε ὁ νόμος· πωλεῖσι τὰ 6 τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ· τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουσι ἀλλ' ἐῷσι <sup>General customs of the race.</sup> οἷσι αὐταὶ βούλονται ἀνδράσι μίσγεσθαι, τὰς δὲ γυναικας ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσουσι· καὶ ὠνέονται τὰς γυναικας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρη-

the Pelasgian (*i. e.* the common parent of Greek and Latin) and the Greek of commerce, arising from the mixture of Chalcidian settlers. The conjecture of Niebuhr (who would read *Κροτῶνα* instead of *Κρηστωνῶνα* in i. 57) seems quite irreconcilable with this passage. At the same time DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS found *Κροτωνιάται* there.

<sup>10</sup> ἄλλοισι. The manuscripts S and V omit this word.

<sup>11</sup> τὸν μὲν γενόμενον . . . ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ. EURIPIDES, in his play of *Cresphontes*, had a sentiment of this kind:—

ἔδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιοιμένους  
τὸν φόντα θρηγνῆν, εἰς δ' ἔρχεται κακὰ·  
τὸν δ' αὖ θανάτῳ καὶ πόνῳ πεπαυμένον  
χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

STRABO (xi. c. 12, p. 444), who quotes the three last of these lines, seems to attribute the practice described in them to *Asiatic* barbarians. But Euripides would be likely to hear of such habits at the Macedonian court; and in that case they would more probably be fathered on the race with

whom the Macedonians had most to do, *i. e.* European Thracians. Doubtless the religious ideas connected with such a practice would come from the east; and in the time of Strabo instances of the practice itself might be known in Asia.

<sup>12</sup> οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρηστωναιῶν. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*v. Γετία*) states it to be a custom of the Getans: ἐπισφάζειν τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἀνδρὶ. The Hindu habit of *suttee* will occur to every reader. The practice of immolating wives at the funeral of their husbands was surpassed in barbarity by a custom which prevailed in Poland before it was Christianized, and of which DITTMAR, who was bishop of Merseburg in the year 1008, speaks as existing in the generation before him. "Unaquæque mulier post viri exequias sui igne cremati decollata subsequitur: et si meretrix inveniebatur, in genitali suo, turpi et miserabili poenâ, circumcidebatur, idque (si sic dici licet) præputium in foribus suspenditur." (*Chronicle*, viii. *init.*, cited by Perizonius on *Ælian*, V. H. vii. 18.) See note 205 on iv. 73.

μάτων μεγάλων καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται<sup>13</sup>, τὸ δ' ἄστικτον ἀγεννές· ἄργον εἶναι κάλλιστον<sup>14</sup>, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην, ἀτιμότερον τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληϊστίους κάλλιστον οὗτοι μὲν

7 σφεων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι εἰσὶ. Θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούρους  
 τούσδε· Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν<sup>15</sup>. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν,  
 8 παρέξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν  
 καὶ ὁμνύουσι μῦθον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέω  
 ἐωντούς<sup>16</sup>. Ταφαὶ δὲ τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε· τρεῖς μὲν

9 ἡμέρας προτιθέασιν τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ παντοῖα σφάζαντες ἱρήια  
 εὐωχεύονται, προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατα-  
 καύσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως<sup>17</sup> γῇ κρύψαντες· χῶμα δὲ χέαντες, ἀγῶνα  
 τιθεῖσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἀεθλα τίθεται κατὰ λόγον  
 μονομαχίης<sup>18</sup>. ταφαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρητῶν εἰσὶ αὗται.

9 Τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορρῶν τῆς χώρας ἔτι ταύτης<sup>19</sup> οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι  
 τὸ ἀτρεκές, οἷτινές εἰσι ἀνθρώπων οἱ οἰκέοντες αὐτήν· ἀλλὰ τὰ  
 πέρην ἤδη τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐρήμος χώρα φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ ἄπειρος.  
 μούρους δὲ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οἰκόντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀνθρώ-

Their chiefs  
 worship  
*Hermes* be-  
 sides the  
 popular dei-  
 ties, *Ares*,

*Dionysus*,  
 and *Artemis*.  
 Mode of  
 burial.

The north-  
 ern parts of  
 Thrace are  
 uncertain.

<sup>13</sup> τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται. This apparently has reference to a custom of tattooing; in which case nobility would of course be denoted by peculiar (and probably superabundant) marks,—a practice that might easily be described as in the text, by a Greek trader.

<sup>14</sup> ἄργον εἶναι κάλλιστον. This maxim, a natural one in the case of a warlike race wholly or mainly pastoral, is noticed by *TACITUS* as prevailing among the Germans of his time. (*German.* § 14.)

<sup>15</sup> Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. The combination of the deities here mentioned will be easier understood, if we consider that Herodotus is probably following an account received from Hellenopontine traders, who would compare the Thracian deities with those that they were familiar with in Pontus and Asia. *Dionysus* therefore is not the rustic deity, the god of the vine-dressers, but the oriental conqueror with his army of bachelors, prophesying amid the inspiration of his orgies. This *Dionysus* was, in a Lydian legend (*STEPH. Byz. v. Μάσταρα*), made the reputed son of *Ares*, with whom he is associated in the text. So too the *Artemis* of the Thracians is not the huntress goddess, the sister of the Dorian *Apollo*, but analogous to the

cruel Tauric *Artemis*, the *Artemis ὄρβια* and *ταυροπόλος* of Taygetum, and the *Artemis Brauronia* of Attica. The identity of the first of these with the Latin *Bellona* and the Hellenic *Enyo* is decisively proved by the great temple of *Enyo* at Comana in Cappadocia; the orgies of which were said to be brought by *Orestes* and his sister *Iphigenia* from the Tauric Chersonese. (*STRABO*, xii. c. 2. p. 6.)

<sup>16</sup> λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέω ἐωντούς. The chiefs were probably the representatives of a race originally different from that of their subjects, and hence had a different tutelary deity.

<sup>17</sup> ἄλλως, "simply." The use of the word is like that in iii. 139, *δίδωμι δ' ἄλλως*, "but I offer it as a gift," i. e. simply, without conditions.

<sup>18</sup> κατὰ λόγον μονομαχίης, "in the way of single combat." This expression would lead one to believe that the different contests which were rewarded with a prize were conducted on the principle of one champion challenging the field; not in the way which would be usual in Greece, by selecting as the victor the best out of a number of competitors.

<sup>19</sup> τῆς χώρας ἔτι ταύτης, "still within the limits of this country."

πους, τοῖσι οὖνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας<sup>20</sup> ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρωμένους Μηδικῇ. Across the later dwell the  
 τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε Sigynnes, a  
 δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς<sup>21</sup> καὶ nation with  
 ἀδυνάτους ἄνδρας φέρειν ζευγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἄρματα, εἶναι ὄξυ- small hardy  
 τάτους<sup>22</sup>. ἄρματηλατέειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατ- to be of  
 ἤκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὖρους ἀγχοῦ Ἑνετῶν<sup>23</sup> τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀδρίῃ Median  
 εἶναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι. ὅκως δὲ οὗτοι Μήδων origin.  
 ἄποικοι<sup>24</sup> γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσασθαι γένοιτο δ'  
 ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῇ μακρῇ χρόνῳ. (Σιγύννας δ' ὧν καλέουσι Δίγνης οἱ  
 ἄνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλῆς οἰκέοντες τοὺς καπήλους· Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ  
 δόρατα<sup>25</sup>.) Ὡς δὲ Θρήικες λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσαι τὰ 10  
 πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου εἰσι<sup>26</sup> καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ  
 προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν, ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκεῖν λέγειν οὐκ  
 οἰκότα· τὰ γὰρ ζῶα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσσυγα· ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ  
 ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ἀόκητα δοκεῖ εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχρα. ταῦτα μὲν

The Thracians say that bees occupy the country beyond the later.

<sup>20</sup> Σιγύννας. Later writers seem to have placed this race further east. STRABO speaks of them as Asiatics (xi. c. 12, p. 444). This is easily to be accounted for. See note 24, below.

<sup>21</sup> μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς. These are the ponies (*polnische pferde*) which no doubt in the time of Herodotus ran wild in the forests of Hungary and Transylvania.

<sup>22</sup> ὄξυτάτους. Some MSS, including S, have ὀκνυτάτους.

<sup>23</sup> κατέκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὖρους ἀγχοῦ Ἑνετῶν. The Eneti may be regarded as spreading over Carinthia, or at least conducting the traffic a considerable way inland from the coast. See note 320, a, on iii. 115. There appears to have been a line of communication between the Adriatic and the Euxine by the medium of some entrepôt on the Danube, perhaps not far above the point to which vessels from the Euxine might ascend. There is a vague and exaggerated description in the Aristotelian treatise *περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, which indicates the existence of commercial intercourse by this route. From Delphium, a high peak in the mountains overhanging Istria, it was said that a view might be obtained of the ships sailing into the Euxine. Corcyrean wine jars are said to have been an important article in this traffic (§§ 104, 105).

<sup>24</sup> Μήδων ἀποικοί. The mode in which

these races were descended from the Medes is to be explained on the principle stated in the note 336 on i. 194. From i. 196 it will be seen that a practice undoubtedly Asiatic existed among the Eneti, their neighbours. The custom of *suttee* too which prevailed among of *κατέπερε Κρηστανάλων*,—distinctly points to an eastern origin of the tribes inhabiting this region. See note 20, above.

<sup>25</sup> Σιγύννας δ' ὧν καλέουσι, κ.τ.λ. This clause has been considered by some as a gloss of a scholiast interpolated into the text. This may probably be the case; for although the name *σιγύννας*, given by the Ligurians to merchants, may bear upon the question of the Median origin of the race, the Cyprian word certainly would not. But on the other hand there are so many parts of the MSS as they exist at present which look like later additions, that it appears unjustifiable to consider the clause as an interpolation in the proper sense of the word. It seems possible that the word *zigeuner* is etymologically connected with Sigynnes.

<sup>26</sup> μέλισσαι κατέχουσαι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου εἰσι. The foundation for this story perhaps is the enormous swarms of *gnats* which are found in the depths of the unpenetrated forests of Poland and Russia. The mistake may be a similar one to that in iv. 7, where see the note 22.

νυν τῆς χώρας ταύτης πέρι λέγεται· τὰ παραθαλάσσια δ' ὦν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος<sup>36</sup> Περσέων κατήκοα ἐποίησε.

11 Δαρείος δέ, ὡς διαβὰς τάχιστα τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἀπύκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐμνήσθη<sup>37</sup> τῆς ἐξ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου εὐεργεσίας, καὶ τῆς παραινέσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώεω μεταπεμφάμενος δέ σφεας ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐδίδου αὐτοῖσι αἵρεσιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστιαῖος, ἅτε τυραννεύων τῆς Μιλήτου τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσέχρηζε<sup>38</sup>. αἰτέει δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδωνίδα, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταύτην αἰρέεται· ὁ δὲ Κώης, οἷά τε οὐ τύραννος<sup>39</sup> δημότης τε ἐὼν, αἰτέει Μυτιλήνης τυραννεύσαι. τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέροισι, οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἶλοντο ἐτρέποντο.

12 Δαρεῖον δὲ συνήνευκε, πρήγμα τοιόνδε ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμήσαι ἐντείλασθαι Μεγαβάζω, Παίονας ἐλόντα ἀνασπάστους ποιῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ἦν Πύγρης<sup>40</sup> καὶ Μαντίης<sup>41</sup>, ἄνδρες Παίονες· οἱ, ἐπεὶ τε Δαρείος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες Παίωνων τυραννεύειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἀδελφεὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐεϊδέα· φυλάξαντες δὲ Δαρεῖον προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προόσκειον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· σκευάσασαυτες τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ὡς εἶχον ἄριστα, ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔπεμπον ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος ἵππον ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ κλώθουσιν λῖνον<sup>42</sup>. ὡς δὲ παρεξήϊε ἡ γυνή, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ Δαρεῖω ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια<sup>43</sup> τὰ ποιούμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης οὐδαμῶν

<sup>36</sup> Μεγάβαζος. See the note 367 on iv. 143.

<sup>37</sup> ἐμνήσθη. See iv. 97 and 137.

<sup>38</sup> τυραννίδος οὐδεμιῆς προσέχρηζε. See the note 354 on iv. 138.

<sup>39</sup> οὐ τύραννος. He is described in iv. 97 as the στρατηγὸς of the Mytileneans. Apparently the constitution of Mytilene at the time was the one established by Pittacus when dictator (*ἀισιμνήτης*). ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* iii., p. 1285.

<sup>40</sup> Πύγρης. One MS has Τίγρης, and another Πύγρης.

<sup>41</sup> Μαντίης. S and V have Μαστίης.

<sup>42</sup> καὶ κλώθουσιν λῖνον. DR. HUNT describes the women of the neighbourhood of Acanthus as very hardy and industrious, and performing all agricultural labours

except ploughing. Their dress (he says) resembles that of the women in the Highlands of Scotland, except as to the head ornaments. They wear short petticoats without trousers, shoes, or stockings; and those who are mothers carry their young children slung in a square piece of cloth behind their shoulders while they are working in the fields. In going from place to place they not only carry their infants in this manner, but often have a lofty jar or pitcher upon their heads, and a rack and spindle in their hands with which they spin as they walk. He adds that they are Albanian colonists (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, p. 227).

<sup>43</sup> Λύδια. The manuscripts S and V have Λυδικά.

ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς πέμπει κελεύων φυλάξαι ὃ τι χρήσεται<sup>34</sup> τῷ ἵππῳ ἢ γυνή· οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀπισθεν εἶποντο, ἡ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπῖκετο ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν, ἤρσε<sup>35</sup> τὸν ἵππον ἄρσασα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐμπλησασμένη, τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν παρεξήιε φέρουσα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρακτον. Θωμάζων δὲ 13 ὁ Δαρεῖος τὰ τε ἤκουσε ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὦρα, ἄγειν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευε ἐνωτῷ ἐς ὄψιν ὥς δὲ ἄχθη, παρήσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφεοὶ αὐτῆς οὐ κη πρόσω σκοπιῇν ἔχοντες τούτων εἰρωτέωντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὀποδαπὴ εἶη; ἔφασαν οἱ νεηνίσκοι εἶναι Παίονες καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφεήν· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παίονες ἄνθρωποι εἰσι, καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ τί κείνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔλθοιεν ἐς Σάρδεις; οἱ δὲ οἱ ἔφραζον, ὥς ἔλθοιεν μὲν ἐκείνῳ δώσοντες σφέας αὐτοῖς, εἶη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη· ὁ δὲ Στρυμῶν οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἶησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι<sup>36</sup>. οἱ μὲν δὴ αὐτὰ ἕκαστα ἔλεγον· ὁ δὲ εἰρώτα εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι εἶησαν αὐτόθι αἱ γυναῖκες οὕτω ἐργάτιδες; οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν προθύμως οὕτω ἔχειν αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ ἐποιέετο.

Ἐνθαῦτα Δαρεῖος γράφει γράμματα πρὸς Μεγάβαζον, τὸν 14 ἔλιπε ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ στρατηγόν, ἐντελλόμενος ἐξαναστήσαι ἐξ ἡθέων Παίονας, καὶ παρ' ἐνωτὸν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἵππεὺς ἔθεε<sup>37</sup> φέρων τὴν ἀγγελίην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον· περαιωθεὶς δὲ διδοί τὸ βιβλίον<sup>38</sup> τῷ

He orders Megabazus to transport the population to Asia.

<sup>34</sup> *χρήσεται*. The manuscripts S, V, a, d have *χρήσαιοτο*. See however note on vii. 213, by which the uncertainty of the documentary evidence will appear.

<sup>35</sup> *ἤρσε*. This word, in its ordinary use, is applied to the irrigation of land, the proper phrase for giving water to an animal being *ποτίζειν*.

<sup>36</sup> *εἶησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι*. STRABO (xiii. c. 1, p. 95) remarks on the extensive correspondence of Thracian and Teucric names. Thus *Arisbe*, a town mentioned in the Homeric poems in connexion with Præctium, Se-stos, and Abydos, and therefore in their neighbourhood, is paralleled by *Arisbos*, a river in Thrace, a tributary of the Hebrus, on the banks of which are the *Cebrenii*, a Thracian tribe. The *Scæi* and *Xanthii*

are two other Thracian tribes, and there is also a river *Scæus*, and a *Χαῖων τεῖχος* in that country. *Rhesus* again is a Thracian king; while on the other hand at Troy there are the *Χαῖαι πόλεις*, the rivers *Xanthus* and *Rhesus*, and the district *Cebrenia*. All these circumstances contribute with the tradition in the text to prove the *ethnical identity* of Teucricans and Thracians,—which, in the language of Herodotus's time, could hardly be described in other terms than making the one a colony from the other. See note 336 on i. 94.

<sup>37</sup> *αὐτίκα δὲ ἵππεὺς ἔθεε*. This was the *ἀγγελίης*. See note 348 on iii. 126.

<sup>38</sup> *τὸ βιβλίον*, "the firman," the written document containing formal instructions for the expedition. The use of the



15

Megabazus  
overruns  
Pæonia, and  
transports  
some of the  
tribes.

Μεγαβάζω· ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος, καὶ λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιονίην. Πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παῖονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ σφέας ἵεναι, ἄλυσθέντες ἐξεστρατεύσαντο πρὸς θαλάσσης· δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν<sup>39</sup> τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ Παῖονες ἦσαν ἐτόιμοι τὸν Μεγαβάζου στρατὸν ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παῖονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας, τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν τράπονται· λαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Παῖονας ἐσπιπτοῦσι ἐς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, εὐύσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους· οἷα δὲ κευῆσι ἐπιπεσόντες, εὐπετέως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες ὥς ἐπύθοντο ἔχομένας τὰς πόλεις, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες κατ' ἐνωτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, καὶ παρεδίδσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Πέρσησι· οὕτω δὴ Παίωνων Σιροπαλόνες<sup>40</sup> τε καὶ Πασιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρα-

16

Others suc-  
cessfully re-  
sist for the  
time.  
Description  
of a fishing  
town built  
in the lake  
*Prasias*,  
near Mount  
Orbelus.

σιάδος λίμνης, ἐξ ἡθέων ἐξαναστάτες, ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον οὖρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Ὀδομάντους καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα, οὐκ ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου. ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ ἐξαιρέειν, ὧδε κατοικημένους<sup>41</sup>. ἱκρία ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐξευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου στενὴν ἔχοντα μὴ γεφύρῃ· τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἱκρίοις τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ

article indicates the technical character of the proceeding, and that this was generally known. It seems not unlikely that much of this technicality was a part of Darius's system, to check the arbitrary power of the great satraps, and prevent their furthering their own ambitious views under the cover of the king's authority. It would appear that these rescripts were, in each case, at least bilingual,—one language being a dialect of the Assyrian, and the other that of the people among whom the decree was to be put into execution,—that they were *both* drawn up by officials of the central government, dated from thence, and authenticated by the king's signet. (See *Ezra* iii. 12, 13; viii. 8—14, compared with *Ezra* iv. 7.) That they were also letters "patent," seems to follow both from the story told in iii. 128, and from the Pæonians being made aware of the intended expedition.

<sup>39</sup> *δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν*. The impression of the Pæonians apparently

was, that the attack would be made upon them through the Hellenic maritime states. See § 10, *ad finem*.

<sup>40</sup> *Σιροπαλόνες*. The Pæonians of Siris, a town which is called by the author Siris of Pæonia (viii. 115), to distinguish it from Siris in Italy, likewise mentioned (viii. 62).

<sup>41</sup> *τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ ἐξαιρέειν, ὧδε κατοικημένους*. The MSS have *τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρέειν ὧδε*, which Gaisford retains. But if that order be genuine, it would seem that the text here must have undergone a great change, and that the existing description of the habits of the people of the town on the lake, must have been substituted for one of the manner in which Megabazus attempted to conquer them.

A precisely similar description to that in the text, is given by HELIODORUS of the habits of the population living in the marshes of the Nile. (*Æthiopica*, i. 11.)

πολιῆται· μετὰ δὲ, νόμφ χρεώμενοι ἰστᾶσι τοιῶδες κομίζοντες  
 ἐξ οὐρεος τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι \*Ορβηλος, κατὰ γυναικα ἐκάστην  
 ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησιν ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος συχρὰς  
 γυναικάς. οἰκεῦσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ἱκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν ἧ διαιτᾶται, καὶ θύρης καταπακτῆς διὰ  
 τῶν ἱκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην· τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία  
 δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτῃ, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνοντες· τοῖσι δὲ  
 ἵπποισι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθύς<sup>42</sup>. τῶν δὲ  
 πληθὸς ἐστὶ τοσούτου, ὥστε ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν  
 ἀνακλῇ, κατεῖ σχοινῷ σπυρίδα<sup>43</sup> κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ  
 πολλόν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχών, ἀνασπᾷ πλήρεα ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ  
 ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένηα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσι πάπρακας τε καὶ τίλωνας.  
 Παίωνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους 17  
 ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν κείνον ἦσαν  
 δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρ' Ἀμύν-  
 την<sup>44</sup> αἰτήσαντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεῖ. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς  
 Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην· πρῶτα μὲν  
 γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον, ἐξ οὗ ὕστερον τούτων τάλαν-  
 τον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοῖτα· μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέ-  
 ταλλον, Δύσωρον καλούμενον οὗρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακε-  
 δονίᾳ<sup>45</sup>. Οἱ ὦν Πέρσαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὗτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην 18  
 ὡς ἀπῆκοντο, αἷτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Δαρείῳ  
 βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐδίδου, καὶ σφεας ἐπὶ  
Megabazus  
sends an  
embassy to  
Amyntas,  
king of  
Macedonia,  
which is  
easily ac-  
cessible  
from the  
lake Pra-  
sias.  
They are  
well re-  
ceived and  
feasted,

<sup>42</sup> τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι . . . χόρτον ἰχθύς. MARCO POLO asserts the existence of a similar practice on the coast of Hadramaut. Very small fishes, he says, are caught there during the months of March, April, and May, in enormous quantities. These are dried, laid up, and given to the sheep, oxen, and camels, throughout the year. There is no grass there, it being the most arid place in the world (p. 350).

<sup>43</sup> κατεῖ σχοινῷ σπυρίδα. This probably refers to the mode of taking fish by pots of basket-work, which would be unfamiliar to the Greeks of the Hellespont.

<sup>44</sup> παρ' Ἀμύντην. The court of Amyntas would be at *Æge* (or *Edessa*), which

was high up in the mountains, near the sources of the principal of the streams which fell into the lake at Pella. The kings of Macedonia were buried there as long as the kingdom lasted, even after Pella became the residence. (PLINY, *N. H.* iv. 10.)

<sup>45</sup> εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. At the time of SCYLAX's work being compiled, the boundary of Macedonia was the river Strymon (§ 67, p. 27, Hudson). But considerable changes seem to have taken place at or immediately after the invasion under Xerxes. See note on vii. 127. The mine from which the large revenue was derived perhaps passed over to Alexander at that time.

ξείνια<sup>46</sup> καλέει παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δείπνον μεγαλοπρεπές,  
 ἐδέκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο,  
 διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε· “ ξεῖνε Μακεδὼν, ἡμῖν νόμος  
 ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἐπεὰν δείπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ  
 τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας<sup>47</sup> ἐσάγεσθαι παρ-  
 ἑδρους<sup>48</sup>. σύ νυν, ἐπέειπερ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξαιο μέγας δὲ  
 ξεινίζεις, διδοῖς τε βασιλεῖ Δαρεῖφι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπειο νόμῳ τῷ  
 ἡμετέρῳ.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης· “ ὦ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν  
 ἡμῖν γέ ἐστι οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρῖσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν ἐπεὶ  
 τε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπότηαι προσχρῆζετε τουτέων, παρέσται ὑμῖν  
 καὶ ταῦτα.” εἶπας τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπετο τὰς γυναῖκας·  
 αἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ τε καλεόμεναι ἦλθον, ἐπεξῆς ἀντίαι ἔζοντο τοῖσι Πέρ-  
 σῃσι· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρφους, ἔλεγον  
 πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι “ τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν·  
 κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθεν μὴ ἔλθεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας, ἢ ἐλθούσας  
 καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἔζεσθαι ἀλγηδόνας σφι ὀφθαλμῶν<sup>49</sup>.”  
 ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίξιν πειθομενέων δὲ  
 τῶν γυναικῶν, αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν<sup>50</sup> τε ἄπτοντο, οἷα πλεύ-  
 νως οἰνωμένοι, καὶ κου τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειρᾶτο· Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ  
 ταῦτα ὀρέων ἀτρέμας εἶχε καὶ περ δυσφορέων, οἷα ὑπερδειμαίνων  
 τοὺς Πέρσας· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεω παρεὼν τε καὶ ὀρέων  
 ταῦτα, ἅτε νέος τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθής, οὐδαμῶς ἔτι κατέχειν  
 οἷός τε ἦν· ὥστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντεα τάδε· “ σὺ  
 μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἀπιῶν τε ἀναπαύεο, μηδὲ λιπάρεε τῇ

but insult-  
 ing the  
 women  
 whom they  
 had caused  
 to be  
 brought  
 to table,

19

<sup>46</sup> ἐπὶ ξείνια. The MSS vary here and elsewhere between the forms ἐπὶ ξείνια and ἐπὶ ξεινία. Schweighäuser considers that both are common to Ionic Greek, but that the latter is appropriate to Attic. Such a distinction appears as purely accidental as that between the two phrases of ‘asking a person to come and dine’ and ‘asking him to come to dinner.’

<sup>47</sup> κουριδίας γυναῖκας. See note 463 on i. 135, and 405 on iv. 155.

<sup>48</sup> ἐσάγεσθαι παρἑδρους. See *Rather* i. 10, 11.

<sup>49</sup> ἀλγηδόνας ὀφθαλμῶν. The unfavourable criticism of LONGINUS (*De Subl.* § 4) upon this expression is well known. But after all it seems not unlikely to be the Greek equivalent of a Persian phrase, in-

tended as a high compliment,—and meaning something the same as the English expression of “a dazzling beauty.” Alexander the Great applied the same expression in pleasantry to the Persian ladies (*εἰσὶν ἀλγηδόνες ὀφθαλμῶν αἱ Περσίδες*, PLUTARCH, *Alex.* § 21); and when it is considered that the sun and moon are the usual objects of comparison with female beauty at the present time in the east, it seems far from improbable that the Persians were employing the staple phrases of court gallantry in what they said to Amyntas.

<sup>50</sup> μαστῶν. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (b), which has *μασθῶν*. See note 516 on iv. 202.

πόσει· ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇδε, πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω τοῖσι ξείνοισι.” πρὸς ταῦτα συνιείς ὁ Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήξειν μέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει· “ὦ παῖ, σχεδὸν γάρ σευ ἀνακαιόμενου συνήμι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ ἐκπέμψας ποιέειν τι νεώτερον· ἐγὼ ὦν σευ χρηίζω μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι κατ’ ἄνδρας τούτους<sup>51</sup>, ἵνα μὴ ξεργάσῃ ἡμέας<sup>52</sup>. ἀλλὰ ἀνέχου ὁρέων τὰ ποιούμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπόδω τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαι τοι.” Ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρήσας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος 20 πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας· “γυναικῶν τούτων, ὦ ξεῖνοι, πολλή ἐστι ὑμῖν εὐπετεία, καὶ εἰ πάσῃσι βούλεσθε μίσγεσθαι καὶ ὀκόσῃσι ὦν αὐτέων· τούτου μὲν πέρι αὐτοὶ ἀποσημανέετε· νῦν δὲ, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἤδη τῆς κοίτης ὥρη προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντας ὑμέας ὁρέω μέθης, γυναικάς ταύτας, εἰ ὑμῖν φίλον ἐστὶ, ἄφετε λούσασθαι· λουσαμένας δὲ, ὀπίσω προσδέκεσθε.” εἰπας ταῦτα, συνέπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναικάς μὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν γυναικῆτην· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἴσους τῇσι γυναιξὶ ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας λειογενεῖους τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθῇτι σκευάσας, καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δούς, παρήγε ἔσω. παράγων δὲ τούτους ἔλεγε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τάδε· “ὦ Πέρσαι, οἴκατε πανδαισίῃ τελέῃ εἰστίτῃσθαι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἶχομεν, καὶ πρὸς, τὰ οἷά τε ἦν ἐξευρόντας παρέχειν, πάντα ὑμῖν πάρεστι· καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε τὸ πάντων μέγιστον τάς τε ἐωντῶν μητέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφεὰς ἐπιδαφιλευόμεθα<sup>53</sup> ὑμῶν ὥς παντελέως μάθητε τιμωμένοι πρὸς ἡμέων τῶν πέρ ἐστε ἄξιοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ τῷ πέμψαντι ἀπαγγεῖλητε, ὥς ἀνὴρ Ἕλληνας 21 Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος<sup>54</sup> εὐ ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κοίτῃ”<sup>are assassinated by Alexander, the son of Amyntas.</sup> ταῦτα εἰπας Ἀλέξανδρος, παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ὥς γυναῖκα τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τέ σφεων οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν ἐπειρῶντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτοῖς. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τούτῳ τῷ μόρῳ 21 διεφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπῆτῃ αὐτῶν· εἵπετο γὰρ δὴ σφι <sup>All their attendants</sup>

<sup>51</sup> κατ’ ἄνδρας τούτους. See note 516 on iv. 201.

<sup>52</sup> ἵνα μὴ ξεργάσῃ ἡμέας, “that you be not the destruction of us.” Compare EUTHYRIDES, Hippol. 607: ὁ πρὸς σε γονάτων, μηδαμῶς μ’ ξεργάσῃ. Helen. 1104: Κούρη Διώνης Κύπρι, μή μ’ ξεργάσῃ.

<sup>53</sup> ἐπιδαφιλευόμεθα. This word is copiously illustrated by Hemsterhuis on

Lucian’s Dialogues of the Dead, xxx. 2, εἶγε, ὁ Μίνως, ὅτι καὶ ἐπιδαφιεύῃ τῷ παραδείγματι. It is applied to a prodigal expenditure over and above what the circumstances of the case require.

<sup>54</sup> Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος. The use of the word ὑπαρχος instead of βασιλεὺς is to be remarked. Alexander speaks of his father as the “satrap” of Macedonia, he having done homage to Darius the “king.”

are slain  
with them.

Alexander  
gets the  
matter  
hushed up.

καὶ ὀχήματα, καὶ θεράποντες, καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλή παρασκευή· πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἅμα πᾶσι κείνοισι ἠφάνιστο. μετὰ δέ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ζήτησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγένετο· καὶ σφεας Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφίῃ<sup>55</sup>, χρήματά τε δοὺς πολλά καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεήν, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γυγαίη· δούς δέ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρη, ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῶν στρατηγῶν<sup>56</sup>. ὁ μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθείς ἐσυγῆθη.

22

The Macedonian  
kings be-  
long to the  
Hellenic  
race.

"Ἕλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεω γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτὸς τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος (καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὅπισθε λόγοισι<sup>57</sup> ἀποδέξω ὥς εἰσι Ἕλληνες), πρὸς δέ, καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλλήνων οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἶναι. Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου<sup>58</sup> καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθεσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξείργον μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὥς εἴη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἕλληνα καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

23

Megabazus,  
on arriving  
at Sardis  
with the  
Pæonians,  
opens the

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω κη ἐγένετο. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ διαπεραιωθείς ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις. ἅτε δὲ τειχέοντος ἤδη Ἰστυαίου τοῦ Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε δωρεήν, μισθόν<sup>59</sup> φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδίσης, ἐόντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυ-

<sup>55</sup> κατέλαβε σοφίᾳ, "quashed the investigation by intrigue." So Croesus (i. 46) endeavoured καταλαβεῖν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν, to crush the power of the Persians while growing. καταλαμβάνειν is to get complete hold over an object, and so have the mastery of it.

<sup>56</sup> τῶν στρατηγῶν. This is the reading of all the MSS, and it is obviously corrupt. Gaisford adopts the emendation of Valcknaer τῷ στρατηγῷ. But here the article would be out of place. I should rather be inclined to transpose, and read τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους. The facts seem to have been that enquiries were instituted in various quarters by the commandants of Persian garrisons, and Bubares (son of Megabazus, vii. 22) was of these the one whose position brought him into contact with the Macedonian court. The relation in which Alexander stood to the Persian court

was in after times a very different one. See viii. 136, and the notes on vi. 44 and vii. 127.

<sup>57</sup> ἐν τοῖσι ὅπισθε λόγοισι. This promise is redeemed in viii. 137, seqq. The Hellenic blood of the Macedonian kings was a point sufficiently doubtful to allow DEMOSTHENES (in spite of the authority of the Hellanodice at Olympia) to deny it. He says of Philip: οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλλ' . . . ἀλλ' ἑθρὺν Μακεδόνος (Philipp. iii.). But of the liberties taken with historical (not to say mythical) evidence by the orators, see a striking example in the note 213 on i. 63. The judgment of THUCYDIDES (ii. 99; v. 80) coincides with that of Herodotus.

<sup>58</sup> Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου. Some MSS have here βουλομένου γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀεθλεύειν.

<sup>59</sup> δωρεήν μισθόν. The MSS all have

μόνα ποταμόν, [τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Μύρκινος<sup>60</sup>.] μαθὼν ὁ Με- eyes of Da-  
γάβαζος τὸ ποιούμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, ὡς ἦλθε τάχιστα ἐς rarius to the  
τὰς Σάρδεις ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε Δαρεῖν τάδε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, rashness  
κοῖον τι χρῆμα ἐποίησας ἀνδρὶ Ἑλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δούς of having  
ἐγκτήσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Θρηῇ; ἵνα ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμός ἐστι given Myr-  
ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπέες<sup>61</sup>, καὶ μέταλλα ἀργύρεα ὁμιλὸς τε Histieus.  
πολλὸς μὲν Ἑλλην περιοικεῖ πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ προ-  
στάτew ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἂν κείνος ἐξηγήται καὶ  
ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός· σύ νυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον ταῦτα ποι-  
εῦντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκτιρῇ πολέμῳ συνέχῃαι<sup>62</sup>. τρόπῳ δὲ ἥπλῳ μεταπεμ-  
ψάμενος παῦσον· ἐπεὰν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃς, ποιέειν ὅκως μηκέτι  
κείνος ἐς Ἑλληνας ἀπίζεται.” Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως 24  
ἔπειθε Δαρεῖον, ὡς εὖ προορέων τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ, ἄγγελον Darius con-  
πέμψας ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἔλεγε τάδε “Ἰστιάει, βασιλεὺς apprehen-  
Δαρεῖος τάδε λέγει· ἐγὼ φροντίζων εὐρίσκω ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι sions, and  
πρήγμασι οὐδένα εἶναι σεῦ ἄνδρα εὐνοέστερον τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγιοι, summoning  
ἀλλ’ ἔργοισι οἶδα μαθῶν. νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα Histieus to  
κατεργάσασθαι, ἀπικνέο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι.” him,  
τούτοις τοῖσι ἔπεσι πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιάιος, καὶ ἅμα μέγα ποιού-  
μενος βασιλεὺς σύμβουλος γενέσθαι, ἀπικετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις·  
ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρεῖος τάδε “Ἰστιάει, ἐγὼ σε μετ-  
επεμφάμην τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν

μισθὸν δωρεήν, which Gaisford retains. Schaefer considers μισθὸν to be a gloss of δωρεήν. The reading of Gaisford and the MSS is perhaps defensible on the supposition that μισθὸν is used as an adjective, and that μισθὸν δωρεήν are equivalent to ἀντάλλαγμα. But by a simple transposition a plain sense is produced.

<sup>60</sup> [τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Μύρκινος]. These words appear to be a marginal note which has crept into the text. Herodotus had just before (§ 11) described the place by calling it Μύρκινον τὴν Ἰδωνίδα. The MSS here vary between Μύρκινος, Μύρκιος, and Μύρκινος, although unanimous in § 11.

<sup>61</sup> πολλοὶ κωπέες. HESYCHIUS: κωπεῖς· τὰ εἰς κόπας εὐθετα ῥύλα.

<sup>62</sup> ἵνα μὴ οἰκτιρῇ πολέμῳ συνέχῃαι. The apprehensions of Megabazus seem extraordinary if the resources of Histieus

are to be considered as confined to Miletus, but well founded if the conjecture put forward in the note 354 on iv. 138 be adopted, and if he is to be considered as a kind of satrap over all the Ionian cities which still remained unimpaired in their resources, with the solitary exception of Chios. Miletus is presently called τῆς Ἰωνίης πρόσχημα,—a phrase which suggests something of the nature of a ἡγεμονία (§ 28). See too notes on § 33 and vi. 7. Naxos too, or at least the aristocracy (οἱ παχέες) within it, was in a state of alliance with Histieus (below, § 30); and Naxos could bring 8000 hoplites into the field (§ 31). A man so powerful in resources and in intellect seems just to have missed the establishing a dominion which would perhaps have forestalled Alexander.

carries  
him with  
him to  
Susa,

καὶ σύ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρήμα οὕτω ἐν  
βραχείῃ ἐπεξήγησα ὥς σέ ἰδέειν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικέσθαι  
ἐγνωκῶς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμιώτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος  
συνετός τε καὶ εὖνοος· τά τοι ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω συνειδὼς ἔχω  
μαρτυρέειν ἐς πρήγματα τὰ ἐμά. νῦν ὦν, εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας  
ἀπικόμενος, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προτείνωμαι Μίλητον μὲν ἔα καὶ τὴν  
νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηίκῃ πόλιν σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ ἐπόμενος ἐς Σούσα, ἔχε

25  
after leaving  
Otanes,  
son of  
Sisamnes,  
in the Hel-  
lespont, and  
Artapher-  
nes, his own  
brother, satrap of  
Sardis.

Story of  
Sisamnes,  
father of  
Otanes.

τάπερ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ἐμός τε σύσσιτος ἐὼν καὶ συμβουλός." Ταῦτα  
Δαρεῖος εἶπας, καὶ καταστήσας Ἀρταφέρνηα<sup>53</sup> ἀδελφεὸν ἐωυτοῦ  
ὁμοπάτριον ὑπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδιάν, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σούσα, ἅμα  
ἀγόμενος Ἰστυαῖον Ὀτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν  
παραβαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν<sup>54</sup>. τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς  
Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιληῶν δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ χρήμασι  
δίκην ἄδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάξας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπητὴν  
σπαδίξας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα, ἱμάντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε  
τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἕζων ἐδίκασε· ἐντανύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε  
δικαστὴν εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμνεω, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε, τὸν  
παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμνεω, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ μεμνησθαι ἐν τῷ κατίζων

26  
Otanes takes  
Byzantium,

θρόνῳ δικάζει. Οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ὀτάνης ὁ ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν  
θρόνον, τότε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάξῳ τῆς στρατηγίης<sup>55</sup>,

<sup>53</sup> Ἀρταφέρνηα. Some MSS have the form Ἀρταφρένεα both here and in vi. 94, and also in vii. 74. The latter form had a recommendation with the Greeks, as it allowed them better scope for an etymology. ÆSCHYLUS avails himself of this in the *Persæ* (769), where he says of the son of Darius's brother, φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν φλοοστρόφουν. It is quite clear that all the Persian names whose Greek equivalents end either in φερνης or φερνης themselves terminated in *frana*; which doubtless was significant in Persian, as it appears in the beginnings as well as the ends of names, e. g. *Pharnuchus*, *Pharnaspes*, and *Pharnabazus*, as well as *Tisaphernes*, *Intaphernes*, *Artaphernes*, *Megaphernes*, &c.

<sup>54</sup> Ὀτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραβαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν. This Otanes is not to be confused with the father-in-law of Darius, whose father's name was *Pharnaspes* according to Herodotus (iii. 68), and *Socres* (Thukra) according to the Behistun Inscription.

<sup>55</sup> διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάξῳ τῆς στρατηγίης. From this time the old system of leaving a very large jurisdiction in the hands of one person, which seems to have prevailed in the time of Cyrus (see notes 331 and 350 on iii. 120 and 127), no longer appears to be the policy of the Persian court. Darius has apparently carried out his plan to a considerable extent. His own brother is placed in Sardis as viceroy, but another great officer, with an independent command and a large army, has his head-quarters in the Hellespont. The satrapy too of which Dascyleum was the centre has been again filled up by Cebares, son of Megabazus (vi. 33). We hear nothing more of Otanes, the son of *Pharnaspes*, subsequently to the restoration of Syloson to Samos (iii. 149), except the solitary fact that at some subsequent time (ὁστέρῃ μὲντοι χρόνῳ) he recolonized Samos, a proceeding involving the possession of considerable power. But Herodotus leaves no hint as to what became of him, having apparently now got

Βυζαντίους τε εἶλε καὶ Καλχηδονίους· εἶλε δὲ Ἀντανδρον τὴν *Chalcedon, Antandros*  
 ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι γῇ· εἶλε δὲ Λαμπώνιον λαβῶν δὲ παρὰ Δεσβίων *in Troas, Lampo-*  
 νέας εἶλε Λήμνους τε καὶ Ἰμβρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασ- *nam, and,*  
 γῶν οἰκεομένους<sup>66</sup>. Οἱ μὲν δὲ Λήμνιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὖ καὶ 27  
 ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν τοῖσι δὲ περιεοῦσι αὐτῶν οἱ *by the help*  
 Πέρσαι ὑπαρχον ἐπιστάσι Λυκάρητον, τὸν Μαϊανδρίου τοῦ βασι- *of the Lea-*  
 λεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν<sup>67</sup>. (οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν *bians, Lem-*  
 Λήμνῳ τελευτᾷ<sup>68</sup>.) Αἰτία δὲ τούτου ἦδε· πάντας ἡνδραποδίζετο *nos and*  
 καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰτιώμενος, *Imbros.*  
 τοὺς δὲ σίνεσθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ὀπίσω ἀπο-  
 κοιζόμενον· οὗτος μὲν νυν τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγήσας.

Μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν<sup>69</sup>, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ 28  
 δευτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἰωσι γίνεσθαι κακά. τοῦτο *Flourishing*  
 μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε<sup>70</sup>, τοῦτο δὲ *state of*  
 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ Μίλητος αὐτὴ τε ἐωυτῆς μάλιστα δὴ *Naxos and*  
 τότε ἀκμάσασα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα<sup>71</sup>. κατύπερθε *Miletus*  
 δὲ τούτων, ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι, *at this*  
*time.*

into a cycle of traditions derived entirely from the intercourse between the Ionians and Hellespontines and the Persian officials with whom they came into contact. Possibly he is the Otanes whose daughter Amestris married Xerxes (vii. 61); and if so, her malice against a son of Darius and his wife (ix. 108. 111) may have been partly hereditary. And considering his great personal power and high connexions, there can be little doubt that the Otanes here spoken of, and the Otanes of v. 116, and of vii. 40, were at least near relatives of his, whether or not identical with one another.

<sup>66</sup> *ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεομένους.* See note 179 on i. 56. It seems not impossible that this remark is added as a sort of salvo for the Lesbians having assisted the Persians in their subjection of Greek islands. In the time of Herodotus to have assisted the barbarian against any portion of the Hellenic race was a foul stain. But it is very doubtful whether this feeling exercised any wide sway before the time assigned to Darius's Scythian expedition.

<sup>67</sup> *οἱ μὲν δὲ Λήμνιοι . . . τελευτᾷ.* Schweighäuser considers that the whole of this passage is an addition by the author to his work subsequently to its completion. But there seems no reason to believe this

of more than the last sentence, *οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Λήμνῳ τελευτᾷ.* No doubt the word *τούτου* in the next sentence cannot refer to the death of Lycaretus; and the subject of *ἡνδραποδίζετο* must be Otanes. But the expression *τούτου* seems to be a more appropriate mode of reference to the act of appointing Lycaretus satrap of Lemnos than to the series of operations just enumerated. That appointment was only one instance of a policy universally carried out, and consequently mention of it naturally led to the statement of what that policy was.

<sup>68</sup> *Μαϊανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν.* See note 392 on iii. 142.

<sup>69</sup> *ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν.* This is the reading of Gaisford, who adopts the conjecture of Reiske, *ἄνεσις*, for *ἄνεος* or *ἄνεως*, which the MSS give. It is to me very unsatisfactory; but I can suggest nothing better.

<sup>70</sup> *εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε.* See note on § 31.

<sup>71</sup> *Ἰωνίης πρόσχημα*, "the head and front of Ionia." For the power of Miletus, as a single state, see note 64 on i. 17. For its probable influence at this time as the head of a number of kindred states, note 354 on iv. 138.



- Former dis-  
29 sessions of  
Miletus for  
two genera-  
tions how  
finally com-  
posed by  
the Pa-  
rians.
- μέχρι οὐ μιν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν<sup>73</sup>. τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστήρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἶλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι. Κατήλλαξαν δέ σφεας ὧδε οἱ Πάριοι<sup>74</sup>. ὥς ἀπίκοντο αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἱ ἄριστοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ὥρεον γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεινῶς οἰκοφθορημένους, ἔφασαν αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι διεξελεῖν τὴν χώραν ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ διεξιόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίην, ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοιεν ἐν ἀνεστηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ ἀγρὸν εὖ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγραφέατο τὸ οὐνομα τοῦ δεσπότης τοῦ ἀγροῦ· διεξέλασαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καὶ σπανίους εὐρόντες τούτους, ὥς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἄλλην ποιησάμενοι, ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὐρον τοὺς ἀγροὺς εὖ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκέειν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὕτω δὴ σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥσπερ τῶν σφετέρων τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πείθεσθαι. Πάριοι μὲν νυν οὕτω Μιλησίους κατήρτισαν. Τότε δὲ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολλῶν ὧδε ἤρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου<sup>74</sup>. φυγόντες
- 30 Exiles from  
Naxos ar-  
rive at Mile-  
tus, where

<sup>73</sup> κατήρτισαν. The meaning of this word has been somewhat mistaken by the commentators. The καταρτιστήρ is not a person 'who brings together what is forcibly separated,' but one 'who arranges in order that which is in confusion.' The great cause of trouble in the ancient states was the question of the assignment of the offices; and the quality of mind which constituted a good καταρτιστήρ would, in Hellenic apprehension, be what Aristotle calls 'distributive justice,' ἡ διανεμητικὴ δικαιοσύνη. Thus the service of Demonax at Cyrene was shown in his judicious arrangement of the citizens in their tribes (iv. 161), for upon this arrangement their share of public offices would mainly depend. The misapprehension of the fundamental idea of καταρτίζειν has led to a bad translation of *Matth. Evang.* iv. 21. The apostles were assisting their father in 'stowing,' not in 'mending' their nets.

<sup>74</sup> κατήλλαξαν δέ σφεας ὧδε οἱ Πάριοι. It is curious, and illustrative of the nature of the materials used by Herodotus, that from this account not the least information can be gained of the nature of the Milesian troubles,—or even of the time when they occurred,—although the political importance of Miletus then was probably at least equal to that of Athens at the time of the expedition to Sicily. Yet nothing is given of events spreading over

two generations, except the story of a piece of shrewd observation on the part of the Parians. It is as if in a modern narrative the whole series of events which terminated in the expulsion of the Stuart dynasty from England should remain unnoticed, except for the purpose of introducing the *mot* of Rochester, that 'Charles II. never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one.' See note 494 on ii. 160.

<sup>74</sup> ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. This revolution must not be confounded in any way with that one which terminated in making Lygdamis tyrant of Naxos. (See note 214 on i. 64.) Under no circumstances could Lygdamis have become dynast at Naxos *later* than B.C. 527: for in that year Pisistratus died, eighteen years before the expulsion of his sons from Athens. (See CLINTON on that year.) And it is an assumption that Herodotus, in the passage in which he represents him as owing his success to Pisistratus (i. 64), means to place the alleged conquest of Naxos in the third period of Pisistratus's dynasty at Athens. Lygdamis may have become tyrant of Naxos forty or fifty years before the event mentioned in the text; and it is more in accordance with the account of Aristotle, and not less so with that of Herodotus (see note 214 on i. 64), to suppose that he was so at

δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μίλητον. τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος Aristagoras,  
son-in-law  
of His-  
tiaeus, is  
left vic-  
roy.  
ἔων Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεω, γαμβρός τε ἔων καὶ ἀνεψιὸς  
Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Λυσαγόρεω, τὸν ὁ Δαρείος ἐν Σούσοισι κατείχε· ὁ  
γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου<sup>15</sup>, καὶ ἐτύγχανε τοῦτον τὸν  
χρόνον ἔων ἐν Σούσοισι ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθον, ξεῖνοι πρὶν ἔόντες  
τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ἐδέοντο  
τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω, εἴ πως αὐτοῖσι παράσχοι δύναμιν τινα, καὶ  
κατέλθοιεν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὡς ἦν δι' ἑωυτοῦ  
κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄρξει τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιούμενος  
τὴν ξεινίην τὴν Ἰστιαίου, τόνδε σφι λόγον προσέφερε· “αὐτὸς  
μὲν ὑμῶν οὐ φερέγγυός εἰμι δύναμιν τοσαύτην παρασχεῖν, ὥστε  
κατάγειν ἀεκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔχόντων Ναξίων· He proposes  
to enlist  
Artaphernes  
in their  
cause, πυνθάνομαι  
γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα Ναξίοισι εἶναι, καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ  
πολλά· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος· ἐπινόεω  
δὲ τῆδε· Ἀρταφέρνης μοι τυγχάνει ἔων φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ἰστασπεω  
μὲν ἔστι παῖς Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφεός, τῶν δ' ἐπιθλασ-  
σίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ<sup>16</sup> ἄρχει πάντων, ἔχων στρατιήν τε πολλήν  
καὶ πολλὰς νέας· τοῦτον ὦν δοκέω τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσειν τῶν ἂν  
χρηζόμεν.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρι- and they  
agree to  
find funds.  
σταγόρῃ πρήσσειν ἢ δύναιτο ἄριστα· καὶ ὑπίσχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέ-  
λευον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατῇ, ὡς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντας· ἐλπίδας  
πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέωσι ἐς τὴν Νάξον πάντα ποιήσειν  
τοὺς Ναξίους τὰ ἂν αὐτοὶ κελεύωσι, ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώ-

least thirty. In this case, following the analogy of the known progress of events in other Hellenic states, we should conceive of the revolution of Lygdamis as one overthrowing an hereditary oligarchy; but of the one which led to the expulsion of the *παῖδες*, as similar to those of Corcyra and other places in later times, where the contending parties were a timocratic aristocracy, and a poor, but yet free commonalty. The tyranny of Lygdamis must have fallen before the commencement of the second revolution.

<sup>15</sup> *τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου*. It seems very strange that Herodotus, after the account he has given in the last book of the prominent part played by Histiaeus, should now drily mention this. There would be no inappropriateness, however, if the ac-

count of Darius's expedition to Thrace were an addition to an earlier draft of the work.

<sup>16</sup> *τῶν δ' ἐπιθλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ*. The province of Otanes (whose headquarters appear to have been at Sestos) was the *παραθαλάσσιοι ἄνδρες* (§ 26). Assuming the two narratives to belong to the same cycle of accounts (which is not quite certain; see the last note), the principle upon which to reconcile them seems not to be to suppose that Artaphernes had the command in Asia, and Otanes in Europe,—for the operations of the latter were in Asia also, § 26,—but to regard Otanes as employed on the shores of the Hellespont, and specially in securing the means of uninterrupted transit between the conti-

τας τῶν γὰρ νήσων τουτέων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ.

31

Aristagoras goes to Sardis, and persuades Artaphernes to undertake the expedition.

Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφέρνηα, ὡς Νάξος εἴη νήσος μεγάλη μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, ἄλλως δὲ καλὴ τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίης, χρήματα δὲ ἐνὶ πολλὰ, καὶ ἀνδράποδα. "σὺ ὦν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν στρατηλάτее κατὰγων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τοὶ ταῦτα ποιήσαντι τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ἐτόιμα παρ' ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα παρέξ τῶν ἀναισιμωμάτων τῇ στρατιῇ (ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δίκαια ἡμέας τοὺς ἀγοντας παρέχειν) τοῦτο δὲ νήσους προσκτήσεται βασιλεῖ αὐτῇν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημένας, Πάρον τε καὶ Ἄνδρον καὶ ἄλλας, τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμένας". ἐνθευτεν δὲ ὀρμεώμενος, εἰπετέως ἐπιθήσεται Εὐβοίῃ, νήσῳ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρου καὶ κάρτα εἰπετέι αἰρεθῆναι. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ ἑκατὸν νέες ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο αὐτὸν τοῖσδε "σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέος ἐξηγητῆς" γίνεαι πρηγμάτων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ παραινέεις πάντα πλὴν τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἀντὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν νεῶν, δικηκόσιαί τοι ἐτόιμοι ἔσονται ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τοῖτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαιων γίνεσθαι". Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρισταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε περιχαρὴς ἔων, ἀπήϊε ἐς Μίλητον ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφέρνης, ὡς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς

32

On Darius giving his

"τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημένας . . . τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμένας. The possession of all these dependencies, with the naval force implied by them, and a land army of 8000 hoplites, shows an amount of power very unfavourable to the notion that Pisistratus had conquered Naxos, and committed it to Lygdamis as a sort of province. (See note 214 on i. 64.) After its subjection to Persia, and the annihilation of its resources, described by Herodotus (vi. 96), the case was very different, and such a statement would not be obviously absurd. The contingent of ships furnished by Naxos at the time of the battle of Salamis is only *four* (viii. 46). And in the year B.C. 466 it was taken, and the inhabitants reduced to slavery by the Athenians (Thucyd. i. 98), apparently without any resistance worthy of mention.

"ἐξηγητῆς. This word is peculiarly

appropriate. (See note 138 on ii. 49.) Aristagoras had not merely spoken to Artaphernes in general terms of a favourable opportunity for advancing the king's interests, but he had gone through his plan step by step, showing him what power for advancing further each would give him as it was taken.

"δεῖ δὲ τοῖτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαιων γίνεσθαι. The caution of Artaphernes in not taking this step without previously intimating it to Darius is striking when compared with the conduct of Aryandes, who sent the whole Egyptian army to the assistance of Phereptime (iv. 167), or that of Otanes, the son of Pharnaspes, who exterminated the whole population of Samos in direct contradiction to Darius's orders (iii. 147, 149). It adds an illustration to the points mentioned in note 38 on § 14 and 65 on § 26. See also note on § 123, ἐτάχθησαν.

Σούσα καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρῳ λεγόμενα συνέπαινος consent, Ar-  
καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διηκοσίας τριήρεας, taphernes  
πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁμίλον Περσέων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων despatches  
στρατηγὸν δὲ τουτέων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν τῶν Megabates  
'Αχαιμενιδέων, ἐωυτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Πανσανίης δ with 200  
Κλεομβρότεω Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθής γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος<sup>80</sup>, ships.  
ὅστ' ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ τούτων ἡρμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρωτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλ- This Mega-  
λάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν bates is  
'Αρταφέρνης, ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα. said to be  
father-in-  
law of Pau-  
sanias the  
Lacedæmo-  
nian.

Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τὸν τε Ἀριστα- 33  
γόρεα καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιὴν<sup>81</sup> καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους, ἔπλεε πρόφασιν The fleet  
ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας ἐς sails as for  
the Hel-  
lespont,  
and makes  
Chios,  
Καῦκασα, ὡς ἐνθεῦτεν βορρῇ ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι· καὶ  
οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Ναξίους ἀπολέσθαι, πρῆγμα τοιοῦνδε  
συνηνέχθη γενέσθαι· περιύοντος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν where a  
quarrel  
between  
Aristagoras  
and Mega-  
bates in-  
duces the  
latter to  
give secret  
information  
to the Na-  
xians,  
φυλακὰς, ἐπὶ νεὸς Μυνδίας ἔτυχε οὐδεὶς φυλάσσω· ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τι  
ποιησάμενος, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν ἄρχοντα  
ταύτης τῆς νεὸς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύλαξ, τοῦτον δησαι διὰ θαλαμῆς  
διελόντας τῆς νεὸς, κατὰ τοῦτο, ἔξω μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεῖντας ἔσω δὲ  
τὸ σῶμα<sup>82</sup>. δεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρι-  
σταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξεῖνόν οἱ τὸν Μύνδιον Μεγαβάτης δῆσας λυμαί-  
νοιτο· ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν παραιτέτο τὸν Πέρσῃν, τυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς  
τῶν ἐδέετο αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε· πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποίη-  
σατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης, καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ· ὁ δὲ εἶπε

<sup>80</sup> εἰ δὴ ἀληθής γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος. THUCYDIDES (i. 128) speaks of the distinct proposition made by Pausanias, in a letter to Xerxes, to subject Sparta and the whole of Hellas to him on condition of receiving his daughter in marriage; but, according to his account, the plot was detected before any of the conditions were fulfilled. Pausanias, at the time of making the offer, had his head-quarters in Byzantium as the commander-in-chief of the operations against Persia.

<sup>81</sup> τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιήν. This is probably the contingent from the several Asiatic cities, making up altogether the 200 ships required, and assembled at Miletus in virtue of the ἡγεμονία of that city. See note 62, above. They were

not all Ionian. See § 37, below, and notes 269 and 354 on iv. 98. 137. One MS (F) reads τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα ἐκ Μιλήτου καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιήν.

<sup>82</sup> κατὰ τοῦτο, . . . τὸ σῶμα. These words appear to be an explanation of the expression διὰ θαλαμῆς δῆσαι διελόντας, and although it is true that they express something more than is included in it, yet I cannot help thinking they are a *subsequent* explanation. It is not likely that the punishment inflicted by the Persian officer was an extemporaneous one, and therefore its nature would be well understood. The novelty consisted in its being inflicted on a person in the position of Scylax.

"σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοις τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι ; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφέρνης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἂν ἐγὼ κελεύω ; τί πολλὰ πρήσεις ;" ταῦτα εἶπε Ἀρισταγόρης· ὁ δὲ θυμωθεὶς τούτοις, ὡς νῦν ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπε ἐς Νάξον πολλὰ ἄνδρας φράσσοντας

- 34 τοῖσι Ναξίοις πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφί πρήγματα· Οἱ γὰρ ὦν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ὀρμήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ μὲν τοι ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσενείκαντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ τὸ τεῖχος<sup>33</sup> ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὔτοι μὲν παρεσκευάδατο ὡς παρεσόμενοι σφί πολέμου, οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο· καὶ ἐπολιόρκεον μῆνας τέσσερας· ὡς δὲ τά τε ἔχοντες ἦλθον χρήματα οἱ Πέρσαι ταῦτα καταδεδαπάνητό σφί καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσαναισώματο πολλὰ, τοῦ πλευνός τε ἐδέετο ἢ πολιορκίῃ, ἐνθαῦτα τείχεα τοῖσι φυγάσι τῶν Ναξίων οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, κακῶς πρήσσοντες.

and the expedition fails for want of funds to maintain a prolonged siege.

- 35 Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῷ Ἀρταφέρνηϊ ἐκπληρῶσαι· ἅμα δὲ ἐπῆξέ μιν ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπαιτεομένη, ἀρρωδέε τε τοῦ στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτῃ διαβεβλημένος· ἐδόκεε τε τὴν βασιλιτῆν τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαρῆσεσθαι· ἀρρωδέων δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα ἐβουλευέτο ἀπόστασιν συνέπιπτε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐστυγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν<sup>34</sup> ἀπῆχθαι ἐκ Σουσέων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπὸ βασιλέος· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος, βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημήναι ἀποστήναι, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἀσφαλῆως σημήναι, ὥστε φυλασσομενέων τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστιξε, καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφύναι τὰς τρίχας· ὡς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλητον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπικηται ἐς Μίλητον,

Aristagoras contemplates rebellion, and is confirmed by a message from Histieus.

<sup>33</sup> τὸ τεῖχος. The MSS are divided between καὶ τὸ τεῖχος and καὶ τεῖχος. Gaisford reads τὸ τεῖχος. Schaefer considers the words an interpolation. But it is as difficult to conceive how they should come there as a corruption of the text, as to explain the use of them.

<sup>34</sup> τὸν ἐστυγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν, "the man with the tatowed head." The article appears to be used from the general notoriety of the story ; although Herodotus still goes on to give an account of the particulars. See notes 206, 222, and 232 on Book ii.

κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ξυρήσαντά μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν τὰ δὲ στήγματα ἐσήμαινε, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐποίηε, συμφορὴν ποιούμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν Σούσοισι ἀποστάσιος ὧν γινομένης, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας μετήσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν μὴ δὲ νεώτερόν τι ποιεύσης τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἦξειν ἔτι ἐλογίζετο. Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοεύ-<sup>36</sup> μενος, ἀπέπεμπε τὸν ἄγγελον Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλευέτο ὧν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτῶν, ἐκφήνας τὴν τε ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου ἀπυγμένα· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸ ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ λογο-<sup>Hecataeus's</sup> ποιὸς<sup>35</sup> πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἔα πόλεμον βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσέων ἀναιρέ-<sup>advice is</sup> εσθαι, καταλέγων τά τε ἔθνεα πάντα τῶν ἤρχε Δαρείος καὶ τὴν <sup>not fol-</sup> δύναμιν αὐτοῦ· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευε ποιέειν <sup>lowed.</sup> ὁκῶς ναυκράτεες τῆς θαλάσσης<sup>36</sup> ἔσονται· ἄλλως μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἔφη λέγων<sup>37</sup> ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον τοῦτο· ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν Μιλησίων εἶδεν ἀσθενέα<sup>38</sup>. εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα κατααιρεθῇ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱοῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τὰ Κροίσος ὁ

<sup>35</sup> Ἐκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιός. Herodotus mentions this person again with the same title in ii. 143, and below, § 125. It is to be observed that he gives the same title to Æsop (ii. 134). See the note 5 on i. 1 for the wide signification of the word *λόγιος* at this time, at which it is highly unlikely that Æsop's productions existed in a written form. *ÆRIAN* (*Excerpt. Alex.* v. 6) couples Herodotus himself together with Hecataeus as *οἱ λογοποιοί*.

<sup>36</sup> ναυκράτεες τῆς θαλάσσης, "in command of the sea." In vi. 9 he uses the expression *ναυκράτορες* in the same signification. *THUCYDIDES* (viii. 83) adopts the more expressive compound *θαλασσοκράτορες*.

<sup>37</sup> ἔφη λέγων. See note 414 on i. 118.

<sup>38</sup> ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν Μιλησίων εἶδεν ἀσθενέα. It is at first sight difficult to reconcile this assertion with what has just before been said, that Miletus was at this time at the *acme* of its prosperity (§ 28). But there is no real contradiction. There was no accumulation

of ready money,—which was the thing wanted for the purpose of taking up a large number of seamen. The same necessity was felt by Pericles at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; and he contemplated a similar proceeding to that of Hecataeus with the gold in the temple of Athens. (*THUCYD.* ii. 13.) It should be remembered that public credit, on the strength of which large sums may be readily procured at any time, is a creation of modern days. The ancient states had no means whatever of acquiring a large fund of ready money except by hoarding, and no means of doing this safely except by dedication in some temple. The procedure of Croesus (i. 50) and that of Periander (v. 92) are illustrative of the difficulty of suddenly procuring any considerable amount of specie. Compare, too, the negotiation between Polycrates and Oroetes (iii. 122, 3), where the possession of only *eight* chests of gold was considered as enough to turn the scale of probable success in the event of revolt against Persia.

Λυδὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσῃ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ οὕτω αὐτοὺς τε ἔξῃν χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ συλῆσειν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὥς δεδήλωται μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων<sup>89</sup>. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνῖκα ἢ γνῶμη ἐδόκεε δὲ ὅμως ἀπίστασθαι, ἕνα τε αὐτῶν πλάσαντα ἐς Μυῦντα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθόν, ἐὼν ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγούς.

**37** Ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλφ' Ὀλίαντον Ἰβανώλιος Μυλασέα<sup>90</sup>, καὶ Ἰστιαῖον Τύμνεω Τερμερέα<sup>91</sup>, καὶ Κῶν' Ἐρξάνδρεω<sup>92</sup>, τῷ Δαρείῳ Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδew<sup>93</sup> Κυμαῖον, καὶ ἄλλους συγχοὺς, οὕτω δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε, πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ μετεῖς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίεε τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὥς ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπισταίαιτο· μετὰ δὲ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τῷντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δ' ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξον, τούτους δὲ φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέεσθαι<sup>94</sup> τῇσι πόλισι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλ-

**38** λον ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδιδούς ὅθεν εἴη ἕκαστος. Κῶν' μὲν νυν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα παρέλαβον, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευ-

The rebellion breaks out.

Aristagoras establishes popular governments throughout Ionia,

and sets out for Lacedæmon.

<sup>89</sup> ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων. The allusion is to i. 92, where see the note 327, from whence it will appear that Hecateus's apprehensions were not ill-founded. In fact, one may doubt whether the priests at Branchidæ were not more attached to the Median than the Hellenic interest. See note 527 on i. 157.

<sup>90</sup> Μυλασέα. It is rather curious that a Mylasean, likewise son of an Ibanolis, is the leader of a body of Carians who entirely destroyed a Persian force in the course of the war thus begun (§ 121). Yet just after the fall of the Lydian monarchy Harpagus appears to have succeeded in overrunning Caria without any important resistance (i. 174). The Carians are represented (i. 28) as forming a part of the subjects of Croesus. There was a certain affinity between the Lydians and them, evinced by the common use of the ancient temple at Mylasa. (See note 577 on i. 171.)

<sup>91</sup> Τερμερέα. STRABO. BYZANT. *sub v.* makes Τέρμερα a city of Lycia, and

STRABO (xiv. c. 2, p. 202) puts it in Caria, —the promontory Termerion being just opposite to a corresponding headland in the island Cos, and with an interval of no more than forty stades. That the boundaries of Caria and Lycia were not very accurately defined seems to follow from the remains of the ancient Lycians (Ter-milæ) found in Carian cities. (See note 585 on i. 173.) It is worth while to remark that Termera (if near to the Termerion of Strabo) was close to Myndus, the town of Scylax, who had just been so grossly insulted by the Persian commissioner (§ 33). Histieus, the son of Tymnes, appears in the list of the Carian naval commanders in the flotilla of Xerxes (vii. 98).

<sup>92</sup> Κῶν' Ἐρξάνδρεω. See note 29 on § 11, above.

<sup>93</sup> Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδew. See iv. 138.

<sup>94</sup> φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέεσθαι. See note 466 on ii. 152.

σαν Κυμαίοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπήκαν ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ <sup>demon to</sup> πλεῖνες ἀπῆσαν. τυράννων μὲν νῦν κατὰπαισις ἐγένετο ἀνὰ τὰς <sup>negotiate</sup> πόλεις. <sup>an alliance</sup> <sup>if possible.</sup>

Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαισε στρατηγούς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πολλῶν κελεύσας ἐκάστους καταστήσαι, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα<sup>95</sup> τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο· ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινός οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι.

Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης<sup>96</sup> Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκέτι περιεὼν **39** ἐβασίλευε, ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκει· Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew <sup>History of</sup> εἶχε τὴν βασιληίην, οὐ κατὰ ἀνδραγαθίην σχὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. <sup>Sparta re-</sup> <sup>sued from</sup> <sup>the reign of</sup> <sup>Anaxan-</sup> <sup>drides and</sup> <sup>Ariston.</sup>

Ἀναξανδρίδῃ γὰρ ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφεῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐούσης ταύτης οἱ καταθυμίης, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο· τοῦτου δὲ τοιοῦτου ἑόντος, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν, “εἴ τοι σύ γε σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾷς, ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν τοῦτό ἐστι οὐ περιοπτόεν γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένης γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον. σύ νῦν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπεὶ τε τοι οὐ τικτεῖ, ἔξεο<sup>97</sup>, ἄλλην δὲ γῆμον καὶ ποιέων ταῦτα, Σπαρτιῆτῃσι ἀθήσεις.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο φὰς τοῦτων οὐδέτερα ποιήσῃν· ἐκείνους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλευεὺν παραινέοντας τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα, ἐούσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἑωυτῷ, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἐσαγαγέσθαι· οὐδὲ σφί πεῖσεσθαι. Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ **40** γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι, προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τάδε· “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι περιεχόμενόν σε ὀρέομεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικὸς, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποιεῖς καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τοῦτοισι, ἵνα μὴ τι ἄλλοιον περὶ σεῦ οἱ Σπαρτιῆται βουλευσῶνται· γυναικὸς μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεόμενά σε τῆς ἐξέσιος· σὺ δὲ ταύτῃ τε πάντα ὅσα νῦν παρέχεις παρέχε, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιόν.” ταῦτά κη λεγόντων, συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης· μετὰ δὲ, γυναικας ἔχων δύο διξὰς ἰστίας οἶκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτιητικά. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἡ ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα **41** γυνὴ τικτεῖ τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον<sup>98</sup>. καὶ αὕτη τε ἐφεδρον <sup>who bears</sup> <sup>Cleomenes,</sup>

<sup>95</sup> ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. These words are governed by a word the equivalent of ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο. See note 72 on i. 21.

<sup>96</sup> τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης. The thread of the Lacedæmonian history is resumed from i. 68.

<sup>97</sup> ἔξεο, “discard.” This is the ex-

tremely ingenious emendation of Schaefer from ἐκ σέο, the reading of most of the MSS, from which no sense resulted. The substantive ἐξεῖσις appears in the next section.

<sup>98</sup> τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον. See note 6 on i. 1.



after which  
the first  
bears Do-  
rieus, Leo-  
nidas, and  
Cleombro-  
tus.

βασιλέα<sup>99</sup> Σπαρτιήτησι ἀπέφαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρό-  
τερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἐούσα τότε κὼς ἐκίνησε, συντυχίῃ ταύτῃ  
χρησαμένη· ἔχουσιν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθοῦσης  
γυναικὸς οἰκίῃσι πυθόμενοι ὥχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως  
βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι· δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου  
συντάμνοντος, ὑπ' ἀπιστίας οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα  
περιϋζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν· ἡ δὲ ὡς ἔτεκε Δωριέα<sup>100</sup> ἰθέως ἴσχει Λεω-  
νίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰθέως ἴσχει Κλεόμβροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύ-  
μους λέγουσι<sup>101</sup> Κλεόμβροτόν τε καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ  
Κλεομένηα τεκούσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ, ἐούσα θυγά-  
τηρ Πρινητάδεω<sup>102</sup> τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

42  
On the  
death of  
Anaxan-  
drides,  
Cleomenes  
succeeds as  
king.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρο-  
μανής<sup>103</sup> τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλικίων πάντων πρῶτος· εὐ τε  
ἐπίστατο κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχίσων τὴν βασιλιήτην ὥστε  
ὦν οὕτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσ-  
βύτατον Κλεομένηα, ὁ Δωριεὺς δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ  
ἀξίων ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λαὸν Σπαρτιήτας

<sup>99</sup> ἔφεδρον βασιλέα, "a successor to the crown." The metaphor is taken from the practice in the games, illustrated in note 423 on i. 123. It is to be remarked that all the MSS without exception agree in this form, while in § 65 they are equally unanimous for ἐπέδρην.

<sup>100</sup> Δωριέα. A suspicion arises out of the subsequent conduct of Cleomenes that his mother was not of Heraclide, but of Achæan blood. (See note on § 72.) If this was the case, the choice of the name Dorieus for the son of the original wife was probably determined by a wish to put his Heraclide descent prominently forward. By his father's side Cleomenes was pure Dorian. (See the pedigree, vii. 204.)

<sup>101</sup> οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι. For the uncertain character of the Lacedæmonian history down to comparatively recent times see note 217 on i. 65. With regard to this particular point see note on vii. 205.

<sup>102</sup> Πρινητάδεω. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Aldus gives the form Περινητάδεω.

<sup>103</sup> ἀκρομανής. It has been considered that this word is to be interpreted "half-mad;" and this version has been defended

by the case of some words compounded of ἀκρος, which have pretty much the same force with others compounded with ἡμι and the same root. A list of these is collected by CORAY on Xenocrates, p. 180. But there is a fallacy in supposing that because, for instance, a preparation of salt fish, where the seasoning was confined to the upper side, might either be called ὑψάρια ἀκρόπαστα or ὑψάρια ἡμίπαστα, the force of the elements ἀκρο and ἡμι is the same; the fallacy consisting (as pointed out in note 520 on iv. 203) in mistaking an inferential meaning growing out of the circumstances of the individual case for one essentially resident in the word. The use of ἀκρομανής (raving mad) in this passage is rather to be explained by its having reference to the subsequent condition of Cleomenes, which seemingly, in great measure, occasioned his notoriety throughout Hellas. See the history of his case as given in vi. 75. In his early life he was ὑπομαργότερος, the same expression which is applied to Cambyses (iii. 29) and to Charilaus (iii. 145), but at a particular period αὐτὸν ἐτέλεσε μανίῃ νόσος. (vi. 75.)

ἄγε ἐς ἀποικίην οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς Dorieus  
 ἦντινα γῆν κτίσων ἦν, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων οἷα heads a private enter-  
 δὲ βαρέως φέρων, ἀπείε ἐς τὴν Διβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο δὲ prise to  
 οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι· ἀπικόμενος δ' ἐς Κύνυπα<sup>104</sup>, οἴκισε χώρον Cinyra in  
 κάλλιστον τῶν Διβύων παρὰ ποταμόν· ἐξελασθεὶς δὲ ἐνθεύτει Libya, from  
 τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε καὶ Διβύων<sup>105</sup> καὶ Καρχηδονίων, whence he  
 ἀπίκητο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης, ἀνὴρ 43 is expelled,  
 Ἐλεώνιος<sup>106</sup>, συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαίου χρησμῶν Ἡρακλητῆν He next  
 τὴν ἐν Σικελίῃ κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν Ἐρυκος χώραν πᾶσαν εἶναι proposes  
 Ἡρακληδέων, αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλῆος κτησαμένου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα to found  
 ἐς Δελφούς οἶχετο χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ' ἦν Heracles  
 στέλλεται χώραν; ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ οἱ χρᾶ αἰρήσειν παραλαβὼν δὲ in Sicily,  
 ὁ Δωριεὺς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Διβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν and sailing  
 Ἰταλίην. Τὸν χρόνον δὲ τοῦτον, ὡς λέγουσι Συβαρίται, σφέας 44 along the  
 τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τῆλυν τὸν ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα<sup>107</sup> ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν coast of  
 Crotona,

<sup>104</sup> ἐς Κύνυπα. For the fertility of the region here, which bore the same name as the river, see iv. 198.

<sup>105</sup> Μακέων τε καὶ Διβύων. In the topographical description given in iv. 175, the Macæ are represented as one of the many tribes to which in the aggregate the name Libyans would be given. Here however the "Libyans" must be regarded as some special portion of the whole. Perhaps the Nassamones may be what the narrator has in his eye. These appear (from iv. 172 and 182) to have had in their hands the caravan traffic between the date-country (Augila) and the coast. The three parties to the attack upon the new colony will no doubt each in some way have considered their interests affected by its establishment. The Macæ would of course suffer, as their land would be seized, and they themselves reduced to the condition of pericæcians. The Carthaginians naturally were jealous of commercial rivals; and the most obvious third interest is that of the carriers to the existing settlements.

<sup>106</sup> ἀνὴρ Ἐλεώνιος. This individual appears to have been a native of Eleon, a hamlet in the neighbourhood of Tanagra, so called (according to ΣΤΡΑΒΟ, ix. c. 1, p. 254) from its marshy situation. It is not easy to suggest how Dorieus should have been brought into connexion with him as described in the text. It is possible, that as he was a possessor of cer-

tain professed oracles of Laius, he may have been in some way connected with the Lacedæmonian temple mentioned by Herodotus as dedicated to the Ἐρίνυες Λαίου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω. See the note 384 on iv. 149.

<sup>107</sup> Τῆλυν τὸν ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα. ΗΡΑΚΛΙΔΗΣ ΠΟΝΤΙΚΟΣ (*De Justitiâ*) gave a very different account of the circumstances leading to the destruction of Sybaris. According to him, the revolution in which Telys was dethroned was followed up in such a spirit of fury, that his partizans were butchered at the very altars. In the course of these horrors the image of Hera averted its eyes, and a fountain of blood burst up from the base, to stop which they covered the floor in the neighbourhood with a pavement of brass. The entire destruction of the Sybarites was a judgment for this offence. (Compare the passage of ARISTOTLE, cited in the next note.) But the origin of their impiety lay further back. They willfully fixed the time in which the Olympian festival was held for a similar one at Sybaris, and endeavoured to draw away the athletes from the former by the value of the rewards they offered (*ap. Athenæum*, xii. p. 522). PHYLARCHUS made the sacrilegious act of the Sybarites to consist in their destroying thirty ambassadors who had come from Crotona, and casting their bodies to the wild animals (*ap. Athenæum*, l. c.). He

and takes part in the capture of Sybaris. Varying accounts of the Sybarites and Crotoniates.

45

Evidence which they respectively produce.

στρατεύεσθαι τοὺς δὲ Κροτωνιήτας περιδεέας γενομένους, δεθῆναι Δωριέος σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεθήντας· συστρατεύεσθαι τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν<sup>108</sup>. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Σύβαριται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωριέα τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου, εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἡλείον μοῖνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· παρὰ Τήλῳ τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας, ἐπεὶ τε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρει χρηστὰ θυομένη ἐπὶ Κρότωνα. ταῦτα δὲ ὧν οὗτοι λέγουσι. Μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἑκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε· Συβαρίται μὲν, τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἔοντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν<sup>109</sup> Κράστιν<sup>110</sup>, τὸν ἰδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῃ Κραστή<sup>111</sup>. τοῦτο δὲ,

also mentioned the fountain of blood and the wrath of Hera, although this last was shown in a dream seen on the same night by all the officials.

<sup>108</sup> *συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν*, "contributed to the capture of Sybaris." By this the oracle which he received at Delphi was fulfilled. In taking part against Sybaris, Dorieus may perhaps have sought a gratification of his spite against his half brother Cleomenes, who boasted himself to be 'not a Dorian, but an Achaean' (§ 72). The Achaeans became predominant in the population of Sybaris, and, taking advantage of this circumstance, expelled their fellow-citizens, who were of Troezenian origin. By doing this they brought an *ἔργον* upon themselves, for which the capture of the city was considered a divine punishment. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. p. 1303.)

<sup>109</sup> *παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράστιν*, "by the side of the dry Crastis." This phrase, I apprehend, describes a dry channel of the river,—its bed having shifted. The commentators assume that an opposition is intended between the Crathis in Achaia, which had a perennial stream (see the next note) and the river in Sybaris, which they conceive was dry in the summer. This theory involves the necessity of an arbitrary alteration of the text, which I have endeavoured to show (see next note) is not justifiable.

<sup>110</sup> *παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράστιν*. Wesseling proposes to read *Κράθιν*, because in i. 145 Herodotus, speaking of *Ἄργε* in

Achaia, says, *ἐν τῇ Κράθι ποταμὸς ἀναβῶς ἐστὶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ δ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχε*. There is no question that the same river is meant, and that in subsequent times this was called Crathis. But here all the MSS (with the exception of S, which has *Κράστον*) read *Κράστιν*, and in the other passage they are unanimous in favour of *Κράθιν*. Assuming that passage not to be an addition to the text subsequent to the time of Herodotus, I should be rather disposed to explain the difference between the forms by the change which language is perpetually undergoing. If at the time of the first settlement of Sybaris the word was pronounced *Crasthis*, there would be nothing strange that in process of time this should change in the one case to *Crastis*, and in the other to *Crathis*. Herodotus is in this passage professedly following a Sybarite tradition, which in the other he certainly is not.

<sup>111</sup> *ἐπωνύμῃ Κραστή*. In dedicating this temple to Athene, Dorieus, both as an Heraclide and as an adventurer, would probably have regard to the characteristic of the goddess which makes her the guide and protectress of heroes upon their adventures, of whom Hercules is the most complete type. It is to be remarked that this is *not* the form which her ritual assumed in Lacedæmon, where, as in Athens, she was associated with Poseidon;—that is to say, she belonged not to the Dorian, but the Achaean cycle of deities. (See this point further elucidated in the note on § 72.)

αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῖνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποίεον διεφθάρη· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδὲν ἐπ' ᾧ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐπόλεε, εἶλε ἄν τὴν Ἑρικήν χωρὴν καὶ ἑλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἄν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατὴ διεφθάρη. οἱ δ' αὖ Κρωτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνύσι Καλλίῃ μὲν τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἐξαίρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κρωτωνιῇτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, (τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίῳ ἀπόγονοι,) Δωριεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνουσι οὐδέν· καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεὺς, δοθῆναι ἄν οἱ πολλαπλάσια ἢ Καλλίῃ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται· καὶ πάρεστι ὁκοτέροισι τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοις προσχωρεῖν. Συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριεῖ 46

καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιηγέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβιάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἱ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἑγεσταίων· μῦθος δὲ γε Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο· τούτου τοῦ πάθεος· συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινάην τὴν Σελινουσίων ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίου τοῦ μονάρχου Πειθαγόρεω <sup>113</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτον κατεῖλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινούντος, καὶ ἐμονάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οἱ γὰρ μιν Σελινούσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἁγοραίου βωμόν.

Συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριεῖ καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεω, 47

Κρωτωνιῆτης ἀνὴρ· ὃς ἀρμοσάμενος Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος· ψευσθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἶχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὀρμεώμενος συνέσπετο οἰκητῇ τε τριήρει καὶ οἰκητῇ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνῃ, ἑὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἐώντων. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐώντου κάλλος ἐνέικατο παρὰ Ἑγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώϊον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίησι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται. Δωριεὺς μὲν νυν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτ' ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἡνέσχετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευε ἄν Λακεδαιμόνος. οὐ γάρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἦρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε ἄπαις θυγατέρα μούνην λιπὼν τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Γοργώ.

Ἀπικνέεται δ' ὦν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν 49

On arriving in Sicily, the expedition is defeated by the Carthaginians and Segestans. Euryleon, the only surviving commander, becomes for a short time tyrant of Selinus.

Philip, a Crotoniate, who fell with Dorieus, is venerated as a hero by the Segestans.

Cleomenes reigned but a few years, and left no male issue.

<sup>113</sup> Πειθαγόρεω. Some MSS have Πυθαγόρεω.

This Cleomenes is king of Sparta at the time of the arrival of Aristagoras, who explains his views to him with the aid of a chart.

Σπάρτην, Κλεομένεος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἦε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ἔχων χάλκεον πῖνακα <sup>113</sup> ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περιόδῳ ἐνετέτμητο, καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες· ἀπικνεόμενος δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε· “Κλεόμενες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσης τῆς ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξις· τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντά ἐστι τοιαῦτα <sup>114</sup>. Ἰώνων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρων θνείδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. νῦν ὦν, πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων, ῥύσασθε Ἰῶνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης, ἄνδρας ὁμαίμονας. εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἰά τε χωρέειν ἐστὶ <sup>115</sup>. οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοί εἰσι, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι· ἥ τε μάχη αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιήδε, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες <sup>116</sup> ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι· οὕτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναι εἰσι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκελεῖν νεμομένοισι, ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι συνάπασι ἄλλοισι· ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι, ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγιά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι <sup>117</sup> αὐτοὶ ἀνέχοντε. κατοικῆνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ φράσω. Ἰώνων μὲν τῶνδε οἶδε Λυδοὶ, οἰκέοντές τε χώρην ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολυαργυράτατοι εἶοντες.” δευκὺς δὲ ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίωδον τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν τῷ πῖνακι ἐντετμημένην· “Λυδῶν δέ,” ἔφη λέγων ὁ

<sup>113</sup> ἔχων χάλκεον πῖνακα. The nature of this tablet is a matter which has been frequently referred to by writers upon the history of physical philosophy, it being generally considered the first recorded instance of any attempt to represent to the eye the distribution of the several parts of the earth's surface. It is important to observe that Herodotus does not speak himself of having seen it, but distinctly states that the Lacedæmonians related Aristagoras to have had such a one at the time of his interview with Cleomenes. Under these circumstances it is certainly not safe to press the terms of the description too closely, and infer from it that Aristagoras brought to Sparta any thing like what we understand (or what even Eratosthenes would have understood) by a chart of the known world. That certain attempts at this existed in the time of Herodotus is plain from what

he says in iv. 36; but the arbitrary character of the positions laid down in them appears from the same passage.

<sup>114</sup> τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντά ἐστι τοιαῦτα, “for the matters which touch us are such as I will explain.” See the note 344 on i. 97.

<sup>115</sup> εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἰά τε χωρέειν ἐστὶ, “and easily by you may these results be accomplished.” Compare iii. 39, πάντα οἱ ἐχάφει εὐτυχέως.

<sup>116</sup> ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες. See note 239 on i. 71.

<sup>117</sup> θυμῷ βουλόμενοι. This expression is significant of more than βουλόμενοι, which would simply mean “at your option.” But the addition of θυμῷ, “with strong determination,” implies that the Lacedæmonians would have to fight for these good things Aristagoras promised to them.

Ἀρισταγόρης, "οἶδε ἔχονται Φρύγες, οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ"<sup>118</sup>, πολυπροβατώτατοι τε ἔοντες ἀπάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ πολυκαρπώτατοι. Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν"<sup>119</sup>. τοῦτοισι δὲ πρόσουροι Κίλικες, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε ἐν ἣ ἦδε Κύπρος νῆσος κέεται· οἱ πεντακόσια τάλαντα"<sup>120</sup> βασιλείῃ τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον ἐπιτελεῦσι. Κιλικῶν δὲ τῶνδε ἔχονται Ἀρμένιοι οἶδε, καὶ οὗτοι ἔοντες πολυπρόβατοι. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ματιηνοὶ"<sup>121</sup>, χώρην τήνδε ἔχοντες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων γῆ ἦδε Κισσίη ἐν τῇ δὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενά ἐστι τὰ Σούσα ταῦτα"<sup>122</sup>, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς τε μέγας δίαυται ποιεῖται καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαυτά εἰσι. ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, θαρσέοντες ἦδη τῇ Διὶ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρας ἄρα οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστής, καὶ οὕρων σμικρῶν, χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι"<sup>123</sup> πρὸς τε Μεσσηνίους ἔοντας ἰσπαλάας,

<sup>118</sup> *Φρύγες, οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ*. Gaisford prints these words without a stop after *Φρύγες*, in which case a distinction seems to be intended between these Phrygians and some others. Perhaps an opposition may be intended to the Phrygians which came nearer to the coast, and possibly even to some kindred races in the European continent. (See note on vii. 73.) But an easier solution of the passage seems to be to conceive Aristagoras as following the line of the great road which ran through Tyanitis. (See note 243 on i. 72.) At Cydra (or Cydrara) on this line, a column had been erected by Croesus marking the confines of Lydia and Phrygia. This would no doubt appear on Aristagoras's chart; for at that point the road divided, two branches (the one from Caria, the other from Sardis) meeting there and continuing through Phrygia (vii. 31). Translate: "And next to the Lydians," proceeded Aristagoras, "here join on the Phrygians,—these as you go eastward—the greatest flock-masters of all men I know, and likewise richest in the products of the soil."

<sup>119</sup> *τοὺς ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν*. STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 333) says that *δοτὴ* the Cappadocians, *οἱ τε πρὸς τῇ Ταύρῳ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῇ Πόντῳ*, up to his day were called White Syrians. Probably the term *Λευκόνυροι* was substituted for *Σύριοι* when the Greeks became familiar with the inhabitants of Assyria, whose complexions

would be of a swarthier cast. The wide extent of the Cappadocian race explains the text. The Pontine Cappadocians are conterminous to the Phrygians, the Taurine Cappadocians to the Cilicians,—formerly not confined to the south side of Taurus: see LEAKE, cited in the note on i. 72,—and *these* Cilicians to the Armenians. (See note 132, below.)

<sup>120</sup> *πεντακόσια τάλαντα*. The particulars of the Cilician tribute are more fully given in iii. 90.

<sup>121</sup> *Ματιηνοὶ*. See, for an attempt to explain Herodotus's notions of the site of these people, note 681 on i. 202.

<sup>122</sup> *παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενά ἐστι τὰ Σούσα ταῦτα*. RENNELL (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 203) says: "The Choaspes is the only river of Susiana spoken of by our author, and this being a *country of rivers*, in effect, the drain of Media, Elymais, Cossea, &c., and formed chiefly from alluvions, it may be collected from his silence that the Greeks knew little concerning it." The truer hypothesis perhaps is that the author derives his information from persons who gathered theirs only from travellers or from road-books. For the site of Susa see note 234 on iv. 83.

<sup>123</sup> *ἀναβάλλεσθαι*. The main difficulty in this passage is the use of the middle voice instead of the active *ἀναβάλλειν*. But this is certainly not sufficient to justify an arbitrary change of the reading of

καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργείους τοῖσι οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀργύρου, τῶν πέρι καὶ τινα ἐνάγει προθυμὴ μαχόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν παρέχον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἄρχειν εὐπετέως, ἄλλο τι αἰρήσεσθε ;” Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμβίβετο τοῖσδε “ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀναβάλλομαί τοι ἐς τρίτην

50

Cleomenes defers giving him an answer till the third day afterwards, when on learning the distance of Susa from the coast, he orders Aristagoras to quit Sparta before sunset.

ἡμέρην ἀποκρινέσθαι.” Τότε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἡμέρῃ ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀποκρίσιος καὶ ἦλθον ἐς τὸ συγκελόμενον, εἶρετο ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὁκοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἴη παρὰ βασιλέα ; ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης, τᾶλλα ἔων σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκείνον εὖ<sup>124</sup>, ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη· χρεὼν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐὼν βουλούμενόν γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ’ ὦν τριῶν μηνῶν φὰς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὥρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον εὐπέα<sup>125</sup> λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης

51

Aristagoras attempts to bribe him.

τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν ἀγαγεῖν.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης ταῦτα εἶπας, ἦγε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἱκετηρίην ἦγε ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ εἶσω ἅτε ἱκετεύων, ἐπακοῦσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα ἀποπέμφαντα τὸ παιδίον προσεστῆκε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Ἀνεκδοτὸς Κλεομένει ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Γοργώ· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ καὶ μούνον

all the MSS. ἀναβάλλειν μάχας would be equivalent to κίνδυνον ἀναβάλλειν μαχομένους,—an expression which would be appropriate to the combatants who take part in the actual fray. But the nation which adopts a policy of this description and employs its soldiers in perpetual battles, would more properly be said ἀναβάλλεσθαι, just as a parent would be said διδάσκεισθαι, not διδάσκειν, if he employed a third person to instruct his son. The expression ἀναβάλλειν κίνδυνον is used by ÆSCHYLUS (*Theb.* 1030) ; and the phrase ἀναρίπτειν κίνδυνον is well known.

<sup>124</sup> διαβάλλων ἐκείνον εὖ, “mystifying him successfully.” See below, § 97, πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ εἶναι, an expression however which may perhaps be taken from this one, and be by a later hand. (See the note on it.) In § 107, Ἰστιάϊος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε, “Histieus now in saying these things was mystifying him.”

The fundamental idea seems to be the distraction of a person from the contemplation of the real merits of a case by directing his attention to something beside the matter. Thus Aristagoras, in this case, put Cleomenes on a wrong scent by assuming that the real obstacle to success in an expedition to Asia would be the resistance of the enemy, not the enormous distance to which he would have to be followed. Similarly Histieus persuaded Darius that the revolt in Ionia arose from his own absence.

<sup>125</sup> λόγον εὐπέα. It has been proposed to change the word εὐπέα into εὐπέρεα. But λόγος εὐπέης is a proposal which carries a good omen in the language in which it is couched,—and consequently “an advantageous proposal.” The habit which was universal among the ancients of looking in every thing for an augury easily explains the transition from one sense to the other.

τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἔον ἐτέων ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα ἡλικίην Κλεομένης δὲ <sup>his daughter</sup> λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται, μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἵνεκα. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ὑπισχνέμενος, ἣν οἱ ἐπιτελέσῃ τῶν ἐδέετο· ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος, προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς οὐ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑποδέδεκτο, καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἠυδάξατο· “πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ ξείνος, ἦν μὴ ἀποστὰς ἴης.” ὁ τε δὴ Κλεομένης, ἥσθεις τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παρανώσει ἦε ἐς ἕτερον οἶκημα <sup>126</sup>, καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης· οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπιπλέον ἔτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα.

Ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ὧδε σταθμοὶ τε πανταχῇ εἰσι <sup>52</sup>. βασιλῆϊοι, καὶ καταλύσεις κάλλισται <sup>127</sup>, διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδὸς <sup>Itinerary of the road between Sardis and Susa.</sup> ἅπασα καὶ ἀσφαλῆος. διὰ μὲν γε Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίας σταθμοὶ τείνοντες <sup>128</sup> εἰκοσὶ εἰσι, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐννεήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ. ἐκδέκεται δ' ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός <sup>129</sup>. ἐπ' ᾧ πύλαι τε ἔπεισι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη <sup>130</sup> καὶ οὕτω διεκπεράν τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην καὶ ταύτῃ πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Κιλικίων, σταθμοὶ δυνὼν δέοντές εἰσι τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατόν <sup>131</sup>. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι τούτων οὖροισι διξάς τε πύλας διεξέλῃς,

<sup>126</sup> ἦε ἐς ἕτερον οἶκημα. The superiority of Cleomenes to bribery is shown not merely by this anecdote, but by some others. See iii. 148.

<sup>127</sup> καταλύσεις κάλλισται. “Excellent caravanserais.” The varying distances between the several stations might arise from the different facilities of obtaining water, or other similar causes. It will be observed that the average distance between the stations in Lydia and Phrygia is considerably greater than the average in the whole journey. Here perhaps the roads were particularly good, and travellers could push on rapidly.

<sup>128</sup> σταθμοὶ τείνοντες. “A series of stations.” Perhaps there was greater regularity in their distances in this part of the route than elsewhere.

<sup>129</sup> ἐκδέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός. That the river spoken of here is not the Halys which flows into the Black Sea seems to me quite certain. See, for an attempt to explain Herodotus's statements

concerning the Halys, note 243 on i. 72.

<sup>130</sup> τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη. This was the boundary of the Lydian empire, to the passage of which the oracle given to Croesus referred. It will be observed that a barrier appears to have been erected on the Lydian side, and a *fort* upon the Cappadocian. The former, a Lydian work, probably was intended for the collection of transit tolls; the latter doubtless had a military purpose, and was probably Persian. On the Cappadocian side was *Critalla*, the frontier town at which the army of Xerxes was concentrated when he commenced his expedition against Athens (vii. 26). Possibly the name *Critalla* (as well as *Archalla*, of which LEAKE supposes *Erclè* to be a corruption) is significant; *crit* containing the root of *certa* (castra) and *alla* that of *Halys*. See note 243 on i. 72.

<sup>131</sup> διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην . . . τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατόν. I am altogether unable to reconcile this distance with



καὶ διὰ φυλακτῆρια παραμείψαι. ταῦτα δὲ διεξέλασαντι καὶ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένην <sup>132</sup> τρεῖς εἰσι σταθμοὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἥμισυ. οὗρος δὲ Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς

any probable route through Cappadocia. STRABO, describing the course which in his time appears to have been universally taken from Ephesus towards the interior of Asia, gives the following distances from *Carura*, which he places on the frontier between Phrygia and Caria:—

	STADES
To <i>Holmi</i> , which was regarded as the beginning of Phrygia Paroreus (through Laodicea on the Lycus, Apamea, and Metropolis)	920
Thence to <i>Tyriæum</i> , the frontier of Lycaonia . . . . .	500
Thence to <i>Coropassus</i> (which is still in Lycaonia) . . . . .	840
Thence to <i>Garsaura</i> (a village of Cappadocia) . . . . .	120
Thence to <i>Mazaca</i> . . . . .	680
Thence to <i>Tomisum</i> (considered as the frontier of Cappadocia) . .	1440
From <i>Tomisum</i> to <i>Samosata</i> , which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the bridge or ferry over the Euphrates ( <i>Ζεύγμα</i> ) . . .	450

The first part of this route is the same with that taken by Xerxes in his expedition, and the presumption would be that the latter part also was. But Herodotus is clear in making the Halys the boundary of Cappadocia (both here and in vii. 26), and in calling the frontier town of Cappadocia *Critalla*, and not *Garsaura*. It seems therefore certain that there must have been a divergence some where near *Holmi*. But if so, this could not (I conceive) have been to the north, but must have been to the south of the route laid down by Strabo above. That there was such a road running through the central plains of Lycaonia and Tyanitis is quite certain. It was by it that the younger Cyrus invaded Asia (XENOPHON, *Anab.* i. 2, seqq.). See also note 243 on i. 73. But if this road be the one intended in the text, it would not have conducted to the banks of the Halys, but by way of Dana (Tyana) to the Cilician Gates. Neither would it have conducted through Cilicia to Armenia, or any where near it.

In such a state of confusion it is rash to offer any conjectural explanation as more than a mere temporary stop-gap. It is quite plain that the views of the author

are altogether indistinct; and probably the numbers he sets down are taken from some current itinerary. If however we suppose that in such a one *all* the main routes lying within Cappadocia were set down, the one described by Strabo,—the one from *Critalla* (of which see note 243 on i. 72) to the Cilician Gates,—and also a third by which *Tyana* was certainly in later times united to *Mazaca*, the aggregate length of these will not be very far off the numbers given in the text. We shall have

	STADES
From <i>Garsaura</i> to <i>Mazaca</i> . . .	680
From <i>Mazaca</i> to <i>Tomisum</i> . . .	1440
From <i>Mazaca</i> to <i>Critalla</i> , and from thence to the Cilician Gates (say six days) . . . . .	1050
	3170

Strabo elsewhere (xii. c. 2, p. 11) gives the distance from *Mazaca* to the Cilician Gates through Tyana as six days' journey; and as *Critalla*, if near *Ercle* (see the last note), must have been in the immediate neighbourhood of Tyana, the route will have been nearly the same. The southernmost half being very steep, it seems reasonable to take for the whole distance from *Mazaca* 175 stades (the mean between 150 and 200) as the day's journey.

The sum of 104 parasangs converted into stades, at the rate of 30 to the parasang, will come so near to 3170,—being in fact 3120,—as to be in substantial agreement with it. The statement in the text will, on this hypothesis, have arisen from the aggregate of the branch roads contained in a given district being mistaken for the direct road through it,—an analogous error to that which seems to have been committed in the pedigree of Xerxes. See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 427, 428.

<sup>132</sup> διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένην. The Cilicia here spoken of cannot be the maritime province, but is probably the portion of Mount Taurus over which, from *Tomisum* to *Samosata*, was a distance of 450 stades. (STRABO, xiv. c. 2, p. 212.)

Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶ ποταμὸς νηυσιπέρητος, τῷ οὐνομα Εὐφρήτης· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσι καταγωγέων πεντεκαίδεκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἡμισυ καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι<sup>133</sup>. ποταμοὶ δὲ νηυσιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ῥέουσι, τοὺς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεύσαι ἐστὶ· πρῶτος μὲν Τίγρις· μετὰ δὲ, δευτέρως τε καὶ τρίτος ὧντος οὐνομαζόμενος, οὐκ ὧντος<sup>134</sup> ἔων ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ῥέων (ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερος αὐτῶν καταλεχθεὶς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ῥέει, ὁ δ' ὕστερον, ἐκ Ματινῶν) ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὐνομα ἔχει Γύνδης<sup>135</sup>, τὸν Κῦρος διέλαβέ κοτε ἐς διώρυχας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐσβάλλονται ἐς τὴν Ματινὴν γῆν, σταθμοὶ εἰσι τέσσερες<sup>136</sup>. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν Κισσίην χώραν μεταβαίνονται, ἕνδεκα σταθμοὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἡμισύ ἐστι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἔοντα καὶ τοῦτον νηυσιπέρητον ἐπ' ᾧ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται. οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοὶ εἰσι ἕνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν<sup>137</sup>. καταγωγαὶ μὲν νυν σταθμῶν τοσαῦταί εἰσι ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνονται. Εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλεῖα τοῖσι 53 παρασάγγῃσι, καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια<sup>138</sup>, ὥσπερ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδιά ἐστι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα τὰ Μεμνόνια καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια, παρασαγγέων ἔοντων πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων<sup>139</sup>. πεν-

<sup>133</sup> φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι. This can hardly mean a single fort some where or other in the course of the fifteen days' journey. I should rather take it as a small military post at each station,—perhaps a necessary precaution to secure the safety of travellers from the predatory tribes inhabiting the neighbourhood. For the sense of νηυσιπέρητος see note 639 on i. 189.

<sup>134</sup> ὧντος οὐνομαζόμενος οὐκ ὧντος ἔων. So Gaisford prints without any notice of MS variation. But in ii. 79 there is an equal unanimity for ὧντος, without the aspirate.

<sup>135</sup> Γύνδης. This river is, according to RENNELL, to be looked for in the *Diyeleh*, which falls into the Tigris between Baghdad and Modain (the ancient Ctesiphon). See note 636 on i. 189.

<sup>136</sup> τέσσερες. Bekker supposes a lacuna here, which, if supplied, might bring the text of the Itinerary into conformity with the calculation in § 53. And D<sup>1</sup> L<sup>1</sup>

BARRE, in a paper in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. viii., does not hesitate to supply the words καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, purely from conjecture for this purpose. He also considers that the name *Matiene* is significant, and was applied by the Persians to any large tract of country bounded on the one side by a river and the other by mountains. But there seems no ground for this bold conjecture, except the use he makes of it in reconciling with one another the various passages in which *Matiene* is mentioned, and avoiding the alternative of setting down the geographical views of the author as obscure and incorrect.

<sup>137</sup> ἕνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν. The number of stations which are given in the MSS as they exist amounts only to eighty-one. See the last note.

<sup>138</sup> καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια. See note on vi. 42.

<sup>139</sup> παρασαγγέων ἔοντων πεντήκοντα

- 54 *τήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη διεξιούσι*<sup>140</sup>, ἀναισιμούνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτὶ ἐννεήκοντα. Οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ, εἰπαντι πρὸς Κλεομένηα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα, ὀρθῶς εἶρητο. εἰ δέ τις τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις ὁδὸν δεῖ προσλογίσασθαι ταύτην. καὶ δὴ λέγω σταδίους εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων, (τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνιον ἄστει καλέεται,) τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις εἰσὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιον καὶ οὕτω τρισὶ ἡμέρησι μῆκνεται ἡ τρίμηνος ὁδός.

55 Ἀπελυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἦε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας<sup>141</sup> γενομένης τυράννων ὧδε ἐλευθέρας· ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχον τὸν Πεισιστράτου, Ἰππία δὲ τοῦ τυράννου ἀδελφεὸν, ἰδόντα ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πάθει ἐναργεστάτην, κτείνουσι Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος, γένος ἑόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι<sup>142</sup>, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἕτεα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἥσσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

- 56 μᾶλλον<sup>143</sup>, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ. Ἡ μὲν νυν ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου ἦν ἡδε· ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγα καὶ εὐειδέα αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα·

καὶ τετρακοσίω. The number of parasangs given by the text is only 313; but for the route which passes through Mattiene it is to be observed, that although the author gives the number of stations, he does not give the measured distance corresponding. See note 136.

<sup>140</sup> πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστῃ διεξιούσι. Herodotus elsewhere reckons 200 stadia as a day's journey (iv. 101). It seems not impossible that in this passage he proceeds on the supposition of a large body—such as an army—being moved; and in the other on that of a small company. And it ought not to be forgotten that the variation of climate and ground in the two regions of which he is speaking would cause considerable difference in the space travelled over between sunrise and sunset. A caravan would doubtless travel slower even than an army, passing only from station to station. The average length of the interval between these for the whole journey will be 4·15 parasangs, nearly.

<sup>141</sup> ἦε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. The account of Aristagoras's proceedings is resumed c. 97, below.

<sup>142</sup> Γεφυραῖοι. The deme *Gephyra* is placed by *LEAKE* at the crossing of the river *Cephissus*, by the road which led to Eleusis. (*Demi of Attica*, ii. p. 142.)

<sup>143</sup> οὐδὲν ἥσσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον. *THUCYDIDES* (vi. 55) describes the extremely temperate proceedings of the Pisistratids before the assassination of Hipparchus; but says that afterwards Hipparchus διὰ φόβου ἤδη μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τε πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἐκτενε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἅμα διεσκοπεῖτο (§ 59). And the author of the Platonic dialogue *Hipparchus* goes even farther in praising the early days of the dynasty: οὐδ' (sc. Ἰππάρχου) ἀποθανόντος τρία ἔτη ἐτυραννεύθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰππίου· καὶ πάντων ἂν τῶν παλαιῶν ἥκουσας ὅτι ταῦτα μόνον τὰ ἔτη τυραννὶς ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀθήναις, τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἐγγὺς τι ἔσαν Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βασιλεύοντος (§ 4).

Τλῆθι λέων ἔτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ·  
οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσσει.

ταῦτα δέ, ὡς ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο τάχιστα, φανερός ἦν ὑπερτιθέμενος  
ὄνειροπόλοισι· μετὰ δέ, ὑπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν, ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπὴν  
ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ.

Οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονέες οἱ Ἱππάρχου, ὡς μὲν **57**

αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἑρετρίης τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ  
ἀναπνυθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικο-  
μένων Φοινίκων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην· οἴκειον δὲ τῆς  
χώρης ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν ἐνθεύτεν δὲ  
Καδμείων πρότερον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι  
οὗτοι δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες <sup>144</sup> ἐτράποντο ἐπ'

The Gephy-  
raeans were  
of Phœni-  
cian origin,  
settled in  
the neigh-  
bourhood of  
Tanagra.

Ἀθημέων· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφεας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν  
εἶναι πολιήτας, πολλῶν τέων καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγήτων ἐπιτάξαντες  
ἔργεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικάμενοι, τῶν **58**

ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰκήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν  
ἐστήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα,  
οὐκ ἔοντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν πρῶτα μὲν, τοῖσι καὶ  
ἅπαντες χρέωνται Φοίνικες· μετὰ δέ, χρόνου προβαλόντος, ἅμα τῇ  
φωνῇ μετέβαλον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. περιόικεον δὲ  
σφεας τὰ πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἕλλήνων Ἴωνες·  
οἱ παραλαβόντες διδαχὴν παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα <sup>145</sup>,  
μεταρρυθμίσαντές σφεων ὄλγῃα ἐχρέωντο· χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν,  
ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε ἐσαγωγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλ-  
λάδα, Φοινικῆία κεκλησθαι· καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι  
ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες <sup>146</sup>, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο

The Phœni-  
cians who  
came with  
Cadmus in-  
troduced  
the use of  
letters.  
In their set-  
tlements  
they were  
generally  
surrounded  
with an  
Ionian po-  
pulation.

<sup>144</sup> ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες. See  
§ 61, below.

<sup>145</sup> παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα.  
The fundamental Semitic alphabet is sup-  
posed to have consisted of only sixteen  
letters; and it is stated by PLINY (N. H.  
vii. 56) that the first Hellenic alphabet con-  
tained no more. DR. DONALDSON (*New  
Crafyia*, book i. chap. 5) gives the follow-  
ing scheme of what he conceives to have  
been the original arrangement of the two.

A, B, Γ, Δ, E (having the force pos-  
sessed by εἰ in later times), F (the *digamma*,  
or βαῦ, a trace of which remained in the  
symbol τ, used to denote the numeral 6),

H (having the force of ἦ or χη), Θ, Λ, Μ,  
Ν, Ξ, Ο, Π, Φ (the *koppa* or primitive κ),  
Τ. To these severally correspond the  
Hebrew *Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, He,*  
*Vau, Cheth, Tet, Lamed, Mem, Nun,*  
*Samech, Ain, Pe, Koph, Tau.*

<sup>146</sup> καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι  
ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες. This remark  
has no bearing upon the assertion that the  
Ionians were the people who learnt the  
use of letters from the Phœnicians. And  
moreover if any Ionians were so accustomed  
to writing on parchment, as to give the  
name *διφθέρα* to all books with which they  
afterwards became acquainted, it would

59

Tripods in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes said to be inscribed with Phœnician characters.

διφθέρησι αἰγέησιν τε καὶ οἰέησιν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι. Ἴδον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς Καδμήϊα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου<sup>147</sup> ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ τρίποσιν τισιν<sup>148</sup> ἐγκεκολλημένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοῖα ἔοντα τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσιν· ὁ μὲν δὴ εἰς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπήγραμμα ἔχει·

Ἀμφιτρῶν μ' ἀνέθηκε νέων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοῶν.

60

ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἴη ἂν κατὰ Δαῖον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου. Ἔτερος δὲ τρίπους [ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ<sup>149</sup>] λέγει·

Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἐκηβόλῃ Ἀπόλλωνι  
νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τέτν περικαλλὲς ἔγαλμα.

61

Σκαῖος δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ Ἴπποκόωντος, εἰ δὴ οὗτός γ' ἐστὶ ὁ ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τῶντ' οὐνομα ἔχων τῷ Ἴπποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίπουν τὸν Δαῖου. Τρίτος δὲ τρίπους λέγει, καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ<sup>150</sup>.

Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸν εὐσκόπῃ Ἀπόλλωνι  
μουναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τέτν περικαλλὲς ἔγαλμα.

Ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστέαται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων, καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἑγγέλας· οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ἵπολειφθέντες, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρεῖουσιν ἐς Ἀθήνας· καὶ σφί ἱρά ἐστι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἱδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μέτα τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα

be the Ionians not of Europe, but of Asia, whose preparation of the material contributed so much in after times to the library of Attalus. The remark seems to come from a person very familiar with Egypt, and accordingly mentioning the Egyptian βύβλοι without any special necessity. See note 474 on i. 140.

<sup>147</sup> τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου. The connexion of Thebes with Phœnicia, or at least with merchants engaged in Phœnician trade, appears from the material of which the Apollo statue here was formed. It was made of cedar wood, and in that respect alone differed from the statue at Branchidæ, which was of brass. Both were said to be the work of Canachus. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 10. 2.) An oriental element in the ritual may be also gathered from the fact of Mardonius sending to consult the oracle (viii. 134) and Croesus

making offerings there (i. 52. 92).

<sup>148</sup> ἐπὶ τρίποσιν τισιν. The conjecture of Dobree, *τρίσιν* for *τισιν*, is a plausible one, and is adopted by Bekker.

<sup>149</sup> [ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ]. These words appear to me to be a marginal annotation derived from i. 47, suggested by the word λέγει, but made by some reader who failed to remark that the word *τόνος* was inapplicable to written language. See note 145 on i. 47.

<sup>150</sup> καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ. I very much question the genuineness of these words, and suspect that they crept into the text from a marginal annotation made at the same time with the one noticed in the last section. But as they do not violate the usages of language, I have not enclosed them between brackets as decidedly an interpolation.

τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῆς Δήμητρος ἱρόν τε καὶ ὄργια <sup>151</sup>.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου, καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὄθεν <sup>62</sup>  
 ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππάρχου φονέες, ἀπήρηγται μοι· δεῖ δὲ <sup>The Alc-  
 mæonids obtain influ-  
 ence with the Delphic  
 oracle,</sup>  
 πρὸς τοῦτοις ἔτι ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἥια λέγων λόγον, ὥς  
 τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἰππίῳ τυραννεύοντος καὶ  
 ἐμπικραυνομένου <sup>152</sup> Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον,  
 Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι, γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιστρα-  
 τίδας, ἐπεὶ τε σφί ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειω-  
 μένοισι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρει κάτοδος, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον  
 μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας,  
 Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τειχίσαντες <sup>153</sup>. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλ-  
 κμαιωνίδαι πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατιδῆσι μηχανώμενοι, παρ'  
 Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν  
 ἑόντα τότε δὲ οὐκω, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομήσαι <sup>154</sup>. οἱ δὲ χρημάτων εὖ

<sup>151</sup> Ἀχαιῆς Δήμητρος ἱρόν τε καὶ ὄργια.  
 This surname of Demeter came to be de-  
 rived not from Achaia, but from ἄχος. She  
 was "the mourning mother," whose daugh-  
 ter had been carried off by Hades, and who  
 sorrowed in anger for her loss. PLUTARCH  
 speaks of a ritual to her in Boeotia, which  
 he compares with the Thesmophoria at  
 Athens, where the women sat on the  
 ground fasting. Ἐπεσχθὴ τὴν ἱερτὴν ἐκεῖ-  
 νην ὀνομάζουσι, ὥς διὰ τὴν τῆς κόρης  
 κάθοδον ἐν ἔχει τῆς Δήμητρος ὀψης.  
 The month (corresponding to the *Aithyr*  
 of the Egyptians) in which this ceremony  
 was performed was called by the Boeotians  
*Δαμότριος*, from the goddess. (*De Iside*  
*et Osiride*, § 69.) To this anguish of the  
 goddess allusion is probably made in an  
 obscure passage of the *Homeric Hymns*  
 (vv. 483—6):

— ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια καλά,  
 σεμνὰ, τὰ γ' ὅπως ἔστι παρεῖμεν, ὅττε  
 πυνθεῖσθαι  
 ὄν' ἀχέειν μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν ἄχος  
 ἰσχάνει αὐδῆν.

In this relation of Demeter she had a close  
 affinity with *Erinyes*.

<sup>152</sup> ἐμπικραυνομένου. See note 143,  
 above.

<sup>153</sup> Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης· τειχι-  
 σάντες. LEAKE places the site of the  
*deme Παιονίδα* about three-quarters of a  
 mile from the modern village of Menidhi,

which name he considers a corruption of  
 the ancient one. There are some ancient  
 remains about sixty *stadæ* from the Achar-  
 nian gate of Athens; and about three or  
 four miles to the north of these stands, "at  
 the upper end of a long acclivity," a small  
 monastery of St. Nicholas, which Leake  
 regards as being on the site of the ancient  
*Lipsydrium* (although there are no vestiges  
 of antiquity there). The object of the  
*Alcmaeonids* in this ἐπιτειχισμός was to  
 command the road which passed up the  
 plain of Athens, and by which the com-  
 munication with Oropus was carried on.  
*Decælea* was occupied by the *Lacedæmo-  
 nians* during the Peloponnesian war for  
 the same purpose, and with great effect;  
 and *Decælea* is in Leake's map only about  
 three or four miles from *Lipsydrium*, yet  
 further northward. The walls of *Decælea*  
 however remain, and DODWELL gives a  
 drawing of them. Perhaps the *Alcmaeo-  
 nids* were baffled at the very beginning of  
 their building; and this seems almost  
 implied in the way Herodotus tells the  
 story.

<sup>154</sup> τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομήσαι. The fund  
 for repairing this temple was mainly raised  
 by subscription. See what Herodotus re-  
 lates (ii. 180) of the munificence of Amasis  
 and of the Egyptian Greeks. The con-  
 duct of the *Alcmaeonids* on the occasion  
 of rebuilding it made them, according to  
 PINDAR (*Pyth.* vii. 10), the theme of

ἤκοντες<sup>155</sup> καὶ ἔοντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν<sup>156</sup> ἔτι, τὸν τε νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκειμένον σφί πωρῶν λίθον ποιεῖν τὸν νηὸν, Παρίου τὰ ἔμπροσθεν

63 αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν. Ὡς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι<sup>157</sup> λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, ὥκως ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιηγέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ἰδίῳ στόλῳ εἴτε δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφί τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφί αἰεὶ ταῦτὸ πρόφαντον ἐγένετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἔοντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελὼντα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ὅμως καὶ ξεινίους σφί ἔοντας τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοισι. ὁ μὲν δὴ προσχὼν ἐς Φάληρον, τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέβησε· οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπικουρίην<sup>158</sup>. ἐπεποιήτο γὰρ σφί συμμαχίῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Θεσσαλοὶ δέ σφί δεομένοισι ἀπέπεμψαν, κοινῇ γνῶμῃ χρεώμενοι, χιλίην τε ἵππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην, ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον<sup>159</sup>. τοὺς ἐπεὶ τε ἔσχον συμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι,

and bribe the priestess to deceive the Spartans into expelling the Pisistratids.

The first expedition for the purpose fails.

admiration in every Greek city. It is not wonderful if at the same time (as the *Scholias*t says) the Pisistratids were accused of having burnt it! See a parallel piece of scandal, below, vi. 116.

<sup>155</sup> *χρημάτων εὖ ἤκοντες*. Herodotus (vi. 125, *seqq.*) gives an account of the rapid rise of the family, first by the wealth which Alcmaeon obtained from Croesus, and secondly by the marriage of his son Megacles to Agariste, the daughter and heiress of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Megacles was the rival of Pisistratus.

<sup>156</sup> *ἀνέκαθεν*, "far back." This word is used by Herodotus with reference to things separated by a long interval from the ordinary transactions of the time at which he is writing. He says of these same Alcmaeonids (vi. 125), *ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι*· ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ αὐτὸς Μεγακλῆος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. Of Miltiades: *τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰακού τε καὶ Αἰγίσις γεγονώς, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναῖος* (vi. 36). Of Megistias the Acarnanian: *λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελαμπεδοῦς* (vii. 221). Of the Pisistratids: *ἔοντες ἀνέκαθεν Πύλοιοι τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι* (v. 65). In all these cases the word points to the early

and mythical period of the pedigrees. There is a somewhat analogous use of the word (iv. 57) applied to the fountains of the Tanais: *ὅς βέει τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὀρεόμενος, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς μέγαν ἔτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιήτιν*. See below, note on § 66, *Δδ* Καρίῳ.

<sup>157</sup> *Ὡς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*. Schweighäuser considers that *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* is the true reading here. But there is no reason to suppose that either here or below (§ 90) the author is following a Lacedaemonian authority. On the contrary, in the latter passage, where the same statement is made, it seems highly probable that he is adopting the account of a person attached to one of the temples on the acropolis of Athens.

<sup>158</sup> *ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπικουρίην*. See note on vii. 6, below.

<sup>159</sup> *ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον*. These words occasion some difficulty, as the only known town of the name of *Conium* is said to have been in Phrygia. Another reading, *Γονναῖον* (from *Γόννοι*, a town in the mountain pass on the northern bank of the Peneus, by which Xerxes entered Thessaly from Macedonia), has been proposed, with much plausibility.

ἐμνηχανέατο<sup>100</sup> τοιάδε κείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδίον, καὶ ἱππασίμον ποιήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χώρον, ἐπήκαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἱπποὺν ἐμπεσούσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀγχιμόλιον, τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατέρξαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ὄντω ἀπῆλλαξε καὶ Ἀγχιμόλιον εἰς ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλίου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει<sup>a</sup>. Μετὰ 64  
 δὲ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγαν στόλον στείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς The second  
 Ἀθήνας, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένηα succeeds.  
 τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδην, οὐκέτι κατὰ θάλασσαν στείλαντες ἀλλὰ κατ' ἡπειρον. τοῖσι δὲ ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν ἢ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος πρώτη προσέμιξε, καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐτράπετο· καὶ σφῶν ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας, οἱ δὲ περιγενομένοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς εἶχον ἰθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι, ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ [τείχει<sup>101</sup>]. Καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξείλον τοὺς Πεισι- 65

<sup>100</sup> ἐμνηχανέατο. This exceedingly anomalous form has the sanction of all the MSS; but, if it be genuine, it implies a present tense *μνηχάνομαι*, of which there is no trace whatever. The present tense used by Herodotus is *μνηχάνομαι*.

<sup>a</sup> τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. Cynosarges was a spot very near the walls of Athens, where was a gymnasium and a temple of Heracles. Each of these was in later times itself called Cynosarges; but Herodotus (both here and in vi. 116) makes a distinction between the Heracleum and the district in which it stood. *Λακε* fixes its site "at the foot of the s.e. extremity of Lycabettus, near the point where the arch of the aqueduct of Hadrian and Antoninus formerly stood." This would be nearly n.e. by e. of the Acropolis. He describes the spot as itself in the valley of the Ilissus, but close by rising ground from which a distant view of the road of Phalerum might be obtained. This rendered it an excellent position for the army after the battle of Marathon, when the Persian fleet, sailing round Sunium, menaced Athens.

It is not easy to understand the military movements as described in the text. The Lacedæmonian force, when arrived at Alopecæ, would be clear of the Phale-

rian plain, and indeed would have passed the city of Athens, from which Alopecæ was about eleven or twelve stades distant. If the defeat took place there, the Thessalian cavalry occupying the Phalerian plain would cut off the communication with their ships. The most natural course would then seem to have been to retreat upon Lipsydrium, if held by the Alcmæonidæ; and the march to Alopecæ, passing Athens by, seems to indicate an original intention of forming a junction with these. But if the fortifying of Lipsydrium was frustrated at the very beginning, and the appeal to the Delphic oracle did not take place till after the failure and the subsequent rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, this motive could not exist. Perhaps the object of the Lacedæmonians was to bring the Pisistratidæ to terms by destroying the crops in the plain of Athens; but this supposition, although it explains the position of the Lacedæmonians n.e. of Athens, does not remove the difficulty of the expression: *τοὺς περιγενομένους ἐς τὰς νέας κατέρξαν*, which is applicable to the case of an army driven *back* by an opposing enemy, not to one extricating itself by breaking *through* an intercepting force.

<sup>101</sup> ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ [τείχει]. The



The Pisistratids retire to Sigeum.

στρατιδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην<sup>162</sup> ἐπενέουν ποιήσασθαι, οἳ τε Πεισιστρατιδαὶ σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδατο πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλγας, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην· νῦν δὲ συντυχίῃ τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὐτὴ σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρας οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἦλθσαν· τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετετάρακτο· παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοισι ἐπ' οἷσι ἐβούλυντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς<sup>163</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίβγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ

word *τεῖχει* has the support of all the MSS, and is given as genuine by Gaisford; but I am inclined to think it an interpolation. In the time of Herodotus and Thucydides τὸ Πελασγικὸν was used simply to denote the ancient fortification (attributed in the local traditions to the Pelasgians) which defended the acropolis of Athens at the n.w. extremity, by which alone the hill was accessible. They were related to have built a wall round the whole acropolis (vi. 137); but the steep character of the rock rendered any thing of the nature of a fortification unnecessary except at the n.w. angle. The Pelasgicum (i.e. the fortress) was entirely destroyed by the Persians when they obtained possession of Athens, and never rebuilt. A curse was laid upon it, and an oracle declared, τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἔμεινον (THUCYD. ii. 17)—doubtless from the circumstance that it had served as a stronghold to the Pisistratids. The Propylea built by Pericles just before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war supplied its place as a key of the approach to the acropolis; and it remained a mere ruin (inhabited during the Peloponnesian war by the poorer citizens from the country under the pressure of necessity). While it was a fortress it was, according to LEAKE's view (*Demi of Athens*, i. p. 311, seqq.), a series of enclosures with winding approaches, constructed on the principle of obliging an assailing force to expose their right or unshielded side to the defenders. He imagines the epithet ἐννεάπυλον to refer to the openings in these enclosures.

But after the battle of Eurymedon the wealth acquired by the Persian spoils enabled the Athenians to build up the south side of the acropolis with a wall (PLUTARCH, *Cimon*, § 13); and it is natural to suppose that the northern side was also repaired at the same time. Leake

says that "in fact the substruction of the northern wing of the Propylea has some appearance of being a part of the old Pelasgic wall; for its direction being more westerly than that of the wall which stands upon it, we may infer that it belonged to a different and more ancient system of works." In after times when the different parts of the works were compared with one another, it would be natural to call the one portion τὸ Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος and the other τὸ Κιμῶνιον (or τὸ νότιον) τεῖχος; but this would be in an antiquarian sense, and would not defend the use of the expression by Herodotus or Thucydides. In this manner the notices of CLITODEMUS (*Fragm.* 22), of PAUSANIAS (i. 28. 3), and of MYRSILUS (*ap. Diog. Halicarn. Antig.* i. 28) may be explained without the necessity of supposing with Leake that the terms τὸ Πελασγικὸν and τὸ Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος denoted two distinct buildings.

<sup>162</sup> ἐπέδρην. See note on § 41, ἐφεδρον βασιλέα.

<sup>163</sup> παρέστησαν . . . ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. "They submitted, as the price of their children, on the conditions the Athenians wished; namely, within five days to evacuate Attica." The important part played by the Lacedaemonians in the expulsion of the Pisistratids was well remembered by the Athenian people. THUCYDIDES (vi. 53) mentions it as a painful subject with them at the time of the mutilation of the Hermæ: ἐπιστάμενος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἀκοῇ τὴν Πισιστράτου καὶ τῶν καὶ τῶν τυραννίδων χαλεπὴν τελευτῶσαν γενομένην, καὶ προσέτι οὐδ' ὅφ' αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀρμόδιον καταλυθεῖσαν ἀλλ' ὅπῃ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐφοβείτο δει. Hence they were not unwilling to give ear to more flattering representations of the case. (See note on i. 63.) And undoubtedly very different traditions existed on the subject. This is expressly

Σκαμάνδρῳ<sup>164</sup>. ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα<sup>165</sup>, ἔοντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλλοι τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι<sup>166</sup>, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἱ πρότερον ἐπήλυδες ἔοντες, ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλεῖς. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τῶντ' οὖνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἰπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι, τὸν Πεισίστρατον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιέμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. οὕτω μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν ὅσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀξιώχρεα ἀπηγγήσιος, πρὶν ἢ Ἰωνίην τε ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεα τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας χρῆσαι σφέων βοηθείην, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

Ἀθηναῖοι εἶσθαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλοι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι 66  
 τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζοντες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον,  
 Κλεισθένης τε, ἀνὴρ Ἀλκμαίωνιδης, ὅσπερ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν

Contests at  
 Athens between  
 Cleisthenes and  
 Isagoras.

remarked by Thucydides (vi. 54), who relates the incident of the assassination of Hipparchus at full length, showing, as he says, ὅτι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῶν σφετέρων τυράννων οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν λέγοντας. See the next note but one.

<sup>164</sup> ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ. See note on v. 94.

<sup>165</sup> ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα. This is in very fair conformity with the statement of ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. 1315), that of the space of thirty-three years which intervened between Pisistratus's accession to the tyranny and his death, two exiles took up as much as sixteen years, and that after his death his sons reigned eighteen. Thus we have 18 + 17 = 35 complete years for the duration of the actual power of the dynasty. But it is singular that the *Scholias* on *Aristophanes* (*Vesp.* 502) should, while quoting this passage, give ARISTOPHANES (the Alexandrine grammarian) as an authority for the tyranny having lasted *forty-one* years. ISOCRATES, too (*De Bigis*, p. 351), makes his client represent it as continuing for *forty* years, and as terminated by the expulsion of the tyrants under the leadership of his father's two great-grandfathers Alcibiades and Cleisthenes. To bring these two notices into harmony with the chronology of Aristotle, and the statements of Herodotus and ERATOSTHENES (*ap. Schol. Aristoph.* l. c.), by supposing (as

CLINTON does) that the *second* exile of Pisistratus is left out of consideration, is a perfectly arbitrary proceeding. A better solution of the difference seems to be this. The Alcmaeonids in after times appear to have thought it better to say nothing about the first period of Pisistratus's tyranny or the compact between the two families related by Herodotus (i. 60, 61), but to represent his arbitrary proceedings as the *beginning* of the feud between the two families. This is the course taken by the client of Isocrates, who says of his Alcmaeonid ancestors: τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν εἶχον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς τυραννικοῖς ἐπεδείξαντο· συγγενεῖς γὰρ ὄντες Πεισιστράτῳ, καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῆναι μάλιστα αὐτῷ χράμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐκ ἤξιωσαν μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου τυραννίδος, ἀλλ' εἴλοντο φυγεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς πολίταις ἰδεῖν δουλεύοντας. See note 213 on i. 63. If this be the correct solution of the chronological differences, it follows (1st), that the marriage of Pisistratus with the daughter of Megacles (see note 203 on i. 61) will have taken place about B.C. 550 or 551; and if Hippias was then fifteen years old, he would be seventy-five or seventy-six at the time of the battle of Marathon. 2ndly, It is *unlikely* that in his account of the Pisistratid revolution Herodotus is following a family history of the Alcmaeonids.

<sup>166</sup> ἔοντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι . . . Νηλεῖδαι. See the note 204 on § 76.

Revolution  
effected by  
the former,

Πυθλιν ἀναπεῖσαι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης ὁ Τισάνδρου, οἰκίης μὲν ἐὼν  
δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγ-  
γενεές αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ<sup>167</sup>. οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐστασίασαν περὶ  
δυναμίος· ἐσσούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης, τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρί-  
ζεται. μετὰ δὲ, τετραφύλους ἔοντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους  
ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἴωνος παίδων, Γελέοντος καὶ Διγυκόρεως καὶ  
Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος, ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐπιχωρίων  
δ' ἐτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐξευρών, παρέξ Αἴαντος<sup>168</sup>. τοῦτον  
δὲ ἄτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξείνων ἔοντα προσέθετο.

67 Ταῦτα δὲ, δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ, ἐμιμέτο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τὸν ἐωυτοῦ  
μητροπάτορα, Κλεισθέnea τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον Κλεισθένης  
γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας<sup>169</sup>, τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψφδοὺς ἔπαυσε ἐν

in which he  
imitates his  
maternal  
grandfather

<sup>167</sup> θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενεές αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. Herodotus gives this fact as a kind of clue to the early pedigree of Isagoras, because the traditions relative to τὰ ἀνέκαθεν were in almost all cases connected with religious commemoration of the eponymous ancestor. See note 156, above. The Ζεὺς Κάριος here mentioned is not the deity spoken of by Herodotus (v. 119) under the name of Ζεὺς Στράτιος, but a Pelasgic divinity, whose seat was on the acropolis of Megara (anciently called Καρία. ΣΤΡΕΝ. BYZ. *sub voce*), probably nearly identical with Poseidon, and also with the Ζεὺς Κάριος near Mylasa (i. 171). Isagoras therefore is so far from being represented as of barbarian extraction, that this intimation rather describes him as of very old family; his tutelary deity being autochthonous, and his family ritual being derived from the time when the Megarid was Ionian. (See the note 203 on § 76.) That he should have been of Megarian extraction is rendered further probable by the circumstance that he kept up the feud of Cylon (below, §§ 71, 72), and Cylon had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. (PAUSANIAS, i. 28. 1.)

<sup>168</sup> παρέξ Αἴαντος. Ajax was the tutelary hero of Salamis, and it seems not unlikely that the incorporation of many Salaminians into the body of Athenian citizens was one of the steps. He was also a hero acknowledged by the Æginetans; and the commercial activity of those islanders might very well have produced the residence of a considerable number of them at Athens, where their legal

condition would be that of Metics, or resident free aliens. Now one particular act of Clisthenes was, if the right interpretation be given to an obscure passage of ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iii. p. 1275, b, line 36) to give the civic franchise to many resident aliens, and to free many slaves, thereby putting them in the condition of free resident aliens: πολλοὺς ἐφύλετυσσε (= ἀστοὺς ἐποίησε) ξένους καὶ δοῦλους μετοίκους. Under these circumstances Ajax was an appropriate patron for a φυλὴ which was intended to comprise a commercial population, consisting (it might be expected), in a large part of Salaminians and Æginetans. See the note 176, below.

<sup>169</sup> Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. p. 1315, b, line 12) states that the dynasty of Orthagoras and his descendants at Sicyon was that of longest duration known (viz. 100 years), and gives as the reason of this: ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως, καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδούλευον· καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος. He then adds: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἰδημαγῶν, and tells an anecdote of Clisthenes illustrative of the fact. PAUSANIAS (vi. 19) gives an account of the treasure-house of the Sicyonians at Olympia, put up by Myron, the grandfather of Clisthenes (see the pedigree in vi. 126, below), on the occasion of his winning the chariot-race in the thirty-third Olympiad. It contained two θάλαμοι of "Tartessian brass" according to the tradition of the Eleans; but what this brass exactly was, beyond a conjec-

Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοι τε Clisthenes  
καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα <sup>170</sup> ὑμνέονται τοῦτο δέ, ἥρῳον γὰρ of Sicyon,  
ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου τοῦ who showed  
Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἔοντα Ἀργεῖον, ἐκβαλεῖν the greatest  
ἐκ τῆς χώρας· ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐχρησθηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλλη <sup>171</sup> Argos in his  
τὸν Ἀδρήστον; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ φᾶσα, Ἀδρήστον μὲν εἶναι religious  
Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, ἐκείνον δὲ λευστήρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο treatment of  
γε οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὀπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ the Do-  
Ἀδρήστος ἀπαλλάσσεται· ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρήσθαι ἐδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς rian popula-  
Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔφη θέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν tion of  
Ἀστακοῦ· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔδωσαν ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης Sicyon.  
τὸν Μελάνιππον, τέμενός οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανίῳ, καὶ  
μὴν ἴδρυνε ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ· ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελάν-  
ιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης, (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγγέσθαι,) ὥς ἔχθιστον  
ἔοντα Ἀδρήστῳ· ὃς τὸν τε ἀδελφεόν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεε καὶ  
τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε  
καὶ ὀρτὰς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίππῳ <sup>172</sup>. οἱ δὲ

ture that it came from Spain, Pausanias professes not to know. The smaller of the two chambers, however, took five hundred talents weight of metal, and this circumstance was recorded in the inscription on it, which also represented it as being set up by "Myron and the commons of the Sicyonians." One of the two chambers was, according to Pausanias, of Dorian and the other of Ionian manufacture. The smaller one contained a trophy "from the Myones," and also "the hunting-knife of Pelops, with the handle of wrought gold, and a carved ivory horn of Amalthea, the offering of Miltiades, son of Cimon, the first ruler of the Chersonese." The Sicyon in which Clisthenes reigned was the *town on the coast*, which afterwards served only as the harbour to the new one, distant from twelve to twenty stadia. (PAUSAN. ii. 8. 1; STRABO, viii. 6.) All these circumstances are favourable to the supposition that the dynasty of Orthagoras was one of a powerful house in a commercial republic; and such a supposition will explain the contempt with which Clisthenes is said to have treated the rural population of the Sicyonian territory, whose sheepskin garb (which he was reported to have obliged them to wear, and from whence they got the name of *κατανακφόροι*) made

them ashamed to come into the city. (THEOPOMPUS, *ap. Athen.* vi. p. 265.)

<sup>170</sup> πολλὰ πάντα. This appears to be the union of two various readings, *πολλὰ* and *πάντα*. EUSTATHIUS (*ad Il.* ii. p. 288) quotes the passage thus: *διότι Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμνοῦνται*. A transcriber collating a MS containing the first of the two readings with another that gave the second, and recollecting *τὰ πολλὰ πάντα* in i. 203 and ii. 35, probably believed that the two variants were to be reconciled by uniting them, from a false understanding of the idiom in the passages in question. With regard to the "Homeric poems," see note 99 on iv. 32. The author's remark is quite inapplicable to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

<sup>171</sup> ἐκβάλλη. Gaisford with all the MSS has *ἐκβάλοι*. But compare *εἰ στρατεύεται*, i. 75.

<sup>172</sup> θυσίας τε καὶ ὀρτὰς . . . ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίππῳ. The substantial effect of this move would be to confiscate the property of one hierarchy and with it to endow another, the former being one connected with Argos, the other with Thebes. It must be remembered that at the time in question religious rituals were in almost all cases performed by functionaries whose

Σικυώνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωσθὶ κάρτα τιμᾶν τὸν Ἀδρηστον ἡ γὰρ  
 χώρα ἦν αὕτη Πολύβου· ὁ δὲ Ἀδρηστος ἦν Πολύβου θυγατρίδεος  
 ἄπαις δὲ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοὶ Ἀδρήστω τὴν ἀρχήν. τὰ τε δὴ  
 ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον, καὶ δὴ πρὸς, τὰ πάθεα  
 αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διώνυσον οὐ τιμέων-  
 τες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ  
 ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην τῷ Μελανίππῳ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς  
 68 Ἀδρηστόν οἱ πεποίητο. Φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ἵνα δὴ μὴ αἱ  
 αὐταὶ ἔωσι τοῖσι Σικωνίοισι καὶ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι, μετέβαλε ἐς  
 ἄλλα οὐνόματα· ἔνθα καὶ πλείστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικωνίων<sup>173</sup>.  
 ἐπὶ γὰρ ὅς τε καὶ ὄνου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθεῖς, αὐτὰ τὰ τελευ-  
 ταῖα ἐπέθηκε<sup>174</sup>, πλὴν τῆς ἐωντοῦ φυλῆς· ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ οὐνομα ἀπὸ  
 τῆς ἐωντοῦ ἀρχῆς ἔθετο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαιοι ἐκαλέοντο· ἕτεροι  
 δὲ, Ῥᾶται· ἄλλοι δὲ, Ὀνεᾶται· ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεῶται. τούτοις  
 τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλῶν ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυώνιοι καὶ ἐπὶ Κλει-  
 σθέneos ἀρχοντος, καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος ἔτι ἐπ' ἔτεα ἐξήκοντα·  
 μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφίσι δόντες, μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ῥάλλεας  
 καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας<sup>175</sup>. τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρήστου παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέος, τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενοι  
 κεκλησθαι Αἰγιαλέας.

69

The Athe-  
 nian Clis-  
 thenes imi-  
 tates his  
 ancestor

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ὁ Σικυώνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποιήκει. ὁ δὲ δὴ  
 Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης, ἐὼν τοῦ Σικωνίου τούτου θυγατρίδεος καὶ  
 τὸ οὐνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἔχων, δοκέειν ἐμοί, καὶ οὗτος ὑπεριδὼν  
 Ἰωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἰωσι, τὸν ὁμώνυ-

office was hereditary in certain families. The measure of Clisthenes therefore was part of his general policy to depress the Dorian blood, by destroying the splendour of the religious ceremonies in which that portion of the population took part, and thus weakening the bond which held them together. See the next note, and the passage from ARISTOTLE quoted in note 176, below.

<sup>173</sup> ἔνθα καὶ πλείστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικωνίων. It is difficult to imagine that the names said to be assigned by Clisthenes to the three tribes were any thing more than *soubriquets* given by a commercial aristocracy to the agricultural population. Sicyon possessed a population partly Dorian and partly Achaean; and the dynasty

of the Orthagorids under Clisthenes represents the predominance of the latter. Sixty years after Clisthenes' death it may be supposed that the balance was restored, and that the rural tribes acquired an importance which enabled them to rid themselves of their contumelious nicknames. The Hylles, Dymanes, and Pamphyli are the well-known tribes into which nearly every Dorian population was divided; and it is impossible to conceive that they did not exist in Sicyon from the time of the Heraclide invasion.

<sup>174</sup> αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε, "he subjoined the actual terminations."

<sup>175</sup> ἐς τοὺς Ῥάλλεας, "the well-known names Hylles," &c. So much is indicated by the article τοῖς. See the note 173.

μον Κλεισθένα ἐμμήσατο <sup>176</sup>. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον in changing the old divisions, and altering their names. πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεῖνας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσέρων ἐποίησε, δέκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κατένεμε ἐς τὰς φυλὰς <sup>179</sup>. ἦν τε, τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος, πολλῷ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων. Ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ 70 ἐσσούμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης, ἀντιτεχνῶνται τάδε ἐπικαλέεται Κλεομένην τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, γενόμενον ἑωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισι-στρατιδῶν πολιορκίης· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένην εἶχε αἰτὴ φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρου τὴν γυναικά. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα, ἐξέβαλλε <sup>180</sup> Κλεισθένα, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων ταῦτα

His rival Isagoras tries to win over the Spartans through Cleomenes.

<sup>176</sup> τὸν δῆμον Κλεισθένα ἐμμήσατο. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* vi. p. 1319, b, line 20) instances the proceedings of Clisthenes at Athens and those of the authors of the constitution at Cyrene (see iv. 161), as well exhibiting the methods of securing the elements of democracy, and thus describes these: φυλαὶ τε γὰρ ἕτεροι ποιηταὶ πλείους καὶ φρατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ἄλλα καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες ἄλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθιαι διασυνθῶσιν αἱ πρότερον. It is plain, therefore, that the formation of new religious combinations was a point in which he "imitated his grandfather;" and hence the necessity for taking in a number of the *πατριάρχαι* ἥρωες (§ 66). Under the old régime there would be two relations to which the sanctity derived from religious rites would especially attach, the one the *συνγένεια* or quasi-family tie, the other the tie of the tribesman (*φυλῆς*), strengthened by those religious rites in which the members of the same φυλὴ (or its subdivision, the *φρατρία*) joined. But besides these *family rituals*, there were very many others which may be called *local rituals*; i.e. containing the religious ceremonies (*ritual*) which were due to the tutelary deity of each particular spot, who was always regarded as, in a manner, *ascriptus glebae*. (See note 181, below.) Judging from Aristotle's description, we may conceive that a main part of Clisthenes' scheme consisted in a judicious union of several of these *local rituals*, forming a new ceremonial for a

newly-constituted tribe. By such a step this change would be effected, that the new ritual would call up mainly local instead of family associations,—which last, being no longer refreshed by an union of families in the periodical ceremonial of the tribe, would continually become more enfeebled. On the other hand the new bond of union would every day acquire greater strength, and before long effectually take the place of that which had been destroyed.

<sup>179</sup> δέκα . . . ἐς τὰς φυλὰς. These words appear to be a marginal note, although perhaps one proceeding from the hand of the author, intended merely as a memorandum for himself of a matter to be more fully developed at leisure. This supposition will explain the looseness of the expression δέκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κατένεμε ἐς τὰς φυλὰς,—which seems intended to mean "he distributed the demes among the tribes *by tens*." A good deal of difficulty is occasioned by the circumstance that many more demes than one hundred are known to have existed. But it is possible that two or more of these may often have been regarded as one for Clisthenes' purpose; and Herodotus's words hardly show more than that a decimal subdivision formed the basis of the arrangement. The *φύλαρχος*, according to ARISTOTLE (*ap. Harpocration*, *sub v.*), was not the chief of the φυλὴ, but of *its cavalry*.

<sup>180</sup> ἐξέβαλλε, "wished to expel." For illustration of this use of the imperfect tense, see the passage of ARISTOPHANES quoted in the note 206 on § 77, below.

71  
Cylon's  
massacre.

δὲ πέμπων ἔλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιώται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίην τοῦ φόνου τούτου αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετέιχε, οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δ' ἐναγέες<sup>181</sup> Ἀθηναίων ὠδε ὠνομάσθησαν ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης<sup>182</sup>. οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε προσποιστάμενος δὲ ἔταιρηθῆν τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη· οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι, ἱκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα<sup>183</sup>. τούτους ἀνίστάσει μὲν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν Ναυκράρων, οἵπερ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεργύους πλὴν θανάτου<sup>184</sup>. φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμαιωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης ἐγένετο.

72 Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε<sup>185</sup> Κλεισθέnea καὶ τοὺς

<sup>181</sup> οἱ ἐναγέες. The city was lustrated by Epimenides, under the auspices of Solon, in order to do away with the effects of this *kyos*. (PLUTARCH, *Solon*, § 12, apparently following Theopompus.) For fear of inadvertently omitting any local deity or hero whose wrath might have been excited, Epimenides turned some sheep loose, and ordered that wherever one of them lay down, it should be sacrificed τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, i. § 110). Hence there arose several nameless altars with the inscription which struck St. Paul's attention many centuries afterwards (*Acts* xvii. 23). This lustration is placed by Diogenes (who throughout seems to follow Eratosthenes and Apollodorus's chronology) in the forty-sixth or forty-seventh Olympiad.

<sup>182</sup> ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης. The victory which he obtained was for a foot-race: διαύλου νίκην. (PAUSANIAS, i. 28. 1.)

<sup>183</sup> πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. THUCYDIDES, who tells the story of Cylon far more circumstantially (i. 126), says that Cylon and his brother escaped, but that the remainder of the conspirators καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. The deity, whose image or altar was resorted to by the suppliants, was *Athene Polias*. Her temple was united with that of *Erectheus*, the Athenian Poseidon. (HERYCH. *sub v.*)

<sup>184</sup> ὑπεργύους πλὴν θανάτου. This is a very elliptical and almost colloquial phrase. Herodotus obviously means to say that they surrendered under the condition to submit to whatever might be adjudged 'short of death.' THUCYDIDES's account of the terms is: ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσι.

PLUTARCH's (*Solon*. § 12), that the suppliants delivered themselves up for trial (ἐπὶ δίκῃ κατήλθον), but, probably from fear of what might happen, still saved their sanctuary by laying hold of a string which they had attached to the base of the image. These accounts may be all reconciled by the supposition of an understanding having been entered into, that in the event of condemnation the prisoners should be allowed to banish themselves from Athens. It seems not improbable that the account given by Thucydides is the one traditionally preserved in the family of Miltiades, and that this family was not unfriendly to Cylon's party. Plutarch states that the party afterwards recovered much influence, and that an hereditary animosity was kept up in it against the descendants of Megacles. Now after the Persian war the opposition to the latter was undoubtedly led by Miltiades's family. Hence perhaps Thucydides, one of that family, may have been led to use the phrase he does, which puts the breach of faith on the part of the Alcmaeonids in the strongest light. Herodotus, on the other hand, probably follows the local traditions of the acropolis, which he presently speaks of having visited (§ 77), and in which the fact of the illegal bloodshed—which constituted the *kyos*—would be the point most prominently put forward, the merits of the two contending factions being, in a religious view, of secondary importance. The chronology of the whole narrative is extremely loose, and such as might be expected from an oral temple tradition. See notes 191, 197, and 212, below.

<sup>185</sup> ἐξέβαλλε. Gaisford ἐξέβαλε.

ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπέξασχε<sup>186</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, οὐδὲν ἦσσαν Cleomenes attempts a coup d'état at Athens, and is driven out of the city, παρὴν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρὶ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἀγῆλατῃ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια<sup>187</sup> Ἀθηναίων, τὰ οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειράτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι Ἰσαγόρεω στασιώτησι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχειρίζε. ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὃ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ, τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη ὥς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχῆσαι, ἥτε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ<sup>188</sup> ὥς προσερέων ἡ δὲ ἱρήτη ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι, εἶπε· “ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρει, μηδ’ ἔσθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα” ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ’ οὐ Δωριεὺς εἰμι ἀλλ’ Ἀχαιοὺς<sup>189</sup>.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληδόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος, ἐπεχειρήσέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοὺς

after a bad omen.

<sup>186</sup> *ὑπέξασχε*. Herodotus uses this word in vi. 74 and viii. 132, and in all cases it seems designed to express voluntary banishment, perhaps antecedently to any formal proceeding.

<sup>187</sup> *ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια*, “seven hundred hearth-falls,” i. e. families. This expression is most appropriate to a religious procedure,—as the fire on the hearth of the individual citizen, lighted originally from the sacred fire in the Prytaneum, symbolized the participation of the family in the national life. To put out for ever the hearth-fire was therefore considered as equivalent to the cutting off a diseased member of the body politic. See the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, sub voce *Prytaneum*.

<sup>188</sup> *ἥτε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ*. On the highest hill at Sparta stood the temple of Athene *πολισσοῦχος* (called also *χαλκίουρος* from the bronze walls of the fane). This temple was said to have been commenced by Tyndareus, and after his death continued by the Dioscuri, but it was not completed till long afterwards. (PAUSANIAS iii. 17. 2.) The Achæan popula-

tion, which the Dorian invaders found in Laconia (see the next note), had, like the Athenians, legends connecting Athene with Poseidon, and these were exhibited by reliefs in this very temple. In others also at Sparta there was a joint dedication to the two deities. (PAUSAN. iii. 11. 9; iii. 12. 5.) Hence, finding the same combination of religious symbols to which he had been accustomed, the Spartan king had no scruple in entering.

<sup>189</sup> *οὐ Δωριεὺς εἰμι ἀλλ’ Ἀχαιοὺς*. By these words Cleomenes indicates his descent not from the Heraclide invaders of the Peloponnese, but from the Achæan Tyndarids who retained possession of Amyclæ and Therapnæ, and for a long time successfully resisted them. (See PAUSANIAS, iii. 2. 6; iii. 12. 9.) MÜLLER (*Orchomenus*, p. 319) collects the evidence which proves the existence of Achæans (mixed with Minyæans) in this part of the Peloponnese, long after the date usually assigned to the Dorian invasion. He even conjectures that Amyclæ is the town which Homer calls Lacedæmon. See the note 221 on i. 68, and note 100, above.



δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφὸν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν<sup>190</sup> τε καὶ λήματος ἔχοιμ' ἂν μέγιστα καταλέξει. οὗτοι μὲν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν<sup>191</sup>.

73 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθέnea καὶ τὰ ἐπτακῶσια ἐπίστια τὰ διαχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεμφάμενοι, πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις συμμαχίην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἥπιστάτο γάρ σφι Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι· ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος<sup>192</sup>, Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος, ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἔοντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πῇ γῆς οἰκημένοι<sup>193</sup> δεοῖατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενέσθαι; πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε<sup>194</sup>. εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλεῖ Δαρεῖφ' Ἀθηναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συνετίθετο· εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε· οἱ δὲ ἀγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι δίδοναι ἔφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν, αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον.

74 Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιῶβρίσθαι ἔπεισι καὶ ἔργοισι<sup>195</sup>

The Athenians in fear of the anger of Sparta apply to the Persian court.

<sup>190</sup> ἔργα χειρῶν. PAUSANIAS (vi. 8. 6) speaks of a statue of this Timesitheus at Olympia, where he won two victories as a pancratiast. He obtained the same distinction three times in the Pythian games. Pausanias says that the statue is by Agelades the Argive; and if this assertion is well founded, it probably was seen by Herodotus.

<sup>191</sup> οὗτοι μὲν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. The SCHOLIAST on Aristophanes (*Lysistr.* 273) says that after the unsuccessful occupation of Eleusis (which Herodotus relates § 74) the Athenians confiscated the property of those Athenians who had joined him in the attempt, rased their houses to the ground, and passed sentences of death against themselves, καὶ ἀναγράφαντες ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ, ἔστησαν ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον νεών. It seems not unlikely that the column in question is the basis for the assertion in the text. The parties were *in law* dead; hence the expression κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, and it was only to be expected that the occupation of the acropolis would soon, in popular tradition, be regarded as the crime for which they suffered. See the note 202 on § 76.

<sup>192</sup> Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος. See above, v. 25. 30.

<sup>193</sup> ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἔοντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πῇ γῆς οἰκημένοι. This question indicates that the power of Athens at that time must have been very small. On the other hand that of Naxos must have been considerable when Artaphernes was applied to for assistance to reduce it (above, § 31). Although able to reckon on the assistance of a part of the Naxians, he refuses to embark in an enterprise against them without the consent of the Persian court, and then determines to send double the force demanded. Such a relation between the resources of Naxos and Athens seems incompatible with the notion that Pisistratus had ever subdued the former. See note 214 on i. 64, and what Herodotus says of Athens under tyrannical government, below, § 78.

<sup>194</sup> ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε, "gave them this short answer."

<sup>195</sup> ἔπεισι καὶ ἔργοισι. ARISTOPHANES (*Lysistr.* 274—280) alludes to the surrender of Cleomenes, in terms which show that the miserable condition in which he was forced to evacuate the citadel remained a popular theme with the Athenian com-

ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν, οὐ  
 φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαι τε ἐθέλων τὸν δῆμον τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστήσαι <sup>196</sup>.  
 συνεξῆλθε γὰρ οἱ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. Κλεομένης τε δὴ  
 στὸλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ  
 συνθήματος Οἰνόρην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ἑρσίδα <sup>197</sup>, δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους  
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς <sup>198</sup>. Χαλκιδέες <sup>199</sup> τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες  
 [χώρους] τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολήῃ ἐχόμενοι,  
 Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς ὕστερον ἔμελλον μνήμην ποιή-  
 σεσθαι. Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ, ἐούσι ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ, ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ  
 ὄπλα. Μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, <sup>75</sup>  
 Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφὶ αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον <sup>200</sup> ὥς οὐ ποιοῖεν

Cleomenes  
 again in-  
 vades them  
 with a large  
 force, while  
 the Chalci-  
 dians and  
 Boeotians  
 create a  
 diversion.  
 On arriving  
 at Eleusis,  
 the allied  
 force melts

monalty. The chorus of old men, upon Lysistrata's occupying the acropolis, is made to say :

ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Κλεομένης, ὃς αὐτὴν κατέσχε  
 πρώτος,  
 ἀπῆλθεν ἀνδρακτος, ἀλλ'  
 ὄμως Λακωνικὸν πνέων,  
 ῥέχεται ὀπίσσω παραδοὺς ἐμοί,  
 σμικρὸν ἔχων πᾶν τριβάνιον,  
 πεινῶν, ῥυπῶν, ἀπαράμιτος,  
 ἐξ ἐτῶν ἄλυντος.

<sup>196</sup> Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον κατα-  
 στήσαι. If Isagoras had Megarian con-  
 nexions (as seems probable; see the note  
 167 on § 66), he would be a plausible  
 partizan of Peloponnesian interests, and  
 therefore one to whom the confederates  
 would have no right to object. But if at  
 the same time he was of the old Achæan  
 blood, he might be favourable to the par-  
 ticular schemes for the elevation of that  
 race which Cleomenes appears to have  
 formed. See note on vi. 74, below.

<sup>197</sup> Οἰνόρην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ἑρσίδα. The  
 former of these two burghs lies on the  
 southern and the latter on the northern  
 side of the range of Cithæron, bearing very  
 nearly n.w. from Athens. The emanci-  
 pation of Hysie from the dominion of  
 Thebes probably took place at the same  
 time with that of Plateæ. (See vi. 108.)  
 The possession of the two burghs was ex-  
 tremely important, for the road from  
 Eleusis to Thebes over Cithæron was  
 commanded on the side of Attica by Ceneo,  
 and on that of Boeotia by Hysie. The  
 order in which the places are mentioned  
 is worth remarking, as pointing to an

Attic authority. (See note 212 on § 79,  
 below.) The Boeotians must have seized  
 Hysie first, or they could not have ad-  
 vanced on Ceneo. Of the latter LEAKE  
 says, "It stood in a narrow valley at the  
 ascent of Cithæron, leading from the plain  
 of Eleutheræ into the Plateis, and near  
 where the road from Megara to Thebes  
 joined that from Athens and Eleusis. It  
 was therefore an essential point for secur-  
 ing the communication of the Athenians  
 with Plateæ, as well as to protect Eleutheræ  
 and Eleusis. Hence it was fortified prior  
 to the Peloponnesian war (THUCYD. ii. 18),  
 and became one of the most important  
 defences of the Attic frontier. It still  
 exists in ruins under the name of Ghyftó-  
 kastro, and is one of the most complete  
 examples of a Greek fortress extant."

<sup>198</sup> δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς.  
 I am inclined to think these words a mar-  
 ginal interpretation which has crept into  
 the text. There is no ground for sup-  
 posing that Hysie was ever a *deme* of  
 Attica. (See the last note.) Besides which  
 Hysie and Ceneo would be, in the time of  
 Herodotus, as familiar as Eleusis to any  
 one of his hearers.

<sup>199</sup> Χαλκιδέες. Pisistratus was assisted  
 by the Eretrians in his exile (see i. 62), as  
 Isagoras was by the rival state of Chalcis.

<sup>200</sup> Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι σφὶ αὐτοῖσι δόντες  
 λόγον. It seems not impossible that they  
 viewed with jealousy the probable eleva-  
 tion of Isagoras, if he was a man of Me-  
 garian connexions. (See note 167 on § 66,  
 above.) Megara had been at one time a  
 dependency of Corinth, and its emancipa-  
 tion seems to have belonged to the same

away, and  
one of the  
Spartan  
kings re-  
treats.

τὰ δίκαια, μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο· μετὰ δὲ, Δημά-  
ρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἔων καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτηγέων, καὶ  
συνεξαγαγόν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ οὐκ ἔων διά-  
φορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ Κλεομένει· (ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς  
διχοστασίης ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ, μὴ ἐξίναί τι ἐπεσθαι ἀμφοτέ-  
ρους τοὺς βασιλῆας ἐξιούσης τῆς στρατῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι  
εἶποντο· παραλλομένον δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἑτέρου, καταλείπεσθαι καὶ  
τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφοτέροι,  
ἐπικλητοὶ σφί ἐόντες<sup>201</sup>, εἶποντο·) τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευσίνῃ ὁρέαντες  
οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε βασιλῆας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ  
ὁμολογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἰχοντο καὶ  
76 αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι. Τέταρτον δὲ τοῦτο<sup>202</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
ἀπικόμενοι Δωριεῖς, δις τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δις ἐπ’  
ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρον  
κατοίκισαν<sup>203</sup>. (οὗτος ὁ στόλος, ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθη-

The fourth  
instance of  
a Doric in-  
vasion of  
Attica.

cycle of events which produced the over-  
throw of the Bacchiadæ (a Doric oligarchy)  
at Corinth. The revolutions took the same  
shape in both states,—an overthrow of a  
class aristocracy by the commons under  
the leadership of one of the oligarchs, who  
finally became tyrant, as Cypselus did at  
Corinth and Theagenes at Megara. Now  
as Cylon was the son-in-law of Theagenes,  
and Isagoras the representative of Cylon's  
party at Athens, his elevation to power  
would have been equivalent to elevating  
the influence of the commons at Megara,  
—a population (as the native traditions  
show; see note 203, below) into which  
the Doric element entered very slightly.  
That the Corinthian oligarchal or Doric  
party was strong at this time is evident  
from the harangue of Sosicles (§ 92, *seqq.*).  
But Cleomenes the Spartan king disclaimed  
being a Dorian (§ 72), and showed his  
sympathy for the ante-dorian race not  
only in his patronage of Isagoras, but in  
his subsequent attempt to organize an  
Arcadian confederacy against Sparta (vi.  
74). Hence perhaps the decided break  
with Demaratus.

<sup>201</sup> ἐπικλητοὶ σφί ἐόντες, "being allies  
of theirs." See vii. 203, ἐπικλητοὶ ἐγέ-  
νοντο Λοκροὶ πανστρατῆ, "the Locrians  
came to help them in full force." The  
idea of a friendly deity going forth with  
the host under some especial visible sym-  
bol, and taking part in their battles as an

ally, was common to almost all the nations  
of antiquity. Thus the Æginetæ are re-  
lated by Herodotus to have sent the images  
of the Æacidae, their tutelary heroes, to  
assist the Thebans (below, § 80); and the  
allied Greeks before the battle of Salamis  
despatched a ship expressly for the same  
(viii. 64). It was the same feeling which  
induced the elders of Israel to fetch the  
ark out of Shiloh, "that when it cometh  
among us, it may save us out of the hand  
of our enemies." (1 Sam. iv. 3.) So too the  
chariot of Ormuzd went in the front of the  
Persian line of march (vii. 40). See note  
111 on iii. 37.

<sup>202</sup> τέταρτον δὲ τοῦτο. By the use of  
this expression it would seem that the  
occupation of the acropolis and that of  
Eleusis by Cleomenes are considered as  
part of one expedition,—a view quite in  
accordance with the account given by the  
SCHOLIAST on *Aristophanes* (*Lysistr.* 273),  
who makes Cleomenes evacuate Athens on  
terms, without any exceptions, and seize  
Eleusis on his march homeward (ἀφεθεῖς  
ὁπόσπονδος, ἀπὸν οἶκαδε πάλιν Ἐλευσίνα  
κατέσχε). If only the Lacedæmonians  
were allowed to quit the acropolis, it is  
difficult to conceive how Isagoras, the  
prime mover of the intervention, should  
have been suffered to accompany them.  
See note 191, above.

<sup>203</sup> ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρον κατοίκισαν. The  
tradition followed here is the same as that

ναίων, ὁρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο<sup>244</sup>.) δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον, ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἐξέλασιν ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπίκοντο· τέταρτον δὲ τότε, ὅτε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα Κλεομένης ἄγων Πελοποννησίους ἐσέβαλε. οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριεὺς ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας.

Διαλυθέντος ὧν τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἀκλεῶς, ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι 77

of the authors of the *Atthides* (cp. *Strabon*. ix. p. 235), who related that the Megarid territory fell to Nisus, one of the four sons of Pandion, who built Nisaea; and that the population was Ionian and identical with that inhabiting Attica, until the invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians in the time of Codrus, when, at the urgent request of the Corinthians and Messenians, Megara was founded, and the population of the Megarid became Dorian. SOPHOCLES (as might be expected) followed the *Attic* tradition respecting the Megarid, making Ægeus say of Pandion:

Νίσῳ δὲ τὴν ἀνύμαλον ἐξάιρει χθόνα  
Σκίρωνος ἀκτῆς.

The native legends of Megaris, however, related that the name Megara was given to the city in the reign of Car, the son of Phoroneus, at which time the sacred rites of Demeter were first introduced there, and that the name μέγαρα was given to these. Twelve generations after Car, *Lelex* (an Egyptian) became king, and his subjects from him acquired the name of Leleges. His grandson Sciron married a daughter of Pandion and disputed the sovereignty with her brother Nisus. Æacus, being appealed to, decided in favour of Nisus, with a reservation of the military command to Sciron. Finally *Megaraeus*, a son of Poseidon, married Iphinoe, the daughter of Nisus, and succeeded to the kingdom. The Boeotian traditions made Megareus the son of Poseidon a native of Onchestus, and an ally of Nisus in the war against Minos (a war of which the Megarian legends were entirely ignorant). (PAUSAN. i. 39.) And yet another tradition made Megareus a son of *Apollo* (ΣΤΕΡΓ. ΒΥΖΑΝΤ. v. Μέγαρες), thus accounting for the Dorian character of Megara.

<sup>244</sup> ὅπως δὲ στόλος . . . ὁρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο. These words can scarcely be a part of the thread of the narrative; neither is their sense complete. Some such phrase as ἐπὶ παλῶν ἐσβαλὴ seems required to ex-

press what is meant. Possibly they are a mere memorandum by Herodotus himself, made with the intention at some future time of giving a history of this expedition, about which very different accounts existed. The story which was current at Athens, and represented Codrus as sacrificing himself to save the city from being taken by the Dorian invaders, was supported by local tradition. The place where Codrus fell was pointed out on the banks of the Ilissus (PAUSAN. i. 19. 5); and his self-devotion furnished an useful topic to the orators. (LYCURG. c. *Leocrat.* §§ 85—90.) But ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* p. 1310, line 37) cites Codrus as an instance, not of a king who sacrificed himself to preserve the independence of his country, but of a person who became a king by saving his country from slavery in war,—a view in harmony with what Herodotus briefly mentions of his family, above (§ 65). And PAUSANIAS, after saying that the common Athenians would not hear of there having been any king at Athens (except Pisistratus) since the time of Theseus, οἷα ἱστορίας ἀνήκοοι ὄντες, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκ παλῶν ἐν τῇ χωρῇ καὶ τραγῳδίας πιστὰ ἡγουμένοι, adds, that if he pleased he could give a list of the descendants of Melanthus as low as to Clidicus, the son of Æsimides, who all reigned at Athens (i. 3. 3). The reign of Æsimides (whether as king or archon) began in the first year of the eighth Olympiad (PAUSAN. iv. 5. 10), so that the traditions here alluded to by Pausanias would bring down the regal authority of the Neleid house quite into the historical times. It will be remembered that Pisistratus came of *this* family. (See above, § 65.) There is little or nothing in Herodotus or Thucydides to guide to a decision between the tradition followed by Lycurgus and that adopted by Aristotle; neither is the circumstance related by PHRYGECTYDES (fr. 110) incompatible with the latter account, although it has generally been woven into the former.

The Athenians obtain important advantages over the Boeotians and Chalcidians,

τίνυσθαι βουλόμενοι, πρῶτα στρατηγὴν ποιεῖνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας· Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπον· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἰδοῦσι τοὺς βοηθοὺς ἔδοξε πρότερον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι ἢ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι ἐπιχειρέειν συμβάλλουσί τε δὴ τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πολλῶ ἐκράτησαν κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύσαντες, ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐξώγησαν<sup>305</sup>. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν, συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι· νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους, τετρακισχιλίους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἵπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἵπποβόται<sup>306</sup> ἐκαλέοντο οἱ παχέες τῶν Χαλκιδέων ὄσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐξώγησαν, ἅμα τοῖσι Βοιωτῶν ἐξωγημένοισι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, ἐν πέδαις δήσαντες· χρόνῳ δὲ ἔλυσάν σφεας διμνέως ἀποτιμησάμενοι<sup>307</sup>. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἵπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν περιεοῦσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου· ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου<sup>308</sup> καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν

<sup>305</sup> ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐξώγησαν. It will be remarked that the number is the same as that of the families exiled by Cleomenes (§ 72).

<sup>306</sup> οἱ δὲ ἵπποβόται. The presence of the article here has occasioned some difficulty. But it seems likely that although this name of ἵπποβ. was given to the aristocracy collectively, each individual member of it would not be termed ἵπποβότης, and in that case the article and substantive would cohere closely together, as in the phrases οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ δώδεκα, &c. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iv. p. 1297, line 16) remarks that the early monarchies (*βασιλειαί*) were in all cases succeeded by a military aristocracy of *cavalry*, adding this profound remark: τὴν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν ὁ πόλεμος εἶχεν· ἀνεὺς μὲν γὰρ συντάξεως ἀχρηστον τὸ ὁλιτικόν, αἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐμπειρίαι καὶ τάξεις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐχ ὑπῆρχον· ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν εἶναι τὴν ἰσχύν. In another passage he remarks that in the ancient times wherever the force of a state consisted of cavalry, the form of government was oligarchal, and instances Chalcis, Eretria, Magnesia on the Meander, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν (iv. p. 1289, line 40). The same thing (in spite of the unaptness of Attica for horse-breeding) was the case at

Athens, and hence ARISTOPHANES makes his homely citizen, who had married a wife of aristocratic descent, complain that she would have their son designated by a name of hippotrophic import (*Nub.* 60):

— ὅπως νῦν ἐγένεθ' υἱὸς οὐτοσί, περὶ τουνόματος δὴ ἔντεῦθεν ἐλοιδορούμεθα·

ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἵππον προσετίθει πρὸς τουνόμα, Ἐάνθιππον ἢ Χαίριππον ἢ Καλλιπιδην, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ πάπου· τίθιμην Φειδωνίδην.

Compare οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, vi. 35. It seems not unlikely that the revolution effected by Pisistratus was coincident with the organization of an infantry force as an important arm of war. (See note 194 on i. 59.) Aristotle adds to the remark above quoted: ἀθῶνον μὲν δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις ἰσχυρότων μᾶλλον πλείους μετείχον τῆς πολιτείας· διόπερ ἄς νῦν καλοῦμεν πολιτείας οἱ πρότερον ἐκάλουν δημοκρατίας.

<sup>307</sup> διμνέως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. See vi. 79.

<sup>308</sup> ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου. As Gaisford punctuates this passage the reconciliation of it with the topography of the acropolis seems impossible. The following is the way I conceive the spoils to have been disposed of. The old temple of Athene Polias which the Persians burnt down probably

δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν, ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον τὸ δὲ ἀρι-  
στερῆς χερὸς ἔσθηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ  
ἀκροπόλει, ἐπυνέγραπται δέ οἱ τάδε·

Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες  
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐργασιν ἐν πολέμῳ,  
δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυνόντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὄβριν  
τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλὰδι τάδ' ἔθεσαν·

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἠὔξηντο. δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐν μῶνον, ἀλλὰ 78  
πανταχῇ, ἡ ἰσηγορίη ὡς ἔστι χρήμα σπουδαῖον εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι and thrive  
τυραννευόμενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικούντων ἦσαν τὰ wonderfully  
πολέμια ἀμείνους<sup>209</sup>, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῷ πρώτοι institutions.  
ἐγένοντο. δηλοῖ ὦν ταῦτα, ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον, ὡς  
δεσπότη ἐργαζόμενοι ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐωυτῷ  
προθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρασσον.

Θηβαῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς θεὸν ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι 79  
Ἀθηναίους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖσι The The-  
εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς ΠΟΛΥΦΗΜΟΝ<sup>210</sup> δὲ ἐξενέικαντας ἐκέλευε<sup>211</sup> sious of  
ΤΩΝ ἈΓΧΙΣΤΑ ΔΕΕΣΘΑΙ. ἀπελθόντων ὦν τῶν θεοπρόπων, revenge,  
ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἁλὴν ποιησάμενοι· ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ consult the  
λεγόντων αὐτῶν ΤΩΝ ἈΓΧΙΣΤΑ ΔΕΕΣΘΑΙ, εἶπαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι Delphic  
ἀκούσαντες τούτων “οὐκ ὦν ἀγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοι and are puzzled  
by the an-  
swer.

looked east (like the subsequent one), and in this I conceive the goddess to have been associated with Erechtheus, the Athenian Poseidon, a similar arrangement to that which existed elsewhere. (See the note 188 on § 72, and 223 on § 82.) Here the fetters were dedicated. But contemporaneous with this temple, and in a manner forming a part of it, was the fane of Pandrosos, which seems to be meant by “the fane turned westward.” (See PAUSANIAS, i. 27. 3.) It was in this fane that the sacred olive-tree grew which shot out after its destruction by the Persians. (viii. 55; APOLLONORUS, iii. 14. 1.) If we suppose the Pandroseum (or Cecropieum; for father and daughter seem to have been united in the religious legends of the place) to have faced the west, the site given by LEAKE for the *Quadriga* exactly corresponds with the description of Herodotus, and yet this description will not oppose his notion of the way in which the new Erechtheum was laid out. (*Athens*

and the *Demi of Attica*, i. p. 340, and Appendix.) In this, which was planned by Phidias, but not completed till after the Peloponnesian war, Athens Polias alone appears to have had a temple on the site of the ancient one, but Erechtheus one looking northward,—while the Pandroseum was in an angle to the south,—all three however being under one roof. Hence there is no temple whatever “turned westward” in the buildings which made up the new Erechtheum.

<sup>209</sup> οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικούντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους. See note 193, above.

<sup>210</sup> ΠΟΛΥΦΗΜΟΝ. A personification of the commonalty, the “many-voiced.” Compare τὴν ἀμφίρρυντον (above, iv. 163).

<sup>211</sup> ἐκέλευε. One MS omits this word, perhaps rightly. It might readily be supplied by inference from the former clause of the sentence. See below, § 82, ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερον τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης [ἐκέλευε].

τε καὶ Κορωνάιοι καὶ Θεσπιέες<sup>213</sup>, καὶ οὗτοί γε ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ  
μαχόμενοι, προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον; τί δὲ τού-  
των γε δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἢ τὸ χρηστήριον.”  
Τοιαῦτα δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενων, εἶπε δὴ κοτε μαθὼν τις “ ἐγὼ μοι  
δοκέω συνίεναι τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήιον Ἀσωποῦ  
λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἰγίνα· τούτων  
ἀδελφεῶν ἐουσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινητέων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν  
χρῆσαι τιμωρητήρων γενέσθαι.” καὶ οὐ γὰρ τις ταύτης  
ἀμείνων γνώμη ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο  
Αἰγινητέων, ἐπικαλεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν σφι βοηθεῖν, ὥς  
ἐόντων ἀγχιστέων· οἱ δὲ σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας  
συμπέμπειν<sup>214</sup> ἔφασαν. Πειρησαμένων δὲ [τῶν Θηβαίων] κατὰ  
τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων<sup>214</sup> καὶ τρηχέως περιεφθέντων ὑπὸ

80

They apply  
for aid to  
the Ægine-  
ans,

81

their very  
prosperous

<sup>213</sup> Ταναγραῖοι τε καὶ Κορωνάιοι καὶ Θεσπιέες. Why these three should have been especially named here among the Boeotian towns in alliance with Thebes is very difficult to say. Tanagra and Thespiae have some pretensions to be immediate neighbours of Thebes, and as they lie towards the Attic frontier might readily suggest themselves as valuable allies to Thebes. But Coronea (or—as Herodotus must have called it if the reading Κορωνάιοι is genuine—Corone or Coronæ) is at a considerable distance to the N.W. of Thebes, with several towns of importance lying between. It may be thought to be mentioned from the circumstance of its being the first place occupied by the Boeotians when they issued from Thessaly and expelled the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Copaic lake, and from its being also the place where the *Pambræotia* were celebrated. (STRABO, ix. cap. 2.) But it seems more likely that Herodotus is here following an Athenian tradition, and that therefore the principle of selection is one connected with *Athenian associations*. Now at Coronea was the temple of *Itonia Athene*, and in the immediate neighbourhood formerly stood the Boeotian towns Athens and Eleusis, on the banks of the brook Triton. Close by was Alalcomenæ, where there was a temple of Athene of great antiquity and highly venerated, and of which the tradition ran that the goddess was born there (a mythical way of expressing the fact that her peculiar ritual spread from thence as a cen-

tre). Now if we suppose the informant of Herodotus to have been a person attached to the service of Athene on the acropolis of Athens, it is only natural that Coronea should occupy a prominent place in his mind, to the exclusion of other towns which would, from a Theban point of view, have been more appropriate. One may even conjecture that such a person might use the adjectival form Κορωνάιος from Κορώναι, (after the analogy of Ἀθηναί, instead of the usual forms, which were (according to STEPH. BYZANTINUS) Κορώνιος, Κορωνεὺς, or Κορωνεῖδης, where a citizen of the Boeotian town was indicated. It may be added that there was at least a mythical connexion between Athens and the other two towns (although, in the case of these, their proximity to the Attic frontier renders such a consideration unnecessary), for the Attic Gephyraei, whom Herodotus mentions above, §§ 55. 57, were, as he takes special pains to inform his hearers, originally from Boeotian Tanagra; and one of the traditions at Thespiae made the founder to be a Thespius, son of the Athenian Erechtheus. (PAUSAN. ix. 26. 6.) Indeed, after the Persian invasion this town was rebuilt under Athenian auspices (see viii. 75), so that the connexion, not of Thebes but of Athens, with all three of the towns named is clearly established. See notes 184 and 197.

<sup>213</sup> τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν. See above, note 201.

<sup>214</sup> κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων,

τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὶς [οἱ Θηβαῖοι <sup>215</sup>] πέμψαντες, τοὺς μὲν kinsmen,  
and ancient  
enemies of  
Athens, who  
aid them by  
ravaging  
the coast of  
Attica. Δίακιδας σφὶ ἀπεδίδουσιν τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο· Αἰγυιῆται δὲ, εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλῃ ἐπαρθέντες, καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους <sup>216</sup>, τότε Θηβαίων δεσθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον <sup>217</sup> Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον· ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖσι, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον, κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας πολλοὺς δήμους· ποιεῖντες δὲ ταῦτα, μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσίνοντο <sup>218</sup>.

Ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἡ προσφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυιητέων, 82  
ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖσδε· Ἐπιδαυριοῖσι ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα The cause  
of the feud  
between  
Athens and  
Ægina. ἀνεδίδου. περὶ ταύτης ὧν τῆς συμφορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ ἐχρέωντο ἐν Δελφοῖσιν ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμίης τε καὶ Αὐξήσιης <sup>219</sup> ἀγάλματα ἰδρυσάσθαι, καὶ σφὶ ἰδρυσαμένοισι ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι· ἐπειρώτεον ὧν οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιεῖνται [τὰ ἀγάλματα <sup>220</sup>] ἢ λίθου ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερα τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης ἐδέοντο ὧν οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφὶ δοῦναι ταμέσθαι, ἱρωτάτας δὲ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι <sup>221</sup>. λέγεται

The Epi-  
daurians ob-  
tain some  
sacred olive-  
wood on  
condition of  
doing ser-

"under the notion that they had the *Æacidæ* for their allies." See below, § 86, κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν.

<sup>215</sup> [οἱ Θηβαῖοι]. The manuscript S has οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, which seems to indicate that both οἱ Θηβαῖοι and οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι are glosses inserted to render the sense more perspicuous. I have therefore retained the reading of Gaisford and the majority of MSS, but have placed it within brackets as a probable interpolation. But if it be one, it seems likely that τῶν Θηβαίων two lines back is also one; for if *πειρησαμένων* and *πέμψαντες* be referred to the same subject, the change of construction is gratuitously clumsy. I should account for the change by referring *πειρησαμένων* to the Thebans *with their allies*, the Boeotian confederacy, but *πέμψαντες* to the Thebans *alone* as the heads of the confederacy.

<sup>216</sup> ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους. This is the reading of Gaisford and the majority of MSS. But one has ἐχούσης Ἀθην., and Aldus ἐούσης πρὸς Ἀθην. The variations induce me to suspect that the clause is an explanatory gloss. The case is a different one from that in viii. 144.

<sup>217</sup> πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον, "a piratical warfare," without the previous proclamation by heralds.

<sup>218</sup> ἐσίνοντο. One manuscript (M) has *εσινέοντο*, which Gaisford follows. But see the note on ix. 13.

<sup>219</sup> Δαμίης τε καὶ Αὐξήσιης. The penultimate of the former of these words is probably long, and possibly the orthography should be *Δαμείης*. The origin of the word is undoubtedly δαμαία (= δαμάτηρ), and the two deities are precisely equivalent to the γῆ κουροτρόφος and δημήτηρ χλόη, who were worshipped together in a temple just at the entrance to the acropolis at Athens. (PAUSANIAS, i. 22. 3; ARISTOPHANES, *Lysistr.* 835.) ÆSCHYLUS (*Choeph.* 45) puts the invocation *ὡ γαῖα μαῖα* into the mouths of the Argive women.

<sup>220</sup> [τὰ ἀγάλματα]. These words are omitted in the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford retains them, but they appear to me to be a gloss. For *ποιέονται* Gaisford and the MSS have *ποιούνται*. But see note 170 on i. 53.

<sup>221</sup> ἱρωτάτας δὲ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι. These were the so-called *Moria*, sacred trees, originally twelve in number, which stood in the Academy. ARISTOPHANES refers to these (*Nub.* 1005) as shading the walk where the young Athenians, who cultivated gymnastic exercises for the torch-race, practised themselves in run-



vice annually at the temple of Athens and Erechtheus on the acropolis.

δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐλαίαι ἦσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, ἢ Ἀθήνησι<sup>222</sup>. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δώσειν ἔφασαν, ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπάξουσιν ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Πολιάδι ἱρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεΐ<sup>223</sup>.

καταίνεσσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖτοισι οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι, τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν τουτέων ποιησάμενοι ἰδρύσαντο· καὶ

83

At this time Ægina was a vassal of Epidaurus, but immediately afterwards became independent and hostile.

ἢ τε γῇ σφι ἔφερε, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπετέλεον τὰ συνέθετο. Τοῦτον δ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ<sup>224</sup>, Αἰγινῆται Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδauρον ἐδίδοσαν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, νῆας τε πηξάμενοι καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων ἅτε δὲ ἑόντες διάφοροι, δηλέοντο αὐτοὺς ὥστε δὴ θαλασσοκράτορες ἑόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ<sup>225</sup> τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε

The Æginetans carry off the images, and set them up in their own island. The ritual of the nature of a carnival, both there and at Epidaurus.

Δαμῆς καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαίρρονται αὐτῶν, καὶ σφεα ἐκομίσαντό τε καὶ ἰδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρας ἐς τὴν μεσόγαίαν τῇ Οἴῃ μὲν ἔστι οὖνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστά κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει· ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, θυσίῃσί τε σφεα καὶ χοροῖσι γυναικῆτοισι κερτόμοισι ἱλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς δὲ ἡγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναῖκας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι αἱ τοιαῦται ἱεροργίαι· εἰσὶ δὲ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱεροργίαι. Κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰ συνέθετο οὐκ ἐπετέλεον πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ

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ning: ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν κατιὼν ὑπὸ ταῖς Μορίαις ἀποθρέει. They started from an altar of Prometheus and ran to the city. In the time of PAUSANIAS one of these olives was pointed out as being the second oldest in the world, the precedence being given to the sacred plant in the Pandroseum on the acropolis (PAUSAN. i. 30. 2). The prize given to the victors in the Panathenæan games consisted in part of a vase containing some of the oil produced from these plants. (ARISTOTLE, *ap. Schol. ad Soph. Œd. Col.* 701.) PINDAR congratulates Theæus the Argive on twice obtaining some (*Nem.* x. 61, *seqq.*):

—ἀδείαι γε μὲν ἀμβολάδαν ἐν τελεταῖς δις Ἀθαναῶν νιν ὀμφαί κάμασαν· γαῖά δὲ καυθείσα πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐνόροα λαὸν ἐν ἀγέων ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοις.

<sup>222</sup> κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, ἢ Ἀθήνησι. This is the reading which Gaisford selects. The MSS vary between that, κατὰ χρόνον ἐκείνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήναις, κατὰ χρόνον ἐκείνον ἢ Ἀθήνησι, κατὰ χρόνον κείνον ἢ Ἀθήνησι (or ἐν Ἀθήναις), and κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήναις. These variations induce the suspicion that the words are an interpolation from a marginal commentary.

<sup>223</sup> τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ . . . καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεΐ. See above, notes 183, 188, and 208. After the word Ἀθηναίῃ Gaisford prints τε. But the particle is not found in S and V. And it is not appropriate; for the deities were united in the ritual referred to.

<sup>224</sup> καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. The MSS vary between this reading and καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦτον, a variation which seems to indicate an interpolation from a marginal note.

<sup>225</sup> καὶ δὴ καί. See note 6 on i. 1.

Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμήνιον<sup>226</sup> τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὥς οὐκ ἄδικοιεν ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἶχον τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελέειν τὰ συνέθετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστερήσθαι αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Αἰγινῆτας πρῆσσεσθαι ἐκέλευον. πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Αἶγιναν πέμψαντες ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα<sup>227</sup>. οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἔφασαν, σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρήγμα. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλῆναι τριήρεϊ μὴ τῶν ἀστῶν, τούτους οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Αἶγιναν, τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα ὥς σφετέρων ξύλων ἔοντα ἐπειράοντο ἐκ τῶν βάρων ἔξανασπᾶν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι, περιβαλόντας σχοινία ἔλκειν τὰ ἀγάλματα· καὶ σφί ἐλκουσι βροντὴν τε καὶ ἄμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τριηρίτας τοὺς ἔλκον-  
 τας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονῆσαι· παθύντας δὲ τοῦτο, κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἅτε πολεμίους ἐς δ' ἐκ πάντων ἓνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομίσθηναι αὐτὸν<sup>228</sup> ἐς Φάληρον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Αἰγινῆται δὲ, οὐ μὴ νηὶ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁλόγῳ πλεῦνας μῆς, καὶ εἴ σφί μὴ ἔτυχον εἶναι νέες, ἀπαμύνασθαι ἂν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλῆσι νηυσὶ ἐπιπλέειν

An Athenian expedition for the purpose of recovering them is destroyed supernaturally,

85

only one man surviving.

86

The Æginetic account differs in the particulars from that

<sup>226</sup> ἐμήνιον. The words *mēnis* and *mēniein* are more especially used of the wrath felt by a deity or hero on account of some injury. See the case of Minos, vii. 169. Here the word is perhaps applied to the Athenians considered as the representatives of Athens and Erechtheus, who had been defrauded of their dues. If Herodotus's authority was (as there is some reason for conjecturing; see notes 184 and 212) a person connected with one of the temples in the acropolis, this use of the word would be very natural.

<sup>227</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι . . . τὰ ἀγάλματα. This sentence is an instructive example of the change of construction, suitable to the varying nature of the incidents mentioned. The destruction of the Athenians who were sent to obtain the images was a fact well known and admitted; as was also the circumstance that they had attempted to remove them by force. The question was, what was the character of the emissaries, and under what circumstances did the destruction take place. Herodotus begins by giving the Athenian account of

the nature of the expedition. The messengers were taken from among the citizens (not soldiers), and went with a single galley (not in force). So much is in the indirect form; he then changes to the direct one in narrating the acknowledged facts, and returns to the indirect where the Athenian and Æginetic accounts again diverge. "The Athenians now say, that after the formal demand there were sent, in a single galley, some citizens, those who, having been publicly commissioned, and arriving at Ægina, did certainly try to lift these images, as being made of wood which was theirs, out of their stands, in order to carry them back; and that not being able to manage them in this way, they passed lines round and trailed the figures." If the whole of the circumstances had been peculiar to the Athenian story, the author would have continued the *indirect* form throughout: *ὅς ἀποπεμφθέντας ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενος, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>228</sup> αὐτὸν, "alone."

of the  
Athenians,

σφι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοὶ δὲ σφι εἶξαι, καὶ οὐ διανανυμαχῆσαι<sup>229</sup>.  
(οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημῆναι ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἔσσονες συγ-  
γινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ κατὰ τοῦτο<sup>230</sup> εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ βου-  
λόμενοι ποιῆσαι οἶόν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν) Ἀθηναίους μὲν νυν, ἔπει  
τέ σφι οὐδεὶς ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν  
τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ  
τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ, οὕτω δὴ περιβαλλομένους σχοινία ἔλκειν, ἐς οὐ  
ἐλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφότερα τῶντ' οὕτως ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ  
πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἄλλω δέ τω· ἐς γούνατα γὰρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσέειν,  
καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθηναίους  
μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν, σφέας δὲ Αἰγινῆται λέγουσι, πυθομένους  
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥς μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐτοίμους  
Ἀργεῖους ποιεῖσθαι· τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν  
Αἰγινάην, καὶ παρῆναι βοηθούντας σφι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους<sup>231</sup>. καὶ  
λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ οὐ προακη-  
κοῦσι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιπесέειν ὑποταγομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν  
νεῶν ἅμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντὴν τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμόν  
αὐτοῖσι. Λέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἅδε·  
ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, ἕνα μόνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα  
αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι· πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι,  
αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἕνα τοῦτον  
περυγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου, περυγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδὲ  
τούτου τὸν ἕνα, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· κομισθεὶς γὰρ ἐς  
τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγειλε τὸ πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν  
ἐπ' Αἴγιαν στρατευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, δεινόν τι ποιησαμένας κείνων  
μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, πέριξ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον λαβούσας  
καὶ κεντεύσας τῇσι περόνῃσι τῶν ἱματίων, εἰρωτᾶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων  
ὅκη εἶη ὁ ἐωυτῆς ἀνὴρ; καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀθηναί-  
οις δὲ ἔτι τοῦ πάθους δεινότερόν τι δόξα εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν  
ἔργον· ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεφ' ζημιώσῃσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν  
δὲ ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλλον<sup>232</sup> αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα· ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ

87  
but both  
agree that  
only one  
man re-  
turned.

<sup>229</sup> οὐ διανανυμαχῆσαι, "abstained from deciding the issue at sea." Compare viii. 63.

<sup>230</sup> κατὰ τοῦτο. Compare § 81, above, κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν τῶν Αἰακιδέων.

<sup>231</sup> τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι

ἐς τὴν Αἰγινάην, καὶ παρῆναι βοηθούντας σφι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, "exactly now as the Athenians had effected a landing on the Æginetic shore, there arrived the Argives to help them." See note 472 on iv. 181.  
<sup>232</sup> ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν . . . τὴν δὲ

τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθήτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίῃ παρα- Customs of  
πλησιωτάτην μετέβαλλον ὧν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι Athenian  
μὴ χρέωνται· (ἔστι δὲ ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ ἴας αὕτη growing  
ἢ ἐσθῆς τὸ παλαιὸν, ἀλλὰ Κάειρα· ἐπεὶ ἡ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθῆς out of this  
88 war.  
πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ αὐτὴ ἦν τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέο- The so called  
μεν) τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργείοισι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα Ionian  
ἔτι τότε ποιῆσαι<sup>232</sup> νόμον εἶναι παρά σφι ἑκατέροισι τὰς περόνας garb is really  
ἡμιολίας ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεῶτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν Carian.  
τῶν θεῶν τουτέων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναῖκας· Customs of  
Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν, μήτε κέραμον, Argives and  
ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωρίων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν. Eginetans  
Ἀργείων μὲν νῦν καὶ Αἰγινήτεων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τε τόσου<sup>234</sup> κατ' having the  
ἔριν τῶν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐφόρεον μέζοντας ἢ πρὸ same origin.  
τοῦ.

Τῆς δὲ ἔχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένης ἀρχὴ 89  
κατὰ τὰ εἶρηται ἐγένετο. τότε δὴ Θηβαίων ἐπικαλεομένων, προ- The Pythi-  
θύμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμνησκόμενοι οἱ an oracle  
Αἰγινήται ἐβόηθεον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι. Αἰγινήται τε δὴ ἐδῆεν τῆς recommends  
Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ὀρμεωμένοισι ἐπ' the Atheni-  
Αἰγινήτας στρατεῦσθαι, ἦλθε μαντήιον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐπισχόντας ans to keep  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινήτεων ἀδικίου<sup>233</sup> τριήκοντα ἔτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τριη- the peace  
towards  
thirty years.

ἐσθήτα μετέβαλλον. The change of construction here appears to rest on the same grounds as that remarked on in the note 227, above. It was a fact that there had been a change of costume in the Athenian women. The cause of this change was in Athenian traditions said to be the outrage just related, a view which the feud between Athens and Ægina rendered plausible; although when the matter was looked into, the reputed new dress turned out to be the ancient Carian garb, and the difference between an Ionian and a Dorian costume to be a fiction of recent times, subsequent to the feud between the Dorian and Ionian races acquiring its full development.

<sup>232</sup> τότε ποιῆσαι. These words are dependent upon the sense of Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι continued on. It was a part of the Athenian tradition that the murder was the origin of the Argive and Æginetan custom. Translate: "And for the Argives

and Æginetans [the Athenians say], that, besides, this incident further caused it to be a custom with each of them," &c. It must not be supposed that Herodotus intends to represent the Argives and Æginetans as giving the same account of the origin of their practice. All that he asserts in confirmation of the tradition is the extraordinary magnitude of the "brooches."

<sup>234</sup> ἐκ τε τόσου. These words appear to be corrupt. The Sancroft MS has ἐκ τότε. It seems probable that the text grew out of an union of two different readings, ἐκ τότε and ἐκ τόσου. I have left it as Gaisford prints it, because it is impossible to decide between the two, each giving a good sense: ἐκ τότε, "from that time;" ἐκ τόσου, "from so far back." In the next section two MSS exhibit such an union of two readings, ἀδικίου and αἰκίου.

<sup>233</sup> ἀδικίου. The MSS vary between

κοστῶ, Αἰακῶ τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Διγινήτας πολέμον καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται· ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπιστρατεύωνται, πολλὰ μὲν σφεας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πείσεσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσειν τέλος μέντοι καταστρέφεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῶ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν, τοῦτο<sup>226</sup> τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς Ἱδρυται· τριήκοντα δὲ ἔτεα οὐκ ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες ὅκως χρῶν εἰη ἐπισχεῖν, πεπονθότας πρὸς Διγινήτων ἀνάρσια. Ἐς τιμωρίην δὲ παρασκευαζομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρήγμα ἐγειρόμενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο. πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα<sup>227</sup>, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο διπλὴν, ὅτι τε ἄνδρας ξείνους σφι ἔοντας ἐξεληλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἔτι τε πρὸς τούτοις ἐνὶ γόν σφεας οἱ χρησμοὶ, λέγοντες πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν ἀδαέες, τότε δὲ Κλεομένεος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐξέμαθον. ἐκτήσατο δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος τοὺς χρησμούς<sup>228</sup>, τοὺς ἐκτείνετο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι ἐξελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἔλιπον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ καταλειφθέντας· δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνέλαβε. Τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμούς, καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐώρεον αὐξομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοίμους ἔοντας πείθεσθαι σφι, νόφ λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον τῷ ἑωυτῶν γίνετο<sup>229</sup>, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πειθαρχέσθαι ἐτοῖμον μαθόντες

90

The Spartans repent of the part they had taken in the expulsion of the Pisistratids from Athens,

91

this word and αἰκίον, and c, d unite both. Both are forms not found elsewhere. See notes 212 and 226, above.

<sup>226</sup> τοῦτο. This word is quite superfluous in a written history, but would be very appropriate in a speaker, who, while telling his story, might point to the sacred precinct. It is an idiom constantly employed by Herodotus, even where there remains no trace of the original use.

<sup>227</sup> τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα. See note 154 on § 63, above.

<sup>228</sup> τοὺς χρησμούς. See what is related below (vii. 6) of Onomacritus, who had been highly patronized by Hipparchus. ARISTOPHANES very happily ridicules the

importance popularly attached to vagrant oracular prophecies:

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ταυτὶ τί ἐστι; ΚΛΕΩΝ. λόγια.

ΔΗ. πάντ'; ΚΛ. ἐθαύμασας;

καὶ νῆ Δ' ἔτι γε μούστι κιβωτὸς πλέα.

ΑΛΛΑΝΤΟΙΠΩΛΗΞ. ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπερῶν καὶ ξυνοικία δύο.

ΔΗ. φέρ' ἴδω, τίνας γάρ εἰσιν οἱ χρησμοὶ ποτε;

ΚΛ. οἶμολ μὲν εἰσι Βάκιδος. ΔΗ. οἱ δὲ σοὶ τίνας;

ΑΛ. Γλάνιδος, ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Βάκιδος γεραιτέρου.

(Knights, 998—1004.)

<sup>229</sup> γίνετο. Gaisford, with the manuscripts S and V, has ἀν γίνετο.

δὲ <sup>240</sup> τούτων ἕκαστα, μετεπέμποντο Ἰππὶν τὸν Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Συγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ <sup>241</sup>, ἐς δὲ καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισι-στρατίδαι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ σφί Ἰππῆς καλεόμενος ἦκε, μεταπεμψά- and send for delegates from their allies to meet Hip-  
pias. μνοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγέλους, ἔλεγόν σφί Σπαρτιῆται τάδε· “ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιή-σασι ὀρθῶς <sup>242</sup>. ἐπαρθέντες γὰρ κιβδηλοῖσι μαντητοῖσι, ἄνδρας ξείνους ἐόντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξω τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξήλασαμεν, καὶ ἔπειτα, ποιήσαντες ταῦτα, δῆμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν ὃς ἐπεὶ τε δι’ ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀνέκυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμέων περιῦβρῖσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας <sup>243</sup> αὐξάνεται ὥστε ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδῆες, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἀμαρ-τῶν. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθά σφεας ἅμα ὑμῖν ἀκεόμενοι τίσασθαι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτου εἵνεκεν τόνδε τε τὸν Ἰππὶν μετεπεμψάμεθα, καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, ἵνα κοινῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ κοινῷ στοδίῳ ἐσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδῶμεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλούμεθα.”

Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο 92  
τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ἵηγον, Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωσι-  
κλῆς ἔλεξε τάδε. Socles, a  
Corinthian,  
deprecates

<sup>240</sup> μαθόντες δέ. The particle δὲ in this use corresponds nearly to the Latin *inquam*. It serves to recal the attention to the principal point to be impressed upon it, after a kind of digression.

<sup>241</sup> ἀπὸ Συγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ. See above, § 65, and below, § 94.

<sup>242</sup> συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς. Compare ix. 60, συνοῖδαμεν ἡμῖν . . . τοῖσι πολλὸν προθυμοῖ-τοισι.

<sup>243</sup> δόξαν φύσας, “having gained glory.” This could hardly be said of the Athenian commonalty at the time of which Herodotus is speaking, and would scarcely have been said of them by a Spartan at any time. But it should be remembered that here it is probably an Athenian speaking under the Spartan mask; and consequently it is no more surprising that he should pay a compliment to his own countrymen in the assumed character, than that he should make the Lacedæmonians charge themselves with being deceived by

spurious oracles, with breach of faith to their own allies, with making a formal compact with tyrants, and end with prophesying evil to themselves from Athens (for it seems scarcely doubtful that they themselves are indicated by the words *τις καὶ ἄλλος*). To make such a speech as is here attributed to the Lacedæmonians would, from the Hellenic point of view, be equivalent to proclaiming themselves as the enemies of the gods, led into the path of destruction by their own tutelary deity, the Delphic Apollo. It would be applying to themselves the current sentiment which is embodied by SOPHOCLES in the well-known words (*Antig.* 620):

σοφία γὰρ ἔκ του  
κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται  
τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ’ ἐσλὸν  
τῷδ’ ἔμμεν ὅτ’ φρένας  
θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἔταν  
πράσσει δ’ ὀλιγίστον χρόνον ἐκτὸς ἄτας.

their proposal, and

“Ἡ δὴ ὁ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἔνερθε τῆς γῆς<sup>244</sup> καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἔξουσιν καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς<sup>245</sup>, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰσοκρατίας καταλύοντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλιν κατὰγειν<sup>246</sup> παρασκευάζεσθε· τοῦ οὔτε ἀδικώτερον οὐδὲν ἐστὶ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μαιφονώτερον. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε δοκέει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν, ὥστε τυραννεύεσθαι τὰς πόλιν, αὐτοὶ πρῶτον τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι, οὕτω καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δίκησθε κατιστάναι· νῦν δὲ, αὐτοὶ ἄπειροι ἔοντες τυράννων, καὶ φυλάσσοντες δεινότατα τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους<sup>247</sup>. εἰ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἔμπειροι ἔατε κατὰπερ ἡμεῖς, εἴχετε ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνωνας συμβάλλεσθαι ἥπερ νῦν.

reminds them of the times of the Cypselids at Corinth.

Action married Labda, a lame person, daughter of Amphion, a Bacchiad.

ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΙΣΙ γὰρ ἦν πόλις κατὰστασις τοιγύδε· ἦν ὀλυγαρχίη, καὶ οὗτοι·<sup>a</sup> Βακχιάδαί καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν· ἐδίδουσιν δὲ καὶ ἥγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων<sup>248</sup>. Ἀμφίων δὲ, ἔοντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γίνεται θυγάτηρ χωλὴ· οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα<sup>249</sup>. ταύτην,

<sup>244</sup> ὁ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἔνερθε τῆς γῆς. This is one of the passages which show the firm conviction prevalent at the time, that the earth was fixed and the heaven a firmament above it. In the formula of a treaty between the Romans and the Latins, preserved by DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, the peace was to last μέχρῃς ἂν οὐρανὸς τε καὶ γῆ τὴν αὐτὴν στάσιον ἔχωσι (vi. 95). This treaty was made in the year 491 B.C. Compare the treachery described by Herodotus iv. 201. But after the times of the Ptolemies, when the real figure of the earth became known, other modes became resorted to for the purpose of illustrating the fixedness of the established order of things (see VIRGIL, *Bucol.* i. 60; OVID, *Trist.* i. 8. 5; SENECÆ, *Med.* 373), and this too by poets especially fond of reproducing ancient images.

<sup>245</sup> ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς. THUCYDIDES (i. 18) remarks that not only the Athenian tyranny, but the same form of government in the rest of Greece, where it generally existed, was, with the exception of Sicily, in almost every case put an end to by the Lacedæmonians, who, for the space of more than four hundred years ending with the termination of the Peloponnesian

war, had been well governed and free from despotic rulers.

<sup>246</sup> κατὰγειν. This is the technical phrase for bringing home an exile to his country. See i. 60, where Athens is said κατὰγειν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν the banished Pisistratus. The exile himself was said κατεῖναι. The idiom is very distinctly shown in EURIPIDES, *Med.* 1015; ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΣ. θάρσει· κάτει· τοι καὶ σὺ πρὸς τέκνων ἐτι.

ΜΗΔΕΙΑ. ἄλλους κατὰξω πρόσθεν ἢ τά-λαι· ἐγὼ.

<sup>247</sup> παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους, “you take the matter lightly when it touches your allies.” παραχρᾶσθαι is equivalent to ἐκ παρέργου χρῆσθαι.

<sup>a</sup> οὗτοι, viz. οἱ ὀλίγοι, gathered by inference from the word ὀλιγαρχία.

<sup>248</sup> This limitation of the “connubium” to members of the same body is expressed by Herodotus elsewhere by the words ἐπιγαμίας ποιῆσθαι (ii. 147). Instead of διδόναι the more technical phrase is ἐκδιδόναι. See note 136 on ii. 47.

<sup>249</sup> οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα. If Herodotus means to represent this name as a *soubriquet*, given to Amphion’s daughter from the circumstance of one leg being

Βακχιαδέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἤθελε γῆμαι, ἴσχει Ἡετίων ὁ Ἐχεκράτεος,  
 δήμου μὲν [ἐκ Πέτρης] ἐὼν<sup>250</sup>, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν<sup>251</sup> Λαπίθης τε  
 καὶ Καίνειδης<sup>252</sup>. ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες  
 ἐγίνοντο<sup>253</sup>. ἐστάλλη ὦν ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνου ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτὸν  
 ἰθέως ἡ Πυθίη προσαγορεύει τοισὶδε τοῖσι ἔπει·

Ἡετίων, οὗτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἔδοντα.

Λάβδρα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοῖτροχον ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται

ἀνδράσι μουνόροχοις, δικαίῳσι δὲ Κόρινθον.

ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ Ἡετίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεται κως τοῖσι Βακχιά-  
 δησι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστήριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν  
 ἄσημον, φέρων τε ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος καὶ λέγον ὥδε·

Λιεύς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει· τέξει δὲ λείοντα

καρτερὸν, ὠμωστήν πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει.

ταῦτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἱ περὶ καλὴν

Πειρήνην<sup>254</sup> οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρύνοντα Κόρινθον.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρ- Cypselus is  
 the issue,

longer than the other (like the letter A), the late origin of the story appears. Much later than the time of Cypselus λ was written λ in inscriptions.

<sup>250</sup> δήμου μὲν ἐὼν, "being a member of the commonalty." The words ἐκ Πέτρης appear to me an interpolation by an annotator who took δήμου to mean a local burgh here as below. But the word ἀτὰρ indicates an opposition; and there would be none whatever if δήμου meant a local burgh in this place.

<sup>251</sup> τὰ ἀνέκαθεν. See note 156 on § 62, above.

<sup>252</sup> Καίνειδης. Gaisford has Καίνιδης. The MSS vary between the two forms. But the eponymous ancestor is Καίνεις, of whom Nestor speaks in the *Iliad* (i. 264) as one of the Lapithæ, whose ally, in their war against the Centaurs, he was in his youth.

<sup>253</sup> ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. It has been considered that this construction is a parallel to such passages as ARISTOPHANES, *Av.* 695, γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀήρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν, i. e. where the negation is omitted in the beginning of the sentence and supplied by inference from the subsequent clauses. But this idiom seems appropriate only to the style of poetry. And it is unneces-

sary to suppose it here. Herodotus wishes to say that Ætion had children by this woman, but by no other, and then goes on to tell the particulars. The legend apparently made him to be a person regarded as barren; and hence the expression of the oracle: οὗτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἔδοντα. Labda was bestowed upon him under the idea that he would not become a father.

<sup>254</sup> Πειρήνην. This fountain is described by STRABO as being immediately under the summit on which the temple of Aphrodite stood. The spring itself did not overflow, but was always full of excellent water. LRVY, after his manner, exaggerates the features of this part, "Arx inter omnia in immanem altitudinem edita, scalens fontibus" (xiv. 28). According to Strabo it was the lower part of the mountain, not the citadel, to which this description applies. STATIUS picturesquely remarks the shadow cast by the Acrocorinthus (see the next note) in the morning on the Cirrhæan gulf, in the evening on the Ægean (*Theb.* vii. 106):—

—"Summas caput Acrocorinthus in  
 auras  
 Tollit, et alternâ geminum mare protegit  
 umbrâ."



τοιν τότε δέ, τὸ Ἡελίῳνι γενόμενον ὡς ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνήκαν ἐν συνωδὸν τῷ Ἡελίῳνος· συνέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, ἐθέλοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἡελίῳνι γενέσθαι γόνον διαφθεῖραι. ὡς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ κατοικητῷ Ἡελίῳν, ἀποκτενέοντας τὸ παιδίον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην<sup>255</sup>, καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ Ἡελίῳνος, αἶτεον τὸ παιδίον ἢ δὲ Λάβδα, εἰδυῖά τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκεῖνοι ἀπικόλατο καὶ δοκέουσά σφεας φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἵνεκα αἰτέειν, φέρουσα ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐνί τοῖσι δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο κατ' ὁδὸν, τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον προσουδίσαι<sup>256</sup>. ἐπεὶ τε ὦν ἔδωκε φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν θείῃ τύχῃ προσεγέλασε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὸν, φρασθέντα τοῦτο, οἰκτός τις ἴσχει ἀποκτείνει· κατοικτείρας δὲ παραδιδόει τῷ δευτέρῳ· ὁ δὲ, τῷ τρίτῳ· οὕτω δὴ διεξήλθε διὰ πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενον, οὐδεὸς βουλομένου διεργάσασθαι· ἀποδόντες ὦν ὀπίσω τῇ τεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξεληθόντες ἔξω, ἐστεῶτες ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων ἄπτοντο κατατιώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρῶτου λαβόντος ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα· ἐς δὲ δὴ σφί, χρόνου ἐγγυομένου, ἔδοξε αὐτῖς παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν. ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡελίῳνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστῆν· ἡ Λάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἤκουε ἐστεῶσα πρὸς αὐτῇσι τῇσι θύρῃσι· δέισασα δὲ μὴ σφί μεταδόξῃ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατόν οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην ἐπισταμένη ὡς εἰ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς ζήτησιν ἀπικόλατο, πάντα ἐρευνήσῃ μέλλουιν τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγίνετο. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ καὶ διζήμενοι αὐτοῖσι ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἔδοκε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπέμψαντας ὡς πάντα ποιήσειαν τὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνετείλαντο.

<sup>255</sup> τὴν Πέτρην. It appears from this expression that the house of Aetion was in a part of Corinth which was called ἡ πέτρα, but it does not follow that such was the name of the local deme in which he resided. And there is no trace of a Corinthian deme being so named any where except in the present narrative. In STRABO's time the town lay under the rock on which the citadel was built, the sharp summit of which was surmounted with a temple of Aphrodite, and had the name

Acrocorinthus appropriated to it. This last is the "beetling Corinth" of the oracle; but the term ἡ πέτρα might well have been applied to the whole mountain, which extended so far that the ascent was thirty stades (viii. p. 211).

<sup>256</sup> προσουδίσαι. Compare EURIPIDES, *Med.* 1151, βρέφος τε τοῦμὸν ζῶν προσούδισας πέδῳ. In *Psalms* cxxvi. 9 the expression for the same act is in the Septuagint ἐθαψίζω.

οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα· Ἡετιῶνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ <sup>who, when</sup> <sup>grown up,</sup> <sup>encouraged</sup> <sup>by an oracle</sup> <sup>from Delphi,</sup> <sup>makes him-</sup> <sup>self tyrant</sup> <sup>of Corinth.</sup> παῖς αὐξάνετο καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντι τούτου τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυνέλης ἐπανυμῆην Κύνφελος οὖνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κυνφέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τῷ πίσυνος γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον <sup>257</sup>. ὁ δὲ χρησμός οὕτως ἦν

Ὀλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει <sup>258</sup>,

Κύνφελος Ἡετιῶνης <sup>259</sup>, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῦ Κορίνθου·  
αὐτὸς, καὶ παῖδες, παῖδων γὰρ μὲν οὐκ ἐτί παῖδες.

Τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦν. τυραννεύσας δὲ ὁ Κύνφελος, τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε <sup>260</sup>, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς. ἄρξαντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος <sup>261</sup> τὸν βίον εὖ, διάδοχος οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περιάνδρος <sup>He is succeeded by his son</sup> <sup>Periander,</sup> <sup>who be-</sup> γίνεται. ὁ τοῖνυν Περιάνδρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἡπιώτερος τοῦ πατρὸς· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὠμίλησε <sup>262</sup> δι' ἀγγέλων Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ

<sup>257</sup> ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον. These words seem to indicate that the tradition here followed made Cypselus effect a revolution by force. ARISTOTLE however couples him with Panæstius in Leontium, Pisistratus in Athens, and Dionysius in Syracuse, as an instance of a person becoming a tyrant from a demagogue. (*Politic.* v. p. 1310, l. 29.) And in another passage (v. p. 1315, l. 22) he says of him that throughout his whole reign, which lasted thirty years, he had no body-guard (κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος). The Corinthian speaker appears rather to conceive a case like that of Cylon at Athens. For other differences between his representations and other traditions, see notes 260 and 267.

<sup>258</sup> ἐσκαταβαίνει. Valcknaer well remarks that this phrase is more appropriate to a person consulting the oracle of Trophonius, or some deity whose shrine was a cave, than to the case of the Delphic oracle.

<sup>259</sup> Ἡετιῶνης. EUSEBIUS (*Præp. Evang.* v. 35), quoting this verse, has the variation Αἰακίδης. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the true reading is Αἰετίδης, a gentile name formed from *aleris*, under which term the father of Cypselus, Aetion, was symbolized in a former oracle.

<sup>260</sup> χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε. This, if the case at all, was apparently, according to

other accounts, by excessive taxation. See note 267, below. ARISTOTLE (*Æconom.* ii. p. 1346, l. 32) says that Cypselus had made a vow to Zeus, that if he became sovereign of Corinth, he would offer up the whole property of the country. He fulfilled this vow by taking the tenth part every year for ten years; so that, says Aristotle, he fulfilled his vow, and yet left the country as rich as before.

<sup>261</sup> διαπλέξαντος. Some MSS have διαπλεύσαντος. Neither of these readings look like a corruption from the other. The former may be illustrated by iv. 205: οὐδὲ Φερεσίμῃ εὖ τὴν ζῶν κατέπλεξε, the latter by PLATO, *Phædon.* § 78: ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σχεδίας κινδυνεύοντα διαπλεῦσαι τὸν βίον.

<sup>262</sup> ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὠμίλησε. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iii. p. 1284, a, l. 28) tells the same story as Herodotus, except that he makes Periander the giver and Thrasylbulus the recipient of the advice. That this is not an oversight is clear from his referring to the same transaction in another passage (*Politic.* v. p. 1311, a, l. 20), as τὸ Περιάνδρου πρὸς Θρασύβουλον συμβούλευμα, ἢ τῶν ὑπερχόντων σταχῶν κόλουσις. In LIVING we find the story transplanted to the soil of Latium, and the *dramatis personæ* the king Tarquin and his son Sextus. See note 494 on ii. 160

comes a  
more cruel  
tyrant than  
himself.  
Anecdote of  
Thrasylbulus  
of Miletus.

Μιλῆτου τυράνῳ, πολλῷ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μαιφονώτερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλον κήρυκα, ἐπυνθάνετο ὄντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων, κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύει; Θρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περιάνδρου ἐξῆγε ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος· ἐσβὰς δὲ ἐς ἄρουραν ἐσπαρμένην, ἅμα τε διεξήϊε τὸ λήϊον, ἐπειρωτῶν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα<sup>363</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἄπιξιν, καὶ ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὅκως τινα ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέχοντα· κολουῶν δὲ, ἔρριπτε· ἐς δὲ τοῦ λήϊου τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπον τοιούτῳ· διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἔπος οὐδὲν, ἀποπέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κορίνθον, ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκην ὁ Περιάνδρος· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ ἔφη Θρασύβουλον ὑποθέσθαι· θωμάζειν τε αὐτοῦ, παρ' οἷον μιν ἄνδρα ἀποπέμψειε, ὥς παραπλήγῃ τε καὶ τῶν ἐνυτοῦ σινάμωρον ἀπηγγεόμενος τάπερ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου ὁπώπειε. Περιάνδρος δὲ συνιείς τὸ ποιηθὲν, καὶ νόφ' ἰσχων ὥς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεῖν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέφαυε ἐς τοὺς πολίτας. ὅσα γὰρ Κύψελος ἀπέλιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περιάνδρός σφεα ἀπετέλεσε. μὴ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπέδυσε πᾶσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας, διὰ τὴν ἐνυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν πέμψαντι γάρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν<sup>364</sup> ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκυομαντήριον παρακαταθήκης περὶ ξεινικῆς, οὔτε σημανέειν ἔφη ἡ Μέλισσα ἐπιφανεῖσα, οὔτε κατερέειν ἐν τῷ κέεται χάρφ' ἢ παρακαταθήκῃ· ῥιγοῦν τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυνή· τῶν γὰρ

Anecdote of  
Periander  
and of his  
wife Me-  
lissa.

and 368 on iv. 144. The intimate connexion that existed between Periander and Thrasylbulus appears from what Herodotus relates of the information sent by the former to Miletus (i. 20).

<sup>363</sup> ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα, "bringing the messenger back to his story." *Æschines* (*Ctesiph.* § 193) enlarging on the exactness of the jurymen formerly in technical matters, says: πολλὰκις ἀναποδίζων τὸν γραμματέα, καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα.

<sup>364</sup> ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν. In Ambracia (which was in Thesprotia) another Periander (whom some accounts made to be the sage) possessed sovereign power. He was expelled by a conspiracy got up by one of the nobles in revenge for a gross insult, the commons

siding with the conspirators. (*ARISTOTLE, Polit.* v. p. 1311, l. 40, and p. 1304, l. 32.) *NEANTHES OF CYZICUM* made him to be cousin-german of the Corinthian tyrant (*ap. Diog. Laert.* i. 98); but this does not appear on any earlier authority than his, i. e. about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. *STRABO* says that Ambracia was founded by Tolgus, the son of Cypselus (and therefore brother of the Corinthian Periander), and not far from the mouth of the river Acheron stood the Thesprotian *Erythra*—the name anciently borne by Corinth (vii. c. 7, p. 120). It seems plain that Thesprotia was at this time under Cypselid influence; and also that a Periander, in some way nearly connected with the Corinthian tyrant, reigned there.

οἱ συγκατέθεψε εἰμάτων ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδέν, οὐ κατακαυθέντων μαρτύριον δέ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθέα ταῦτα λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ ψυχρὰν τὸν ἵπνον Περῖανδρος τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Περῖανδρῳ, (πιστὸν γάρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον, ὃς νεκρῷ εἰσοῖση Μελίσσῃ<sup>265</sup> ἐμβῆ.) ἰθέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγελίην κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον<sup>266</sup> ἐξίεναι πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ, ὡς ἐς ὀργὴν, ἥσαν κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι· ὁ δ' ὑποστήσας τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἀπέδυσέ σφεας πάσας ὁμοίως τὰς τ' ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιπόλους· συμφορήσας δὲ ἐς ὄνυμα, Μελίσσῃ ἐπευχόμενος κατέκαμε ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ποιήσαντι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμφαντι ἔφρασε τὸ εἶδωλον τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χάρον τοῦ ξείνου τὴν παρακαταθήκη. τοιοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ὑμῶν ἡ τυραννὶς<sup>267</sup>, ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων

<sup>265</sup> Μελίσσῃ. This was not only a proper name, but a technical term of the female hieropants of Demeter and Persephone. (HESYCH. *sub* v. μέλισσαι, and POSEPHRY, *De Antro Nympharum*, quoted by Küster in his note on the same.) It was also a name of Selene in the character of Lucina. It seems not unlikely that the horrible story in the text grew out of a perversion of the fact that Perianther habitually consulted the oracle of the *χθονία θεὰ*, just as Numa was represented as the husband of the nymph Egeria. See note 164 on l. 52.

<sup>266</sup> ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον. This was the temple of Here under the surname *Βουράα*, situated not *outside* the city, as might be guessed from the phrase *ἐξίεναι*, but just under the summit Acrocorinthus. PAUSANIAS describes it last of all the temples seen on the ascent to the summit, which itself was surmounted by the temple of Aphrodite (ii. 4. 7). See note 255, above. The local legends made it founded by one Bunus, son of Hermes and Alcideama, and a curious story brought it into connexion with the magical rites ascribed to Medea. This rests on the authority of EUMELUS, a Corinthian and Bacchiad genealogical poet, whose traditions therefore represent the mythical views prevalent at Corinth in his time, which is supposed to be the eighth century before the Christian era. Helios (the sun-god) gave the region of the Asopus to Aloeus, and that of Ephyræ (the ancient name of Corinth) to Æetes, the father of Medea. Æetes de-

parting for Colchis put the government in the hands of Bunus, on whose death Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, succeeded to the sovereignty. Afterwards on the death of Corinthus, son of Marathon, the Corinthians sent for Medea from Iolchus, and made her queen. Through her influence Jason reigned in Corinth, and Medea had children by him. But these, as they were born, their mother *buried* in the temple of Here Bunus, in the hope of rendering them immortal. Being detected by Jason in the act, and also deceived in her expectation, she fled and left the sovereignty to Sisyphus. The act attributed to Medea indicates that Here Bunus was a *χθονία θεὰ*, and the same thing would be inferred from the temples in her immediate neighbourhood,—which were, one to the *Μήτηρ θεῶν*, and another to the *Μοῖρα*, Demeter, and Cora. Concerning the import and origin of the word *Βουράα*, see *Excursus* on iv. 199.

<sup>267</sup> τοιοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ὑμῶν ἡ τυραννὶς. The speaker takes no notice of that which, according to other accounts, seems to have been characteristic of the Cypselid dynasty, *viz.* their prodigal expenditure in votive offerings, which however was primarily designed to secure themselves in power by crippling the resources of their countrymen. THEOPHRASTUS (*ap. Photium*, *sub* v. *Κυψελίδων ἀνδραγαθία*) mentions "the pyramids in Egypt and the Colossus of the Cypselids" as erected with this object. ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1313, line 22) takes the same view. EPICHRUS (*ap.*

ἔργων. ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τότε αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἶχε, ὅτε ὑμέας εἶδομεν μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππίην νῦν τε δὴ καὶ μεζόνως θωμάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα· ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε, ἐπικαλέομενοι ὑμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους, μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλιν· οὐκὼν<sup>269</sup> παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καταγόντες Ἰππίην, ὅστε ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναίνεοντας.”

93

Hippias replies to Socrates predicting evil to Corinth from Athens.

Σωσικλῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων ἔλεξε τάδε. Ἰππίης δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς κείνῳ, ἥ μὴν<sup>269</sup> Κορινθίους μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν σφί ἤκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύρια ἀνιάσθαι ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων. Ἰππίης μὲν τοῦτοισι ἀμείψατο, οἷά τε τοὺς χρησμούς ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ σφέας αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Σωσικλῆος ἤκουσαν εἰπαντος ἐλευθέρως, ἅπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ῥήξας, αἰρέετο τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνῶμην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τε ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο, μὴ ποιεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα. οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα ἐπαύσθη.

94

Ἰππίῃ δὲ ἐνθεύτην ἀπελαινομένην ἐδίδον μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀνθεμούντα<sup>270</sup>, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ Ἰωλκόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερα αἰρέετο, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον<sup>271</sup>, τὸ εἶλε

*Diog. Laert.* i. 96) gives a different reason from Herodotus for the stripping of the women at the Heraeum. Periander had made a vow that if he won the chariot race he would erect a golden statue (the famous Colossus) at Olympia. Finding his stock of gold insufficient, and observing the quantity of that metal worn by the women at “a certain” religious festival, he took that and made the image of it. Probably the clothes were burnt to obtain the inwrought gold; as by Croesus (i. 50).

<sup>269</sup> οὐκὼν. So S, V. Gaisford οὐκ οὖν. The regimen in which this word is here used is peculiar to Herodotus. The sense is the same as if for it the words *καὶ, οὐ γὰρ* were substituted. See i. 11: οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε ἀλλ’ ὅρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην, . . . αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. i. 59: οὐκὼν ταῦτα παρανέσσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλει τὸν Ἰπποκράτεια, γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισιστράτον. Another mode of taking the passage would be by placing a note of interrogation after Ἰππίην, which would bring the construction under a well-known form. See notes 689

on i. 206 and 299 on iv. 118.

<sup>269</sup> ἥ μὴν. Gaisford has, with some of the MSS, ἥ μὲν. But the form in the text, which is supported by S and V, is appropriate when the very phraseology used is intended to be given.

<sup>270</sup> Ἀνθεμούντα. The town Anthemus lay near Thessalonica, but was farther removed from the coast. An earlier connexion of Pisistratus with Macedonia appears from the circumstance of his having obtained a large revenue from the Strymon (i. 64), that is, apparently, from the neighbouring mines.

<sup>271</sup> ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον. Whither he had retreated on his expulsion from Athens by the Lacedæmonians. (See above, § 65.) The position of Sigeum was most favourable both for commerce and for plunder of commercial rivals. See the description of the headland in the note 117 on iv. 38. Under it there was an excellent port for vessels, which was supposed to be the site of the Hellenic camp during the Trojan war. The whole Troad was full of settlements of the Æolians, and Sigeum seems originally to have been fortified by them.

Πεισίστρατος αἰχμῇ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων κρατήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ, κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ νόθον Ἑγησίστρατον, γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός<sup>273</sup>. δς οὐκ ἀμαχητὶ εἶχε τὰ περ ἔλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλλήου πόλιος ὀρμεώμενοι<sup>274</sup> καὶ Σιγείου ἐπὶ χρόνον συχρὸν Μυτιληναῖοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώραν Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὔτε συγγνωσκόμενοι, ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Διολεῦσι μετέον τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρας, ἣ οὐ καὶ σφί καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις<sup>275</sup> ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω<sup>276</sup> τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς. Πολεμεόντων δὲ σφειν, παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν 95 τῇσι μάχῃσι· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητῆς, συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικάντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει<sup>276</sup>, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὄπλα ἰσχοῦσι Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σφρα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεὶ ἐς Μυτιλήνην<sup>277</sup>, ἐξαργελλόμενος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ πάθος Με-

It was wrested from them by Phrynon the Athenian, and probably recovered by Pittacus of Mytilene, who slew Phrynon in single combat. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1; *Diog. Laert.* i. 74.) After this perhaps the conquest by Pisistratus may have taken place. But Strabo takes no notice of any such thing.

<sup>273</sup> ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός. Perhaps this Argive connexion may have formed the link between Pisistratus and the Macedonian Amyntas, who was himself a Temenid, originally from Argos. (THUCYDIDES, ii. 99.)

<sup>274</sup> ἐξ Ἀχιλλήου πόλιος ὀρμεώμενοι. These contests were of the nature of those between the rival settlers on the Palatine and Aventine Hills, or that between the Athenians of the acropolis and the Amazons on the Areopagus. (See note on ix. 27.) The Ἀχιλλεύς πόλις was nothing more than a fortification thrown up about the barrow called the tomb of Achilles, which stood in the immediate vicinity of Sigeum. It was built as a means of annoying Sigeum (*ἐπιτειχισμός*), and the tradition (adopted by TIMÆUS, but rejected by DEMETRIUS OF SCEPSIS) ran that it was built from the stones of the demolished Ilium. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1.)

<sup>275</sup> ἣ οὐ καὶ σφί καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις. For illustration of this pleonastic use of οὐ see note 300 on iv. 118.

<sup>275</sup> ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω. ÆSCHYLUS (*Eumenid.* 397) puts the mythical argument for the Athenian claim to the disputed territory by making Athens come from the region in dispute, she having gone thither to hanel it immediately after the Trojan war:—

πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα κληδόνος βοῆν,  
ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου, γῆν καταφθατομένην  
ἦν δὴτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἑκτορές τε καὶ πρόμοι,  
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα,  
ἔνειμαν αὐτόπρεμον εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐμοί·  
ἐξάιρετον δάφημα Θησέως τόκοις.

<sup>276</sup> Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητῆς . . . φεύγων ἐκφεύγει. This incident, although as related it would naturally be taken to have happened in the course of the wars springing out of the occupation of Sigeum by Pisistratus, must undoubtedly have taken place long before if at all, as Alcæus was the contemporary and enemy of Pittacus, who slew Phrynon. (See note 271, above.) Phrynon's victory at Olympia as a pancratiast is placed in B.C. 636 (see CLINTON). And Periander died in all probability about B.C. 585 (see CLINTON), twenty-five years before Pisistratus became powerful in Athens.

<sup>277</sup> ἐπιτιθεὶ ἐς Μυτιλήνην. See note 125 on iii. 43.

λανίπῳ ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ. Μυτιληναίους δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατήλαξε Περικλῆς ὁ Κυνήλου τοῦτῳ γὰρ διαιτητῇ ἐπετρέποντο. κατήλαξε δὲ ὧδε νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους<sup>278</sup> τὴν ἔχουσι. Σίγειον 96 μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι<sup>279</sup>. Ἰππίης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπύκετο ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρήμα ἐκίνεε, διαβάλλων τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφέρνηα, καὶ ποικῶν ἅπαντα ὅκως αἱ Ἀθηναίαι γενοίατο ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ. Ἰππίης τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔρηρσε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα, πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδεις ἀγγέλους οὐκ ἔωντες<sup>280</sup> τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι φυγάσι· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφέρνης ἐκέλευε σφεας, εἰ βουλοίατο σόοι εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὅπῳ Ἰππίην. οὐκ ἔωθεν δὲ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους Ἀθηναῖον οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοις δὲ σφὶ δέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι<sup>281</sup>.

97  
Resumption  
of the his-  
tory of  
Aristago-  
ra's pro-  
ceedings  
from § 55.

97 Νομίζουσι δὴ ταῦτα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοις ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τοῦτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπύκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας<sup>282</sup>. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπῶν ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστα<sup>283</sup>. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ταῦτα<sup>284</sup> ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὥς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι<sup>285</sup>, εὐπετέες

<sup>278</sup> ἑκατέρους. Several MSS have ἀμφοτέρους, of which perhaps the reading in the text is a refinement,—possibly an improvement from the hand of the author himself.

<sup>279</sup> Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. The account in the text is such a one as might accord with the popular view at Athens. No mention whatever is made of the victory obtained over the Athenian general Phrynion (see note 271, above). The only circumstances alluded to are honourable to Athenian prowess, and the settlement of the question is represented as favourable to the justice of their claim. But in order to combine these advantages chronology is set at naught. See notes 213 and 214 on i. 63 and 64, also 138 on iii. 47.

<sup>280</sup> οὐκ ἔωντες, "protesting against."

<sup>281</sup> οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοις δὲ σφὶ δέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι, "and in refusing to receive them they had openly decided upon being at

war with the Persians." This expression seems introduced as a sort of justification for the Athenian attack on Sardis. And if the outrage on the Persian ambassadors (recorded in vii. 133) really took place, it too might perhaps have been excused by the Athenians on the ground that they were at the time at open war with Persia; so that the demand was a gratuitous insult. See the note 370 on iii. 134.

<sup>282</sup> ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. So the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford, with several others, omits the article.

<sup>283</sup> τῶν λοιπῶν ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστα. This is a somewhat less flattering way of putting what he had said above, i. 56, that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were the most powerful of the Hellenes, each being the leaders of the races to which they respectively belonged.

<sup>284</sup> ταῦτα. Gaisford ταῦτα.

<sup>285</sup> οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι. See note 484 on i. 142.

τε χειρωθῆναι εἶσαν. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἔλεγε, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τάδε, ὡς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι, καὶ οἰκὸς σφεας εἴη ῥύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγα· καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο, ὅλα κάρτα δέομενος· ἐς δ' ἀνέπεισέ σφεας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εἰπε-  
 τέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἓνα<sup>226</sup>, εἰ Κλεομένηα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μούνον οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες, ἐφηφίσαντο εἰκοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοηθοὺς Ἴωσι, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτῶν εἶναι Μελάνθιον, ἄνδρα τῶν Ἀστών, ἐόντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο<sup>227</sup>· Ἑλλήσι τε καὶ Βαρβάροις.

Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλάσας, καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, 98  
 ἐξευρὼν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἴωσι μὲν οὐδεμία ἐμελλε ὠφελῆ  
 ἔσεσθαι,—οὐδ' ὧν οὐδὲ τούτου εἵνεκα ἐπολεε, ἀλλ' ὅκως βασιλέα  
 Δαρεῖον ληψήσῃε,—ἐπεμφε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Παίονας, τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ<sup>228</sup> αἰχμαλώτους γενομέ-  
 νους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάξου, οἰκούντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χώρῳν τε καὶ  
 κώμῃν ἐπ' ἐωντῶν ὅς ἐπεὶ τε ἀπῖκετο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε  
 τάδε· “ ἄνδρες Παίονες, ἐπεμφέ με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου  
 τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑμῖν ὑποθησόμενον, ἥνπερ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι·  
 νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνὴ πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει  
 σῶζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρεν αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι

He sails to  
 Miletus,  
 and effects  
 the escape  
 of the  
 Pæonians  
 whom Da-  
 rius had  
 removed  
 into Phry-  
 gia.

<sup>226</sup> πολλοὺς γὰρ . . . διαβάλλειν ἢ ἓνα. This sentiment is one hardly calculated to find favour at Athens, and it contrasts strikingly in spirit with the remark in v. 78. It seems not impossible that the whole sentence is a note from a somewhat later hand, at a time when the numbers of the Athenians had become as great as those mentioned in the text. In the year 444 B.C. the number of professed citizens was only 19,000, and these were, on a scrutiny, reduced to 14,240. (See CLINTON on the year.) The next year the colony to Thurii, which Herodotus joined, took place; so that these numbers, if any, could hardly fail to be impressed on his mind. But 30,000 (which really was about the number of armed citizens and metics) seems, in common belief, to have been regarded as the number of citizens about the end of the fifth century B.C. ARISTOPHANES (*Eccles.* 1132) makes a servant-girl say

to her master:—

τίς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον δλβιότερος,  
 ὅστις πολιτῶν πλείων ἢ τρισμυρίων  
 ὄντων τὸ πλήθος οὐ δεδιπνηκας μόνος;

And Socrates (PLATO, *Sympos.* § 3) compliments Agathon, who had just been successful as a dramatic poet, on obtaining distinction before an audience of more than thirty thousand Greeks. (See CLINTON, F. H. vol. ii. *Appendix*, p. 390.)

<sup>227</sup> αὐταὶ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο. This was the first open act of hostility. But from the mention of the intrigues in the Persian court some time before (see iii. 134), it would seem that the conquest of Greece was projected long before the outbreak of the war, at least according to some accounts.

<sup>228</sup> τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ. See above, §§ 15. 23.



ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἡμῖν ἤδη μελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παῖονες, κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας, ἀπεδίδρυσκον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἀπικέατο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐς Χίον διέβησαν ἐόντων δὲ ἤδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθεε Περσέων ἵππος πολλὴ διώκουσα τοὺς Παίονας. ὥς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον τοῖσι Παίοσι, ὅπως ἂν ὀπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν οἱ δὲ Παῖονες τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο· ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χίοι σφεας ἐς Δέσβον ἤγαγον, Δέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον<sup>199</sup> ἐκόμισαν ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ κομιζόμενοι ἀπικέατο ἐς Παιονίην.

99  
Remain-  
ing in  
Miletus  
he sends an  
Athenian  
and Ionian  
force against  
Sardis,

Ἄρισταγόρης δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπικέατο εἴκοσι νηυσὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἐρετριέων πέντε τριήρεις, οἱ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν<sup>200</sup> ἐστρατεύοντο, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενά σφι ἀποδιδόντες· (οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἐρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον<sup>201</sup> συνδίνευκαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι ἀντὶα Ἐρετριέων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμοι ἐβοήθειον) οὔτοι ὦν ἐπεὶ τέ σφι ἀπικέατο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρήσαν, ἐποίετο στρατηγὴν ὁ Ἄρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδεις. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἄλλ' ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ· στρατηγὸς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἐωντοῦ τε ἀδελφεὸν Χαροπῖνον καὶ τῶν

100  
which takes  
the city

ἄλλων ἀστῶν Ἐρμόφαντον. Ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἴωνες ἐς Ἐφεσον, πλοῖα μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορήσῳ<sup>202</sup> τῆς

<sup>199</sup> ἐς Δορίσκον. In Doriscus there was a Persian fort and a garrison at the time of which Herodotus is speaking (see vii. 59). And the position was undoubtedly a strong one; for Doriscus was the only Persian position on the European continent which was maintained against all the efforts of the victorious Greeks after the campaigns of 480 and 479 B.C. (See below, vii. 106.) If the fugitives therefore were landed there, they must have been supported by a strong Lesbian force to protect them from the garrison.

<sup>200</sup> οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν. The Eretrians were not likely to mix themselves up in a quarrel against the Pisistratids; for they strongly assisted Pisistratus at the time of his exile. (See i. 62, and also note on vi. 100.)

<sup>201</sup> τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον. THUCYDIDES speaks of this war as one in

which a very considerable Hellenic confederacy was organized on each side. It seems to have been one arising out of rival commercial interests, each of the principal belligerents being the metropolis of a large number of colonies. In Thrace especially their interests may be supposed to have jarred, Chalcis having filled the region above Olynthus with her settlements, and Eretria the peninsula of Athos and Pallene with hers. (STRABO, x. c. 1, p. 323.) It is observable that as both of the towns are represented to have been founded from Athens by two different *οἰκισταί* (Æclus and Cothus) even before the Trojan war, so in latter times they appear connected with two different powerful Athenian families, those of Pisistratus and Isagoras. See note 199, above.

<sup>202</sup> ἐν Κορήσῳ. STEPH. BYZANT. speaks of this place as one where a legend

Ἐφεσίης, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ ποιούμενοι Ἐφεσίους and burns  
 ἡγεμόνας· πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καύστριον, ἐνθεύτην it, but is  
 ἐπεὶ τε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον<sup>293</sup> ἀπίκοντο, αἰρέουσι Σάρδις, repulsed  
 οὐδενός σφι ἀντιωθέντος· αἰρέουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τὰλλα from the  
 πάντα· τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύετο αὐτὸς Ἀρταφέρνης<sup>294</sup>, ἔχων citadel.  
 δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην. Τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι ἐλόντας<sup>295</sup> 101  
 σφέας τὴν πόλιν, ἔσχε τόδε· ἦσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν  
 πλεῖνες καλάμιναι, ὅσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι ἦσαν καλάμου  
 εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς. τουτέων δὴ μίαν τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ὡς  
 ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίης ἐς οἰκίην ἰὼν τὸ πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τὸ  
 ἄστν πᾶν καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος, οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι Περ-  
 σέων ἐνήσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν, ὥστε τὰ  
 περιέσχατα νεμομένου τοῦ πυρὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἄστεος, συνέρρεον ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποτα-  
 μόν· ὃς σφι ψήγγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμῶλου διὰ μέσης  
 τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμόν ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοί, ὁ δὲ ἐς  
 θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀβροι-  
 ζόμενοι οἱ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἡναγκάζοντο ἀμύνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ  
 Ἴωνες, ὀρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς δὲ σὺν  
 πλήθει πολλῶ προσφερομένους<sup>296</sup>, ἐξανεχώρησαν δέισαντες πρὸς

prevailed of Leto having given birth to Artemis on a spot where an altar to her was erected. A mountain is said to have been called by the name, but this place must have been on the coast, or the bank of the Cayster, by the ships being left there.

<sup>293</sup> ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον. ΣΤΡΑΒΟ (xiii. c. 4, p. 151) mentions the Persians having built on the very summit of Tmolus a station of observation of white marble, commanding a view of the plains all around, *especially the valley of the Cayster*. It might almost seem that the surprise related in the text was the occasion of their doing this.

<sup>294</sup> αὐτὸς Ἀρταφέρνης, "Artaphernes in person." Probably the fact of his being at Sardis casually increased the numbers of the troops there, and hence the expression ἔχων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην. See notes 333 on iii. 120 and 296, below. The viceroy and brother of the king (above, § 25) would of course not move from one place to another without a guard.

<sup>295</sup> ἐλόντας. The manuscripts S and V have ἐλθόντας, which is perhaps a genuine reading.

<sup>296</sup> τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει πολλῶ προσφερομένους. This expression no doubt refers to the main army then concentrating on Sardis (§ 102). Herodotus mentions no special quarters from whence it was moved. Magnesia on the Mæander appears (iii. 122) to have been the military headquarters of a Persian satrap; and perhaps the force there was the nearest available. This supposition would account for the Ionians having intelligence of the troops being put in motion; for the communication between Sardis and Magnesia would be through the Ephesian territory, which was friendly to them. In this view of the matter ὀρώντες should not be interpreted too strictly, although from Tmolus (see note 293, above) one probably could actually see the Persian columns marching towards the Cayster, before they reached the bank, and consequently while there was time to retreat.

τὸ οὖρος, τὸν Τρωῶλον καλεόμενον ἐνθεύτην δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπαλάσσουντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

102  
The Persian army is concentrated, and defeats the Ionians at Ephesus.

Καὶ Σάρδις μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρήσας θεοῦ Κυβήβης<sup>297</sup>. τὸ σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι, ὕστερον αὐτὴν ἐνεπύμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἑλλήσι ἱρά· τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἄλφειου ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπυθναόμενοι ταῦτα<sup>298</sup>, συνῆλθον καὶ ἐβοήθηον τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι. καὶ ὥς ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι οὐκέτι ἔοντας τοὺς Ἴωνας εὐρίσκουσιν· ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον, αἰρέουσι αὐτοὺς<sup>299</sup> ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες,

<sup>297</sup> ἐπιχωρήσας θεοῦ Κυβήβης. This passage shows that in the time of Herodotus Κυβέλη and Κυβήβη were regarded as two distinct deities. For at that period the former was completely identified in Hellenic notions with the μεγάλη μητήρ (see iv. 76), and if the latter had been so likewise, she would never have been described merely as in the text. The most probable supposition is that Κυβήβη was nearly identical with the Sidonian Astarte (Ashtaroth), the Assyrian Mylitta (see i. 131. 199), the Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία of the Cyprians (see i. 105), the Artemis Callisto of the Pelasgian-Arcadians, and the Venus of Latium,—that is to say, that she was a personification of the generative powers of Nature,—worshipped by rituals varying in detail, but in all cases of an impure character. The Syrian goddess described by LUCIAN (vol. ix. pp. 86—131, ed. Bipont), whose temple was at Hierapolis, near the Euphrates, may be regarded as furnishing the most developed of all recorded instances of this worship; and it appears not unlikely that from this centre the ritual spread in very early times throughout Asia Minor. (See note 329 on i. 93.) Lucian's description of the divinities (*Zeus* and *Here*, as he calls them) in the θάλαμος of the temple at Hierapolis is very instructive: *ἑμφω ἔσονται· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἥρην λέοντες φοροῦσιν· ὁ δὲ [Ζεὺς] ταύροις ἐφέζεται· καὶ δῆτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἔργον ἐς Δία πάντα ὁρᾷ, καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ εἴματα καὶ ἔδρην· καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐθέλων ἄλλως εἰκάσει· ἡ δὲ Ἥρην σκοπεῖν τοὶ πολυειδέα μορφήν ἐκφανέει. καὶ τὰ μὲν σύμπαντα ἀτρεκέει λόγῳ Ἥρῃ ἐστὶ· ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ Ἀθηναίης, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ Σεληναίης, καὶ Ῥήης, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ Νεμέσιος, καὶ Μοιρέων. χεῖρ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐτέρῃ σκηπτρον ἔχει, τῇ ἐτέρῃ δὲ ἄτρακτον· καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ*

*ἀκτίνας τε φορεῖ καὶ πύργον καὶ κροστῆν, τῇ μούνῃ τὴν Οὐρανίην κοσμέουσι.* (*De Dea Syr.* § 31.) Lucian does not give the native name of the deity,—STRABO calls her Atargatis,—but it seems not impossible that it was Κομβήβη or Κόμβη (for Κομβάδωσ is the Atys of the Syrian mythology, and stands in the same relation to Κομβήβη that κόβηβος (=δ κατεχόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, PHOTIUS) does to Κυβήβη. And if we further suppose that Κυβέλη and Κυβήβη represent the same deity in different relations,—for instance the former as Rhea, and the latter as Aphrodite,—an explanation is afforded of the two names being subsequently used indifferently. That the first syllable constitutes the root of the word seems likely from the word κυβ-αἶζοντα, explained by HESYCHIUS as a Laconian word for ἐνθουσιῶντα, and from the name Κόμβη, the mother of the Curetes (NONNUS, xiii. 135), and a nymph, afterwards called *Chalcis*, the eponymous foundress of the Euboean town opposite to Aulis. (HECATEUS, Fr. 105.) For the particular site of the temple see note 292 on i. 84. See the note 366 on i. 105 for another form of the same goddess, and see also note 121 on ii. 41.

<sup>298</sup> προπυθναόμενοι ταῦτα. One manuscript (S) has *προσπυθναόμενοι*. But Herodotus apparently wishes to show that intelligence of an intended outbreak had reached the Persian satraps, who began to concentrate their forces, although this operation was not completed in time to save Sardis. See note 296, above.

<sup>299</sup> αὐτοὺς. The Ionians, apparently without the Athenians, who had retreated to their ships on the first appearance of a concentration of the enemy's force. The completion of this operation by the Persians ἐντὸς Ἄλφειου ποταμοῦ νομοῦ ἔχον-

συμβalόντες δὲ πολλὸν ἐσώθησαν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι, ἄλλους τε ὀνομαστοὺς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκιδεα στρατιηγέοντα Ἐρετριέων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἀγῶνας ἀναραιρηκότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κητίου πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην, ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις.

Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο· μετὰ δὲ, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπικαλεομένου σφέας πολλὰ δι' ἀγγελῶν Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσιν σφίσι. Ἴωνες δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίης στερηθέντες, (οὕτω γάρ σφι ὑπῆρχε πεπονημένα ἐς Δαρείον,) οὐδὲν δὴ ἥσσουν τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευάζοντο. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, Βυζαντίον τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀπάσας<sup>300</sup> τὰς ταύτη ὑπ' ἐνωτοῖσι ἐπονήσαντο· ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτίσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχεῖν, ὥς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδεις τότε σφι καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο. Κύπριοι δὲ ἐβελονταὶ σφι πάντες προσεγένοντο, πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίων. ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ὧδε ἀπὸ Μήδων ἦν Ὀνήσιλος Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέως ἀδελφεὸς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ Σιρώμου<sup>301</sup> τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς· οὗτος ὥνῃρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέως· τότε δ', ὥς καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπύθετο ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνήγε· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαυτά μιν φυλάξας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὁ Ὀνήσιλος ἅμα τοῖσι ἐνωτοῦ στασιώτῃσι, ἀπεκλήρισε τῶν

103  
The Athenians desert the cause, but the rebellion is continued. The allies sail to the Hellespont, and gain Byzantium and the other cities, also the greater part of Caria and Caunna.

104  
All Cyprus revolts under the influence of Onesilus of Salamis, except Amathus, to which Onesilus lays siege.

tes, must have required a considerable time. Dascyleum on the Bithynian coast was another important military station (iii. 120. 126; vi. 33), besides Magnesia on the Meander, and probably troops were moved from both positions upon Sardis. From thence the combined army may be conceived to have marched upon Ephesus, where in the mean time an Ionian force was collected, the component portions of which, after an unsuccessful battle, ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις. It is observable that a different account from that of Herodotus, so far as the reputation of the Athenians is concerned, was given by CHABON OF LAMPRAEUS: Ἀθηναῖοι εὐκοσι τριήρεσι ἔπλευσαν ἐπικουρήσαντες τοῖς Ἴωσι καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύσαντο· καὶ εἶλον τὰ

περὶ Σάρδεις πάντα, χωρὶς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ βασιλῆως· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπ' ἀναχωροῦσιν εἰς Μίλητον. (cp. *Piutarch. De Malign. Herod.* p. 861, D.)

<sup>300</sup> τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀπάσας. Under these *Doriscus* cannot well be included. See note 289, above. But that place is rather to be considered as a stronghold, the Mantua of the Persian Lombardy, than a city.

<sup>301</sup> Σιρώμου. This seems to be a Phœnician name in vii. 98, where several of the MSS have the form Σιρώμου. JOSEPHUS (c. *Apion.* i. 18) calls *Hiram* *Εἰρωμος*, and the form in the text is perhaps a variation of the same word, as *serpo* of *ἔρπω*, *sex* of *ἔξ*, and the like. Onesilus very probably had Phœnician blood in his veins, being a Cyprian.

πυλῶν. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς τῆς πόλιος ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους<sup>302</sup>, Ὀνήσιλος δὲ ἤρχε Σαλαμίνος, καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίστασθαι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε· Ἀμαθουσίου δὲ οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι<sup>303</sup> ἐπολιόρκεε προσκατήμενος.

105

During the siege of Amathus, news of the revolt is brought to Darius,

Ὀνήσιλος μὲν νυν ἐπολιόρκεε Ἀμαθούνητα. βασιλεῖ δὲ Δαρεῖφ ὡς ἐξαγγέλθη Σάρδις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρήσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συν-υφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὖ εἰδότα ὡς οὐτοὶ γε οὐ καταπροΐζονται<sup>304</sup> ἀποστάντες, εἶρεσθαι οἷτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι; μετὰ δὲ, πυθόμενον, αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα οἷστον ἄνω ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπέιναι, καὶ μιν ἐς τὸν ἡέρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν “ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι.” εἵπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρεῖς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν “δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.” Προστάξας δὲ ταῦτα, εἶπε, καλέσας ἐς ὄψιν

106

who up-  
braids His-  
tiasus as the  
cause of it,

Ἰστιαῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, [τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος κατέειχε χρόνον ἤδη πολ-  
λόν] “πυνθάνομαι, Ἰστιαῖε, ἐπίτροπον τὸν σὸν τῷ σὺν Μίλητον ἐπέρεψας νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποικημένοι πρήγματα· ἄνδρας γάρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρης ἡπείρου ἐπαγαγὼν, καὶ Ἴωνας σὺν αὐτοῖσι,—τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν,—τούτους ἀναγνώσας ἅμα ἐκείνοισι ἔπεσθαι, Σαρδίων με ἀπεστέρηκε· νῦν ὦν κῶς τοι φαίνεται ταῦτα ἔχειν καλῶς; κῶς δ' ἄνευ τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τοιοῦτόν τι ἐπρήχθη; ὅρα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρης<sup>305</sup> σεωντὸν ἐν αἰτίῃ σχῆς.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἰστιαῖος· “βασιλεῦ, κοῖον ἐφθέγγασαι ἔπος; ἐμὲ βουλευσάι πρήγμα, ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν

but is per-  
suaded by  
him of his  
innocence,

<sup>302</sup> Γόργος . . . ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους. He appears again holding a prominent rank in the expedition of Xerxes against Hellas (vii. 35).

<sup>303</sup> οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι. The Amathusians were probably free from commixture of the Hellenic race in a greater degree than the population of the other Cyprian towns. SCYLAX (p. 41) describes them as autochthonous. And STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub v.*) states that the Adonis-Osiris was worshipped there as an aboriginal deity, although really Egyptian. There was also a temple of *Aphroditus*, in which Aphrodite was represented

bearded, and with a sceptre in her hand (HESYCHIUS, *sub v.* Ζεὺς ξένιος.) Such a deity would be a *θεὸς γαμήλιος*, analogous to the Here of Mycenae, a goddess of the very earliest times (see note 422 on ii. 141), and perhaps originally androgynous. (See the curious practice connected with her ritual related by PLUTARCH, quoted in the note on viii. 104.) A representation of a bearded female is given by MINUTOLI (t. xxix. 3) as that of an Egyptian priestess.

<sup>304</sup> οὐ καταπροΐζονται. See note 106 on iii. 36.

<sup>305</sup> ἐξ ὑστέρης. See note 382 on i. 108.

ἔμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχέσειν ; τί δ' ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποίκοιμι ταῦτα ; τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεῆς ἑὼν, τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ σοί, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἀξιεῦμαι ; ἀλλ' εἴ περ τι τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ εἴρηκας πρήσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον πεπρηχέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγωγε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, ὅπως τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον πρήσουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά' εἰ δ' ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεῦσι, καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐὼν ἀκήκοας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μάθε οἶον πρήγμα ἐργάσαιο ἐμέ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας. Ἴωνες γὰρ οἴκασι, ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφί γενομένου, ποιῆσαι τῶν πάλαι ἴμερον εἶχον ἐμέο δ' ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμία πόλις ὑπεκίνησε νῦν ὦν ὡς τάχος με ἄφες πορευθῆναι ἐς Ἰωνίην, ἵνα τοι κεῖνά τε πάντα καταρτίσω ἐς τὼντ' <sup>306</sup>, καὶ τὸν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροπον τοῦτον τὸν ταῦτα μῆχανησάμενον ἐγχειρίθεται παραδῶ ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σὸν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπόμενι τοὺς βασιλεῖτους, μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδύσασθαι τὸν ἔχων κιθῶνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίην, πρὶν ἂν τοι Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην <sup>307</sup> δασμοφόρον ποιήσω." Ἰστιαῖος **107** μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε <sup>308</sup>. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείθετο καὶ μιν <sup>and sends him to put down the revolt.</sup> ἀπίει, ἐντειλάμενος ἐπεὰν τὰ ὑπέσχετό οἱ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ, παραγίνεσθαι οἱ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνῆίε, **108** καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας Ἰστιαιφ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε,

<sup>306</sup> καταρτίσω ἐς τὼντ', "get them into order, as they were." See note 72 on § 28.

<sup>307</sup> νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. Sardinia probably obtained this reputation from its commercial importance,—it being for the Carthaginians what Sicily was for the Roman Republic and Egypt for the Roman Empire,—the place from which they habitually drew their supplies. They held firm possession of the plains, the aboriginal inhabitants retiring to the mountainous interior, where they bred cattle and sheep with extraordinary success. (Diod. Sic. v. 16.) No doubt it was mercenaries drawn from these highlanders which constituted the Sardinian force in the army with which Hamilcar attacked Gelon (vii. 165). The knowledge which the Hellenic cities of Herodotus's time had of all the islands west of Sicily was confined to the accounts brought by traders ;

in which nothing would be more natural than that the geographical size of any place should be inferred from the magnitude of its exports, estimated in the rough manner which alone at that time was possible. And these accounts no doubt came directly or indirectly from Carthaginian sources ; as the Carthaginian policy prohibited even their allies, the Tyrrhenes and Romans, from trading with the parts in question, except either at Carthage or the factories in Sicily. (POLYBIUS, iii. 24.) ERATOSTHENES (ap. Strabon. xvii. c. 1, p. 440) related that the Carthaginians made it a regular practice to sink any strange sail they fell in with, bound either for Sardinia or the straits. It was the importance of the island to them which suggested the advice of Bias to the Ionians (i. 170).

<sup>308</sup> διέβαλλε. See note 124 on § 50, above.

Events which occurred in Cyprus between the capture of Sardis and the arrival of Histieus on the coast.

An Ionian force arrives to co-operate with the Cyprians

109

under Onesilus against a Persian and Phœnician armada from Cilicia under Artymbius.

καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετημένος<sup>309</sup> ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγίνετο τάδε πολιορκέοντι τῷ Σαλαμίνι<sup>310</sup> Ὀνησίλῳ Ἀμαθουσίου ἐξαγγέλλεται, νηυσὶ στρατιὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντα Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον, ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν<sup>311</sup>, προσδόκιμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἐπικαλούμενός σφεας· Ἴωνες δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἦκον πολλὰ στόλῳ. Ἴωνές τε δὴ παρήσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νηυσὶ διαβάτες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης<sup>311</sup> ἤϊσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα πεζῇ τῇσι δὲ νηυσὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλων τὴν ἄκρην αἱ καλεῦνται Κληίδες τῆς Κύπρου. Τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου γινομένου, ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς στρατηγούς· “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἴρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι, ὁκοτέροισι βούλεσθε προσφέρεισθαι, ἢ Πέρσῃσι ἢ Φοίνιξιν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεζῇ βούλεσθε ταχύνετες Περσέων διαπειρᾶσθαι, ὥρῃ ἂν εἴη ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι πεζῇ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὰς νέας ἐμβαίνειν τὰς ὑμετέρας Φοίνιξιν ἀνταγωνιζόμενους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μᾶλλον βούλεσθε διαπειρᾶσθαι, ποιέειν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας, (ὁκότερα ἂν δὴ τούτων ἐλθῃ), ὅπως τὸ κατ’ ὑμέας ἔσται ἢ τε Ἰωνὴ καὶ ἡ Κύπρος ἐλευθέρῃ.” εἶπαν [οἱ]

<sup>309</sup> μεμετημένος. The manuscripts S and V have the form μεμετημένος (perhaps a genuine one) both here and in vi. 1. But in vii. 229 all the MSS have μεμετημένοι. Whichever reading be adopted, the reduplication of the preposition is remarkable.

<sup>310</sup> Ἀρτύβιον, ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν. The same name was borne by a Persian, who probably was the nephew of king Darius (vii. 66), if the reading of the manuscripts S, V, and d be genuine. But the others have Ἀρτόβιος.

<sup>311</sup> διαβάτες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης. The transit probably took place from *Anemurium*, a headland of Cilicia, from whence the run to *Κρομμίου ἄκρα* in Cyprus was estimated at only 350 *stadæ*, while the name of the Cilician cape (*Fair-wind*) would induce the belief that the predominant wind was favourable to persons who wished to cross. From ‘Point Onion’ to ‘the Keys’ was a run to the east of 700 *stadæ*; but in the interval the coast was favourable to such navigation as that of the ancients. In it was the *Ἀχαιῶν ἄκτῃ*, where the legend made Teucer, the found-

der of Salamis, first land; and from *Aphrodisium* (which was a little to the west of this), the march over land to Salamis was only 70 *stadæ*. ‘The Keys’ were really two little islands among a group lying off the mountainous promontory *Olympus*, on which was a temple of *Aphrodite*, and which is visible from the coast of Syria as well as that of Cilicia. The run to them direct from the mouth of the *Pyramus* was estimated at 700 *stadæ*, and from them to the high promontory *Πηδάλιον*, also crowned with an *Aphrodite*-temple, at 680 more. (STRABO, xiv. c. 6, pp. 242, 3.) From their name and from the circumstance of their distances from several points being recorded, it may probably be inferred that it was the practice for the coasting merchant vessels to pass through them or by them. It is very clear that Herodotus’s informant knew the coast only as a navigator, who called the promontory and group of islets by the name which his landmark bore; just as a pilot on the south coast of England will call the point of the Isle of Wight “the Needles.”

Ἴωνες πρὸς ταῦτα “ ἡμέας ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰόνων φυλάζοντας τὴν θάλασσαν <sup>312</sup>, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἵνα Κυπρίοισι τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ Πέρσησι περὶ προσφερώμεθα. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐπ’ οὐ ἐτάχθημεν, ταύτῃ πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί· ὑμέας δὲ χρεὼν ἐστὶ ἀναμνησθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων <sup>313</sup> γίνεσθαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς.” Ἴωνες μὲν τοῦτοις ἀμείψαντο μετὰ

110

δὲ, ἡκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Σαλαμινίων τῶν Περσέων, διέτασσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων <sup>314</sup>

A pitched battle is fought,

ἀπολέξαντες τὸ ἄριστον ἀντέτασσαν Πέρσησι. Ἀρτυβίφ δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἐθελοντὴς ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσιλος.

Ἦλανε δὲ ἵππον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος δεδιδωγμένον πρὸς ὀπλίτην Ἰσασθαι ὀρθόν. πυθόμενος ὦν ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, ἦν γάρ οἱ ὑπασπιστὴς γένος μὲν Κάρ τὰ δὲ πολέμα κάρτα δόκιμος, καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον “ πυνθάνομαι τὸν Ἀρτυβίου ἵππον ἰστάμενον ὀρθόν, καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἂν προσενεχθῇ· σὺ ὦν βουλευσάμενος αὐτίκα εἰπὲ ὁκότερον βούλει φυλάξας πληῆξαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὀπάων αὐτοῦ ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐτοίμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιέειν καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἂν ἐπιτάσσης σὺ ὥς μέντοι ἔμουγε δοκέει εἶναι τοῖσι σοῖσι πρήγμασι προσφερέστερον, φράσω βασιλεῖα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεὼν εἶναι φημι βασιλεῖ τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφέρεσθαι· ἦν τε γὰρ κατέλης ἄνδρα στρατηγόν, μέγα τοι γίνεται· καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ ἀξιώχρεω καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορῇ· ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐτέροισί τε ὑπηρέτησι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἵππον τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ [δὴ] τοι ὑποδέκομαι μὴ μιν ἀνδρὸς ἔτι γε μηδενὸς στή-

111

<sup>312</sup> φυλάζοντας τὴν θάλασσαν. See note on vi. 5.

<sup>313</sup> ἀναμνησθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων. There is nothing to show the bad condition of the Cyprians under the Median rule. Cyprus was reduced (for the first time according to Herodotus) by Amasis (ii. ult.), and it would seem that the desire of throwing off the Egyptian yoke induced them voluntarily to put themselves under the empire

of Cambyses. (See note 56, a, on iii. 19.) Yet there may have been an Egyptian party in Cyprus of whom what is said in the text was true.

<sup>314</sup> Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων. Soli was on the opposite side of the island from Salamis, but only a little to the west of ‘Point Onion.’ (STRABO, xiv. c. 6, p. 245.) The distance therefore between it and Salamis (see note 311, above) cannot have been great.



- 112 σεσθαι ἐναντίον." Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταντίκα συνέμισγε τὰ  
 in which the  
 Phœnician  
 fleet is  
 beaten by  
 the Ionian,  
 and the Per-  
 sian general  
 slain by  
 Onesilus;  
 στρατόπεδα πεζῇ καὶ νηυσί<sup>315</sup>. νηυσὶ μὲν νυν Ἴωνες, ἄκροι  
 γινόμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς Φοίνικας· καὶ  
 τούτων Σάμιοι ἡρίστευσαν πεζῇ δέ, ὡς συήλθε τὰ στρατόπεδα,  
 συμπεσόντα ἐμάχοντο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀμφοτέρους τάδε  
 ἐγένετο· ὡς προσεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Ὀνήσιλον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ ἵππου κατήμενος, ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο<sup>316</sup> τῷ  
 ὑπασπιστῇ παῖε προσφερόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρτύβιον ἐπιβαλόν-  
 τος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνησίλου ἀσπίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ  
 Κάρ δρεπάνῳ πλήξας ἀπαράσσει τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας. Ἀρτύ-  
 βιος μὲν δὴ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσέων ὁμοῦ τῷ ἵππῳ πίπτει αὐτοῦ  
 113 ταύτῃ. Μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Σιτησήνωρ, τύραννος ἐὼν  
 but the  
 treachery  
 of Stesantor  
 of Curium  
 turns the  
 scale, and  
 the Persian  
 army is vic-  
 torious.  
 Κουρίου<sup>317</sup>, προδοιοῖ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ ἑωυτὸν οὐ σμικρὴν  
 (οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργείων ἄποικοι) προδόντων  
 δὲ τῶν Κουριέων, αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμινίων πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα  
 τῶντ' οὗτοι Κουριεῦσι ἐποίη· γινομένων δὲ τούτων, κατυπέρτεροι  
 ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. τετραμμένον δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου,  
 ἄλλοι τε ἔπεσον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀνήσιλος τε ὁ Χέρσιος, ὅσπερ  
 τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν ἔρηξε, καὶ ὁ Σόλων βασιλεὺς Ἀρι-  
 στόκυπρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρου, (Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου, τὸν Σόλων ὁ  
 Ἀθηναῖος ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἶνεσε τυράννων μά-  
 114 λιστα.) Ὀνησίλου μὲν νυν Ἀμαθούσιοι<sup>318</sup>, ὅτι σφέας ἐπολιόρηκε,

<sup>315</sup> πεζῇ καὶ νηυσί. Although the Phœnician fleet had to sail round the easternmost point of Cyprus, and then a considerable distance along the s.e. coast of the island before reaching Salamis, the engagement of the land and sea forces is described as simultaneous. But from the narrowness of the island in this part (see note 311, above), it would be very easy to gain a point from which the arrival of the fleet of Salamis could be signaled to the Persian commander at or near Aphrodisium, and he would time his movements so as to produce a combined operation. By this he doubtless expected so fully to employ the Cyprian troops as to relieve Amathus, and enable the Amathusians to come out in force and menace the rear of Onesilus.

<sup>316</sup> κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο. See note 211 on iv. 76.

<sup>317</sup> τύραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου. The terri-

tory of Curium was contemporaneous to that of Amathus. (STRABO, xiv. c. 6. 243.) From this circumstance, and those pointed out in the note 315, one may infer that the plan of Onesilus was to keep Amathus in check by means of the Curian contingent, and to stop the Phœnician fleet by means of the Ionian, while he himself fought a pitched battle with the Persian army advancing from the north of the island. This plan was defeated by the treachery of Stesantor, who, instead of fulfilling his engagement, appears to have combined his forces with those of the Amathusians (see next note), and attacked Onesilus in the rear.

<sup>318</sup> Ἀμαθούσιοι. The mention of Amathusians on the field of battle seems to indicate that in some way or other the siege of their town had been raised. See the last note.

ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθούντα, καὶ μιν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἥδη εὐούσης κοίλης, ἐσμὸς μελισσῶν ἐσθὺς ἐς αὐτὴν, κηρίων μιν ἐνέπλησε· τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιούτου, ἐχρέωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι, ἐμαντεύθη σφί τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόντας θάψαι, Ὀνησίλῳ δὲ θύειν ὡς ἡρωϊ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· καὶ σφί ποιεῦσι ταῦτα ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. Ἀμαθούσιοι μὲν νυν ἐποίησαν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ. Ἴωνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχήσαντες, ἐπεὶ τε ἔμαθον τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὀνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμίνας, ταύτην δὲ Γόργῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεῖ τοὺς Σαλαμίνους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἴωνες ταῦτα ἀπέπλωον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολλῶν ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλείστον πολιορκευμένη Σόλοι· τὴν περίξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος<sup>119</sup> πέμπτῳ μηνὶ εἰλον οἱ Πέρσαι.

The Amathusians insult the dead body of Onesilus, but afterwards are commanded by an oracle to worship him as a hero.

115

The Ionians return to their own cities, and the Persians recover Cyprus.

Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ<sup>120</sup>, ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι, αὐτὶς ἐκ νῆς κατεδεδούλωντο. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου θυγατέρα, καὶ Ὑμέης τε καὶ Ὀτάνης καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοὶ<sup>121</sup> ἔχοντες καὶ οὗτοι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπιδιώξαντες τοὺς ἐν Σάρδισι στρατευσάμενους Ἰώνων, καὶ ἐσαράξαντές σφεας ἐς τὰς νέας τῇ μάχῃ ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεον. Δαυρίσης μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, εἶλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἶλε δὲ Ἀβυδὸν τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Λάμφακον καὶ Παισὸν ταύτας μὲν ἐπ' ἡμέρης ἐκάστης αἶρεε· ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντί οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίη, τοὺς Κᾶρας<sup>122</sup> τῷντ' Ἰωσι φρονήσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων· ἀποστρέψας ὦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην. Καὶ κως

116

The Persian army in three divisions attacks the Greek cities.

117

Daurises secures the shore of the Hellespont, but is compelled to move, in order to put down a

118

<sup>119</sup> περίξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος. See note 512 on iv. 200.

<sup>120</sup> Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ. The thread of the narrative is resumed from § 103.

<sup>121</sup> ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοί. These different officers, all of them sons-in-law of Darius, must be conceived of as holding subordinate rank to his brother Artaphernes. Otanes may perhaps be the same person who is mentioned as the στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασίων ἀνδρῶν (v. 25). As the husbands of different daughters,

they were unlikely to combine together against their father, and conjointly they perhaps operated as a check upon their uncle. (See note 65, above.) Indeed it is possible that two of them may have been husbands of daughters borne by Darius's first wife, the daughter of Gobryas. (See vii. 2.) It is very plain however (from § 123) that the three here named were superior in rank to the rest of the Persian generals.

<sup>122</sup> τοὺς Κᾶρας. See § 103, above.

movement  
in Caria.

ταῦτα τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐξαγγέλθη πρότερον πρὶν<sup>223</sup> ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσιν ἀπικέσθαι· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κᾶρες, συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκάς τε Στήλας καλεομένης καὶ ποταμὸν Μαρσύνην ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρας ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ· συλληχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν ἐνθαῦτα, ἐγίνοντο βουλαὶ ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε δοκέουσα εἶναι ἔμοι Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μανσώλου, ἀνδρὸς Κινδυέος<sup>a</sup>, ὃς τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως Συεννέσιος εἶχε θυγατέρα<sup>224</sup>. τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε, διαβάνας τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κᾶρας καὶ κατὰ νότου ἔχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω φεύγειν οἱ Κᾶρες αὐτοῦ τε μένιν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γενοίατο ἔτι ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. αὕτη μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι κατὰ νότου γίνεσθαι τὸν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι· δηλαδή, ἣν φυγὴ τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθέωσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὥς οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες.

119 Μετὰ δὲ, παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῇ Μαρσύνῃ ποταμῷ<sup>225</sup> συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἱ Κᾶρες, καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο ἰσχυρὴν καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν· τέλος δὲ ἐσώθησαν διὰ πλήθους. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες

The Cari-  
ans are  
beaten on  
the bank  
of the Mar-

<sup>223</sup> πρότερον πρὶν. Several of the MSS omit πρὶν, which undoubtedly is not required. But in vii. 8 all without exception have οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω.

<sup>a</sup> POLYBIUS (xvi. 12) speaks of a statue of Artemis Κινδυάς, (which was not far from Caryanda, according to STRABO, xiv. c. 2, p. 203), that although in the open air, never had either snow or rain fall upon it. The inhabitants of the neighbouring town *Iasus* believed exactly the same of their statue of *Hestia*. Strabo says that there once *was* a place called Κινδύη, but neither he nor Polybius speak of it as existing. Possibly the original is a mere sanctuary of the goddess whose native name was Κινδυάς, an Enyo, or Bellona, or Amazon. The advice of Pixodarus is quite in accordance with the worshipper of a war goddess. Κανδαῖος is a war god (see note 9 on v. 3), and Candaules a Lydian deity, identified sometimes with Heracles, sometimes with Hermes (HESYCHIUS, *sub v.*).

<sup>224</sup> ὃς τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως Συεννέσιος εἶχε θυγατέρα. It seems not improbable that the word Syennesis really denotes some title of honour assumed by the

Cilician chiefs, and (like Battus) is not strictly speaking a proper name. Herodotus here represents the son-in-law of a Syennesis as taking part with the Carians against Darius, while ÆSCHYLUS (*Perse*, 326) mentions a Syennesis as among the distinguished warriors on the Persian side slain at Marathon. He is described as Κιλικῶν ἑπαρχος. Another Syennesis (a Cilician), together with Labynetus the Babylonian, mediates a peace between the Lydian and Median monarchs in the year 610 B.C. (l. 74.) And a third, the son of Oromedon, commands a Cilician galley in the expedition of Xerxes (vii. 98).

<sup>225</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ Μαρσύνῃ ποταμῷ. This river is not to be confounded with that which issued from a grotto at *Celæne*, and fell almost immediately afterwards into the upper Mæander. That one, which is called *Marsyas* by XENOPHON, Herodotus designates by the name *Cataract*. See the notes on vii. 26, below. The *Marsyas* of the text is one of the streams from the south of Caria which fall into the lower Mæander.

ἐς δισχιλλούς, Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίους ἐνθεύτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες *was, but rally in the sacred wood of Zeus Stratius.*  
 αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανδα <sup>326</sup>, ἐς Διὸς Στρατίου ἱρὸν <sup>327</sup>, μέγα τε καὶ ἄγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων. μῦνοι δὲ, τῶν ἡμεῖς  
 ἴδμεν, Κἄρες εἰσι οἱ Διὶ Στρατίφ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες  
 ὧν οὔτοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁκότερα, ἢ παρα-  
 δόντες σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσησι ἢ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν  
 Ἀσίην, ἄμεινον πρήξουσι. Βουλευόμενοισι δέ σφι ταῦτα παρα- 120  
 γίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν  
 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κἄρες ἐβουλευόντο μετήκαν, οἱ δὲ  
 αὐτὶς πολεμῆν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο· καὶ ἐπιουσί τε τοῖσι Πέρσησι  
 συμβάλλουσι, καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλεῦν <sup>328</sup> ἢ πρότερον ἐσώθη-  
 σαν· πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων <sup>329</sup> πολλῶν, Μιλήσιοι μάλιστα  
 ἐπλήγησαν. Μετὰ δὲ, τοῦτο τὸ τῶμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνεμα- 121  
 χέσαντο οἱ Κἄρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμέαται οἱ  
 Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφένων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσφ <sup>330</sup> ὁδόν·  
 ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ *but subse-  
quently is  
cut off in  
an ambus-  
cade near  
Podasus.*

<sup>326</sup> ἐς Λάβρανδα. Several MSS, including S and V, have Λάβρανδα, and one (M) Λάβρανδα, which is the form given by the Oxford marble.

<sup>327</sup> Διὸς Στρατίου ἱρὸν. The image of Zeus here was represented holding not a sceptre, or a thunderbolt, but a double-headed axe, a symbol identical with the Amazonian hatchet, and probably also with the *hammer* of the Scandinavian Thor. PLUTARCH (*Questiones Græcæ*, § 45) gives the following legend accounting for this. When Heracles slew the Amazon Hippolyta, he took away her hatchet as a trophy and presented it to Omphale. From her time the kings of the Lydians themselves bore it until the time of Candaules. He, disdaining the ensign, committed it to a companion to carry. When Gyges revolted from him, one Arselis, a Carian from Mylasa, was his ally, and succeeded in destroying both Candaules and his friend. After this exploit he carried the axe among other spoils back to Caria, and making an image of Zeus, put the axe into its hands, and called the deity Labradeus, from the circumstance that Λάβρα was the Lydian word for an axe. This deity is an entirely different one from the Ζεὺς Κάριος of i. 171, where see the note 577. Labranda was a village situated on the mountain

which separated Alabanda from Mylasa. A made-road ran from the latter town to the temple, which was sixty *stadæ* off, and sacred processions used to take place along it, the principal Mylasians being priests of the deity. In the town of Mylasa itself there was another temple of Zeus under the local name of *Osegos*, the worship in which was confined to the Mylasians. That of *Labrandeus* seems to have been common to the Mylasians and the rural population, while again that of *Ogos*, the Ζεὺς Κάριος of i. 171 and PAUSANIAS (viii. 10. 4), was shared in by Lydians and Mysians as well. (STRABO, xiv. c. 2, p. 204.)

<sup>328</sup> πλεῦν. Gaisford adopts this form on the authority of the two manuscripts S and V, but the rest have πλεόν, which is the form generally used in Herodotus.

<sup>329</sup> τῶν πάντων, i. e. τῶν συμμάχων.

<sup>330</sup> ἐν Πηδάσφ. The MSS vary between ἐν Πηδάσφ, ἐπιπιδάσφ, ἐπὶ δάσφ, ἐπὶ δαύσφ, and ἐπὶ λαοσίον (which last is the reading of S and V). Valcknaer's conjecture ἐν Πηδάσευσι is a very plausible one; but the reading adopted by Gaisford was found by STRABO in the text. If therefore a corruption (which is not improbable), it is a very ancient one.

στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν, Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης<sup>321</sup>. σὺν δέ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω<sup>322</sup>. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλιος, ἀνὴρ Μυλασεύς<sup>323</sup>. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν.

122 Ἱμέης δὲ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιώξαντων τοὺς ἐς Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα εἶλε Κίον τὴν Μυσίην. ταύτην δὲ ἐξελὼν, ὡς ἐπίθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκλελοιπέναι Δαυρίσῃν καὶ στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προποντίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἦγε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ εἶλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα<sup>324</sup> νέμονται, εἶλε δὲ Γέργιβας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν<sup>325</sup>. αὐτὸς τε Ἱμέης αἰρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι.

123 Οὗτος μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε Ἀρταφέρνης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίων ἵπαρχος καὶ Ὀτάνης ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς<sup>326</sup>, ἐτάχθησαν<sup>327</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν

*Hymæas, after taking Cius in Mysia, falls back upon the Hellespont, and dies in the Troad.*

*Artaphernes and Otanes*

<sup>321</sup> Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης. The manuscripts S and V have Ἀρμόγης καὶ Σισαμάκης.

<sup>322</sup> Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. The individual here spoken of is probably the agent of Oroetes in his treachery against Polycrates; and perhaps owes his mention in this place to the evil notoriety which he acquired by connexion with the story of that remarkable prince. See iii. 122. Some MSS have the form Μύρσης instead of Μύρσος.

<sup>323</sup> Μυλασεύς. The MSS have Μυλασεύς, which Gaisford follows. But Μυλασὰ is unquestionably the true form of the town, and therefore both here and above (§ 37) I have adopted the ethnic Μυλασεύς.

<sup>324</sup> τὴν Ἰλιάδα. Valcknaer's conjecture, γῆν Ἰλιάδα, has great plausibility; for ἡ Ἰλιάς can scarcely mean any thing else than ἡ Τρῶς, which immediately follows.

<sup>325</sup> τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν. See note on vii. 20.

<sup>326</sup> ὁ τρίτος στρατηγός, i. e. with two others (Hymæas and Daurises), in co-ordinate rank with himself. See note 321 on § 116.

<sup>327</sup> ἐτάχθησαν. This word is appropriate to the case of orders received from a higher quarter. It is not impossible that Darius sent a sketch of the plan of operations which he desired to have followed out. It was quite in accordance with a system of centralization that the satrap of Sardis, even if formally the military superior of

the generals commanding the troops in Asia, should not be selected for his military talents, and therefore might prove unfit on a great emergency for directing extensive combinations; and here we see him acting under special instructions, co-ordinately with an officer who usually must have been his inferior. (See notes 79 and 321, above.) Such a state of things offers a curious parallel to the conduct of Napoleon twenty-three centuries later, directing the operations of his generals in Spain (among whom was his own brother, *ἐπιτροπάρχην λαβὼν τὴν βασίλειαν*) from his own camp at Moscow. The great importance attached to the command of the Hellespont shows itself in the proceedings of the Persian generals. The towns captured so rapidly by Daurises (§ 117) all lie, one after the other, along the Asiatic shore of the strait, while Hymæas, moving apparently from Dascyleum upon Cius, no sooner finds that the division which had occupied the Hellespontine towns is withdrawn in order to crush the Carian revolt, than he at once puts himself by a retrograde movement in a position to supply their place (§ 120). It is plain that the Carian movement must have been a very dangerous one, otherwise troops would not have been marched from such a distance as the Hellespont to put it down. Another circumstance worthy of remark is, that no Persian troops seem to have been directed upon any place between *Dardanus* on the north and *Cuma* on the south, although in the interval lies *Lesbos*, which contri-

Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν προσεχέα Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰωνίης μὲν νυν <sup>attack</sup> <sup>Ionis.</sup>  
Κλαζομενὰς αἰρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

Ἀλισκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολλῶν, ἦν γὰρ δὴ, ὥς διέδεξε, Ἀριστα- <sup>124</sup>  
γόρης ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὃς ταραξας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ <sup>Aristagoras</sup>  
ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε, ὁρέων ταῦτα. <sup>loses cou-</sup>  
πρὸς δὲ οἱ καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρείον ὑπερβαλέσθαι. <sup>rage, and</sup>  
πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὦν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασιώτας ἐβουλεύετο, <sup>proposes to</sup>  
λέγων ὥς ἄμεινόν σφι εἴη κρησφύγετόν τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἦν ἄρα <sup>abandon</sup>  
ἐξωθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἐς Σαρδῶ <sup>125</sup> <sup>Ionis and</sup>  
τόπου τούτου ἄγοι ἐς ἀποικίην, εἴτε ἐς Μύρκινον τὴν Ἥδω- <sup>go either</sup>  
νῶν τὴν Ἰστιάδος ἐτείχεε <sup>330</sup> παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὴν λαβὼν <sup>340</sup>; <sup>to Sardinia</sup>  
ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης· Ἐκαταίου <sup>341</sup> μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἠγη- <sup>or Myrci-</sup>  
σάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιού, τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλλειν <sup>nus.</sup>  
ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τείχος οἰκοδομησάμενον <sup>126</sup>  
ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἣν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης <sup>The advice</sup>  
ὀρμεώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐκα- <sup>of Heca-</sup>  
ταῖος συνεβούλευε. Αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἡ πλεῖστη γνώμη ἦν <sup>126</sup> <sup>tæus, to oc-</sup>  
ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μίλητον ἐπιτρέπει Πυθα- <sup>is rejected,</sup>  
γόρῃ, ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ <sup>342</sup>. αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα <sup>Arista-</sup>  
τὸν βουλόμενον ἔπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν ἐπ' <sup>goras goes</sup>  
ἦν ἐστάλη. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρμεώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρηίκων <sup>to Myrci-</sup>  
αὐτός τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατ- <sup>nus, where</sup>  
ήμενος, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Θρηίκων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξίεναι. <sup>he is kill-</sup>  
<sup>ed.</sup>

buted no less than seventy galleys to the allied fleet (vi. 8). But it will be observed that the Lesbians were the first to follow the example of the treacherous Samians (vi. 14). Perhaps therefore Darius felt all along secure of the Æolian interest, even when matters looked worst. (See notes 476 and 593 on Book i.)

<sup>330</sup> εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἐς Σαρδῶ. See note 565 on i. 170.

<sup>339</sup> ἐτείχεε. The more common expression would be ἐτείχιζε, and S and V have the variation ἐτείχισε. But the form *τειχίσαντος* appears in § 23.

<sup>340</sup> τὴν Ἰστιάδος ἐτείχεε παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὴν λαβὼν. See §§ 11. 23.

<sup>341</sup> Ἐκαταίου. See note 85, above. It is rather curious that having mentioned Hecataeus more than once in a way to show his notoriety, Herodotus should here describe him as he might have done had he been naming him for the first time. See the note 566 on i. 170. It is not impossible that in this brief summary of the Ionian war he has the written work of Hellanicus before him.

<sup>342</sup> ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ. Nearly the same phrase is applied to Telesarchus, the individual whose violence thwarted Mæandrius in his desire to establish a more liberal government at Samos. See note 396 on iii. 143, and on vi. 5.

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἙΚΤΗ.

### ΕΡΑΤΩ.

- 1 **ἈΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΗΣ** *μέν νυν Ἰωνίην ἀποστήσας, οὕτω τελευτᾷ.*  
*Histieus arrives at* Ἰστιάιος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν  
*Sardis,* ἐς Σάρδεις. ἀπυγμένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων εἶρετο Ἀρταφέρνης  
ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος, κατὰ κοῖον τι δοκεῖ Ἰωνας ἀπεστάναι ; ὁ δὲ  
οὔτε εἶδέναι ἔφη ἐθώμαζέ τε τὸ γεγονὸς, ὡς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόν-  
*and finding* των πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφέρνης ὁρέων αὐτὸν τεχνά-  
*his plans* ζοντα, εἶπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκλήν τῆς ἀποστάσιος· “ οὕτω τοι, Ἰστιαιε,  
*seen through* ἔχει κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σὺ,  
*by Arta-*  
*phernes,* 2 ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης<sup>2</sup>. ” Ἀρταφέρνης μὲν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν  
ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἶπε Ἰστιάιος δὲ δέσας ὡς συνιέντα Ἀρτα-  
φέρνεα, ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα ἀπ᾽ ἑδρῇ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν,  
*flies to* βασιλέα Δαρείον ἐξηπατηκώς· ὃς Σαρδὼν νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην<sup>3</sup>  
*Chios,* ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσασθαι, ὑπέδυνε τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην  
*and is ill-* τοῦ πρὸς Δαρείον πολέμου. διαβὰς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων,  
*received,* καταγνωσθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς ἐνωτοὺς  
*but suc-* ἐκ Δαρείου<sup>4</sup>. μαθόντες μέντοι οἱ Χῖοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς πολέ-  
*ceeds in*  
*justifying*  
*himself*

<sup>1</sup> μεμετιμένος. See note 309 on v. 108.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας, κ.τ.λ. This saying seems very early to have passed into a proverb. It must have done so at the time ARISTOPHANES put into

the mouth of Cleon the words: οἷδ' ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦθ' ὅθεν πάλοι καττίεται (Equit. 314).

<sup>3</sup> νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. See note 307 on v. 106.

<sup>4</sup> νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς ἐνω-

μιος εἶη βασιλεί, ἔλυσαν αὐτόν. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἑρωτεύμενος ἵπὸ 3  
 τῶν Ἰώνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, κατ' ὃ τι προθύμως οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ both to the  
 Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἶη Chians and  
 Ἰωνας ἐξεργασμένος; τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτίην οὐ μάλα  
 ἐξέφαινε, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγέ σφι, ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐβουλευσατο Φοίνι-  
 κας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ κατοικίσαι, Ἰωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ  
 Φοινίκῃ καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα ἐπιστεῖλαι· οὐδὲν τι πάντως ταῦτα  
 βασιλεὺς βουλευσαμένου. ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἰωνας<sup>4</sup>.

Μετὰ δὲ, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δι' ἀγγέλου ποιούμενος Ἑρμῖππον, ἀνδρὸς 4  
 Ἀταρνεῖτεω, τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἔπεμπε βυβλία, ὡς He endea-  
 προλεσεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῖππος ures to get  
 πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία up a con-  
 Ἀρταφέρνει· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἅπαν τὸ γινόμενον, ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἑρμιπ- spiracy at  
 πον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖσι περ ἔφερε, τὰ Sardis, but  
 δὲ ἀμοιβαῖα τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαίῳ the scheme  
 ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανεράν, ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα is discover-  
 ed and  
 baffled.

τοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. Chios was apparently, even if inferior in resources to Miletus,—which the number of ships furnished by it (§ 8) renders doubtful,—at any rate sufficiently powerful to avoid being subjected to it by an unequal alliance. The dynast of Chios, Strattis, was an immediate vassal of the Persian crown at the time of the Scythian expedition. (See the note 354 on iv. 137.) It seems far from unlikely that Histæus had been intriguing with Darius for the purpose of getting Chios put upon the same footing on which it would appear the majority of the Ionian cities at that time were, i. e. in immediate subjection to himself, he receiving the whole as a grant from the Persian king. (See the note above cited.) Histæus, in this case, would be able to clear himself by pleading that his proceeding was one step in the scheme by which he hoped to render the whole of Ionia independent of Persia; that his intrigue was directed not against Chios, but against Strattis, the nominee of Darius;—a proof of which would be that when the revolt broke out, in pursuance of his instructions, all the dynasts were seized and delivered up to their respective compatriots (v. 37). This would be a plan-

sible defence; but then the objection would occur, 'why so precipitately (προθύμως οὕτω) send orders exactly when the pecuniary resources of Miletus were exhausted?' (See v. 34. 36.) It would not do to declare the truth, that the failure of the expedition against Naxos threatened in its consequences to deprive Aristagoras of his position (see vi. 36). Accordingly Histæus with ready wit extemporised a project for Darius, quite in keeping with the ordinary proceedings of oriental sovereigns. (See 2 Kings xvii. 24; xviii. 31, 32; and the case of the Pæonians, v. 14.)

<sup>4</sup> ἐνθαῦτα δὴ. These words imply that the question put by the Ionians arose out of the defence which Histæus made for himself to the Chians. See the last note.

<sup>5</sup> ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἰωνας. Some of the MSS have ἐδειμάτο or ἐδείματο, and one (F) has Ἑλληνας. The clause appears to me an interpolated marginal note explaining the effects of Histæus's statement upon his audience.

<sup>6</sup> ὡς προλεσεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ, "as if they had in former days chatted with him." See the note 513 on i. 153, and that on ix. 71.



πολλοὺς Περσέων ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης. περὶ Σάρδεις μὲν δὴ ἐγίνετο  
ταραχή.

5

The Milesians refuse to receive him, and he commences a partisan warfare, capturing the Pontine trading vessels by the aid of the Mytileneans.

Ἰστιαῖον δὲ ταύτης ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χίοι κατήγον ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαίου δεηθέντος. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρῳ, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι<sup>8</sup> ἐς τὴν χώραν, οἳ τε ἐλευθερίας γευσάμενοι καὶ δὴ, νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐοίσης βίῃ ἐπειράτο κατιῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλησίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστὸς τῆς ἐσωτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπικνέεται ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Χίον ἐνθεύτην δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπειθε τοὺς Χίους<sup>9</sup> ὥστε ἐσωτῇ δοῦναι νέας, διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην<sup>10</sup> καὶ ἐπεισε Λεσβίους δοῦναι οἱ νέας. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὀκτὼ τριήρας ἔπλεον ἅμα Ἰστιαῖον ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἰζόμενοι, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλωούσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον<sup>11</sup>, πλὴν ἣ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ἰστιαῖον ἔφασαν ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι πείβεσθαι<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι. From this expression it would appear that Pythagoras, who held the most prominent position in Miletus subsequently to the departure of Aristagoras (v. 126), was by no means a retainer of the dynasty of Histiaeus. Probably, in deference to the circumstances of the time, he was selected from the number of the commercial aristocracy, whose houses had been thrown into obscurity by the peculiar splendour of the family of Histiaeus, elevated through its connexion with Persia. See note 306 on iii. 143, and 409 on iii. 148.

<sup>9</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἐπειθε τοὺς Χίους. See note 17, below.

<sup>10</sup> διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην. The feeling against Darius was probably much stronger here than in the Ionian states. Coës was the only one of the dynasts seized upon by Aristagoras, who was put to death by his emancipated subjects (v. 38). In the affair of Cyprus too, the Ionians were obviously unwilling to be brought into personal collision with the Persians, although glad of any opportunity of crippling the naval power of their commercial rivals the Phœnicians (v. 109).

<sup>11</sup> τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλωούσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον. This was not so petty a warfare as it appears at first sight. Byzantium entirely commanded the Pontine traffic; and therefore the trade of all the

Milesian colonies in the Euxine (see note 64 on i. 17) was at Histiaeus's mercy. He would prevent them from taking their cargoes either to Miletus or to any port on the main which was in the possession of the Persians, and thus cripple their revenue. Besides this a more direct injury would be inflicted upon the enemy's army. For the commissariat of the large bodies of troops maintained by them in Asia, doubtless the corn grown in the valley of the Borysthenes and shipped at the Milesian ports Olbia and Odessus was resorted to. The only other corn country available was Egypt, and independently of the resources of that country having been crippled by Cambyses, and required for the purpose of maintaining the standing army there, the expense of transport would be great. And it was the belief of the ancients (ARISTOTLE, *Prob.* xiv. 2, p. 909, A), that the grain grown in northern countries kept far better than any other, and consequently was best adapted for military magazines. Histiaeus might therefore expect to starve out the garrisons at Doriscus and Dascyleum, or at any rate to make supplies so difficult as to prevent any considerable army from operating together for a length of time. Besides all this a great part of Hellas was at this time mainly dependent upon the Euxine trade for supplying the bulk of the population with their only articles of food, bread and salt fish (ὄψον). (See vii. 147.)

Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίεον ταῦτα ἐπὶ δὲ 6  
 Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκι- Proceedings  
 μος. συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσέων, καὶ ἐν ποιή- of the Ionian  
 σαντες στρατόπεδον, ἤλαινον ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τὰ ἄλλα πολίσ- confederates  
 ματα περὶ ἐλάσσονος ποιησάμενοι τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν in the mean-  
 ἦσαν προθυμότεροι<sup>13</sup>. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ 7  
 κατεστραμμένοι, καὶ Κίλικές<sup>14</sup> τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ 7  
 τὴν Μίλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστράτεον<sup>15</sup>. Ἴωνες δὲ  
 πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἔπεμπον προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον<sup>16</sup>. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοισι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον καὶ βου-  
 λευομένοισι ἔδοξε πεζὸν μὲν στρατὸν μὴ συλλέγειν ἀντίξουν Πέρ-  
 σῃσι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τεῖχεα ῥύεσθαι αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους<sup>17</sup>. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν  
 πληροῦν ὑπολειπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν πληρώσαντες δὲ συλ-  
 λέγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην, προναυμαχῆσοντας Μιλήτου. ἡ δὲ 8  
 Λάδη ἐστὶ νῆσος σμικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ Μιλησίῳν κειμένη. Μετὰ 8  
 δὲ ταῦτα, πεπληρωμένῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ παρήσαν οἱ Ἴωνες, σὺν δέ  
 σφι καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ Λέσβον νέμονται· ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὧδε τὸ μὲν  
 πρὸς τὴν ἔω εἶχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μιλήσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὀγδώ-

Hence the possession of Byzantium was the most powerful lever Histieus could possess for furthering any diplomatic combinations he might contemplate. He would also cut off the communication with the military posts of the Persians in Thrace. See note 111 on § 44.

<sup>13</sup> *πεθεσθαι*. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, on the authority of a few, reads *πέσεισθαι*.

<sup>14</sup> *ἦσαν προθυμότεροι*. See note 10, above.

<sup>15</sup> *Κίλικες*. These Cilicians are not the mountaineers of v. 52, but the inhabitants of the southern flanks of Taurus in the immediate neighbourhood of the bay of Issus.

<sup>16</sup> *ἐστράτεον*. See note 687 on i. 204.

<sup>17</sup> *ἐς Πανιώνιον*. It would seem from this that whatever modifications the Persian conquest under Harpagus had introduced, the form of a congress still continued, but that a predominant influence was possessed by Miletus. Apparently Miletus, under the influence of Histieus, was made the seat of the federal government for certain purposes (probably those

connected with the employment of the military and naval contingents; see note 81 on v. 33); and hence the advice of Thales (i. 170): *ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέφ*. He would have selected Teos somewhat on the principle on which the site of Washington was selected for the capital of the United States of America. Teos could never become formidable to the independence of the members of the confederation. Thales obviously belonged to a different party in Miletus from Histieus, as appears from the circumstances brought together in the note 566 on i. 170. Now, a revolution having been effected, commissioners are sent, with a special reference to the conduct of the war, to sit in congress. See vii. 172.

<sup>17</sup> *αὐτὰς Μιλησίους*, "the Milesians themselves," i. e. that no confederate force should be allowed. This probably would have been under the command of a Milesian chief, under the system which had prevailed since the downfall of the Lydian monarchy. Jealousy of this Milesian influence perhaps affected the conduct of the Chians to Histieus (above, § 5).

They assemble a fleet of 353 ships against 600 of the enemy.

9

The Persian commanders have recourse to treachery,

κοιτα. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πριηνέες δυνάδεκα νηυσὶ<sup>18</sup>, καὶ Μνούσιοι τρισὶ νηυσὶ<sup>19</sup>. Μνουςίων δὲ Τήϊοι<sup>20</sup> εἶχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσὶ. Τητῶν δὲ εἶχοντο Χῖοι ἑκατὸν νηυσὶ· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐρυθραῖοι τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαεῖς<sup>21</sup>, Ἐρυθραῖοι μὲν ὁκτὼ νέας παρεχόμενοι Φωκαεῖς δὲ τρεῖς. Φωκαῶν δὲ εἶχοντο Λέσβιοι νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην κέρας, Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νηυσὶ<sup>22</sup>. πασέων δὲ τούτων ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πενήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιαι τριήρεις· αὗται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν<sup>23</sup>. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἑξακόσιαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὗται ἀπῆκοντο πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς σφι ἅπας παρῆν, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Περσέων στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν, καταρρώδησαν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω οὕτε τὴν Μίλητον οἰοί τε ἔωσι ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἔόντες ναγκράτορες<sup>24</sup>,

<sup>18</sup> Πριηνέες δυνάδεκα νηυσὶ. The Prieniens were sold as slaves by Mazares shortly after the fall of Croesus (i. 161). Possibly a fresh population was sent to the territory from Miletus, which had made terms with the Persian conqueror (i. 143. 169); and it may have been put on the footing of a dependency of that state after the usual Persian policy: *προβαλνεῖν ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον* (i. 134). If so, there is an especial reason for the Prienian galleys flanking those of Miletus. See also note 354 on iv. 138.

<sup>19</sup> καὶ Μνούσιοι τρισὶ νηυσὶ. In the place of these words the manuscript S has the words Πριηνέων δὲ εἶχοντο Τητοὶ εἰκοσι νηυσὶ, and omits Μνουςίων δὲ Τήϊοι εἶχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσὶ. This variation is one which cannot have arisen from any casualty. It will be observed that the ships of Myus are entirely omitted, but that the Teian contingent is proportionally increased.

<sup>20</sup> Τήϊοι. These Teians were a population imported since the time when Harpagus overran Ionia. On that occasion the whole original population deserted the city, and went as colonists to Abdera (i. 168). It is not unlikely that the gap may have been filled by Milesians; Miletus and Teos being the exact opposite among all the Ionian confederate towns in their feeling towards Persia at the time of the conquest by Cyrus.

<sup>21</sup> πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐρυθραῖοι τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαεῖς. Erythræ and Phocæa do not appear in the list of towns given in iv. 138. From the small numbers of

the ships furnished, it seems possible that they were manned not by the towns, but by exiles who had fled at the time of the conquest by Harpagus,—at any rate those of Phocæa, the population of which must have been mainly changed (i. 165). The Erythræans may possibly have been placed (or confirmed) in the position of dependants on the Chians at the time of Cyrus's invasion. See notes 67 on i. 19 and 354 on iv. 138. The hardihood of the Phocæan commander (§ 12) bespeaks a man seasoned by a semi-piratical life such as that of exiles would have been.

<sup>22</sup> Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νηυσὶ. It is remarkable that so soon after the vicissitudes through which Samos had passed (see iii. 149), its resources should have enabled it to send a contingent so nearly equal to that of Miletus. The colonization under Otanes probably took place before Darius's campaign in Scythia (see note 38 on § 13, below); but the destruction of property under such circumstances as those described in iii. 147. 149 must have been nearly total. Possibly as the new dynasty was favourable to Persian interests, funds were advanced to the new colonists of the island from the Persian government.

<sup>23</sup> αὗται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν, "these were the ships on the Ionian side." It will be observed that a considerable portion of the force, viz. the Lesbian, was not Ionian, but Æolian. But the whole is called Ionian, apparently on the same principle as in iv. 137 and viii. 90.

<sup>24</sup> ναγκράτορες. See note 86 on v. 36.

πρός τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακόν τι λαβεῖν. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς τυράννους οἱ ὑπ' Ἀρισταγόρεω μὲν τοῦ Μιλησίου καταλυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων ἔφευγον ἐς Μήδους—ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε συστρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μιλητον—τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρέοντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, νῦν τις ὑμέων εὖ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον” τοὺς γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος ὑμέων πολιήτας πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων” ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ. προῖσχύμενοι δὲ ἐπαγγέλσασθε τάδε, ὡς πείσονται τε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδὲ σφι οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται<sup>26</sup>, οὐδὲ βιαιότερον ἔξουσιν οὐδὲν ἢ πρότερον εἶχον· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται<sup>27</sup>, τάδε σφι λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες τάπερ σφείας κατέξει· ὡς ἐσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξανδραποδιεῦνται, καὶ ὡς σφεων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκτομίας ποιήσομεν τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα<sup>28</sup>, καὶ ὡς τὴν χώραν ἄλλοισι παραδώσομεν.” Οἱ μὲν δὴ 10 ἔλεγον ταῦτα· τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπον νυκτὸς ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαγγελλόμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπίκοντο through the agency of the expelled dynasty.

<sup>25</sup> πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων, “let him make a trial in detaching.” See i. 84: ἐπειράτω προσβαίνειν. The manuscripts S and V have ἀποσχίζειν.

<sup>26</sup> οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται, “neither their temples nor their houses shall be fired.” The distinction is the same as that made in slightly different terms, below, § 25: οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνεπρήσθη.

<sup>27</sup> οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, “and if nothing will serve them but to fight it out.” So iv. 127: εἰ δὲ δεῖο πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέσθαι.

<sup>28</sup> ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα. It is not easy to say with confidence why this expression should be used; but possibly it is because the line of traffic along which the female slaves destined for the oriental harems were carried passed in that direction. It was probably always the practice of the Caucasian mountaineers (as it is at present), to sell their own children for this purpose. At any rate they would habitually kidnap those of their neighbours, and the most convenient mart for these would be *Dioscurias*, a Milesian colony in the extreme eastern recess of the Euxine. This market was frequented by no less than seventy different Caucasian and Sarmatian tribes (according to some

accounts 300), all speaking different languages and having no friendly intercourse with each other. (STRABO, xi. c. 2, p. 408.) The commodity for which they bartered their prisoners was chiefly *salt*. (STRABO, l. c., p. 421.) From *Dioscurias* there can be little doubt that the female slaves would be shipped to Phasis (on the river of the same name), and from thence arrive on the eastern coast of the Caspian by the route indicated in the note 363 on i. 104. There they would get into the line of caravan traffic which led to Balk (which is, with more or less exactness, the Bactra of the text), and from thence over the mountains to Caubul and the Punjab. It is a very remarkable circumstance that Herodotus should never mention *Dioscurias*, nor yet the name of the *town* Phasis. Perhaps the traffic was not strictly confined to barbarian slaves, and some of the Bosphorane Greeks may have been the victims of a system which undoubtedly they at a subsequent time carried on to the prejudice of their extra-Bosphorane countrymen. Under such circumstances a Phasian or Sinopian trader would preserve a discreet silence as to the locality both of the barracoons and of the port to which their inmates were consigned.

αἷται αἱ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνωμοσύνη τε διεχρώντο καὶ οὐ προσέεντο τὴν προδοσίην· ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἕκαστοι ἐδόκεον μούνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἰθέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Περσέων ἐγένετο.

11  
Dionysius from Phocæa endeavours to enforce strict discipline in the allied fleet,

Μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων συλληχθέντων ἐς τὴν Λάδην, ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί· καὶ δὴ κου σφι καὶ ἄλλοι ἡγορόωντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ [ὁ] Φωκαεὺς [στρατηγὸς<sup>20</sup>] Διονύσιος λέγων τάδε· “ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἢ δούλοισι, καὶ τούτοις ὥς δρηπῆτησι· νῦν ὦν ὑμεῖς ἦν μὲν βούλησθε ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραχρήμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἷοί τε δὲ ἔσεσθε ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι ἐλεύθερον· εἰ δὲ μαλακίῃ τε καὶ ἀταξίῃ διαχρήσεσθε, οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δικὴν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποστάσιος. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, ὑποδέκομαι ἢ οὐ συμμίξειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ συμμίσγοντας πολλὸν ἐλασσώσεσθαι.”

12  
against which the Ionians revolt.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἴωνες ἐπιτρέπουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὁ δὲ, ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας<sup>20</sup> τὰς νέας, ὅπως τοῖσι ἐρέτησι χρήσαιτο, διέκπλοον ποιούμενος τῇσι νηυσὶ δι’ ἀλληλέων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσειε, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων<sup>21</sup>. παρῆχε τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι πόνον δι’ ἡμέρης. μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἐπτὰ ἐπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐπολεον τὸ κελευόμενον τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτησι, [οἱ Ἴωνες] οἷα ἀπαθέες ἔοντες πόνων τοιούτων τετρυμένοι τε ταλαιπωρήσιν τε καὶ ἡελίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς τάδε· “τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπλήψαμεν, οὔτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου<sup>22</sup>, ἀνδρὶ Φωκαεῖ

<sup>20</sup> ὁ Φωκαεὺς στρατηγός. The article is omitted by the manuscripts S and V, and the word *στρατηγός* by K, and in a citation by LONGINUS, *De Subl.* c. 22.

<sup>21</sup> ἀνάγων . . . ἐπὶ κέρας. The form used by Thucydides and Xenophon is ἐπὶ κέρας, but these phrases differ only as πρὸς νότον and πρὸς νότον, “to the south” and “southwards,”—both of which are used indifferently by Herodotus. The operation intended is ‘rowing in columns,’ which is a movement ‘wing-wards,’ as contradistinguished from a charge upon an enemy drawn up opposite.

<sup>22</sup> τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων. Instead of allowing the galleys to be hauled

up high and dry, he kept them riding at anchor, head to sea, with the marines on board in complete armour ready for action all the remainder of the day. His object probably was to throw the Phœnicians off their guard. Having his ships always ready for action, while they appeared to be merely practising, he would watch his opportunity, when the crews had been brought into thorough condition, to strike the same blow which Lysander afterwards did at Ægos Potami.

<sup>23</sup> ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου. A similar expression is used below (iii. 155): πῶς οὐκ ἐκπλώσας τῶν φρενῶν;

ἀλαζόνι παρεχομένην νέας τρεῖς<sup>33</sup> ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν; ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας, λυμάνεται λύμῃσι ἀνηκέστοισιν καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασιν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τὠν τοῦτο πείσεσθαι εἰσὶν πρό τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γε<sup>34</sup> κρέσσον καὶ ὀτιῶν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουλητὴν ὑπομεῖναι, ἥτις ἔσται, μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι<sup>35</sup>. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πειθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε· ἀλλ', οἷα στρατῇ<sup>36</sup>, σκηνάς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκηνητροφέοντο, καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας, οὐδ' ἀναπειρᾶσθαι. Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα γινόμενα<sup>37</sup> ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ' Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσώντος<sup>38</sup> κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰάκης, κελευόντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενός σφεν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην,—οἱ Σάμιοι ὦν, ὁρέωντες ἅμα μὲν εὐοῦσαν ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὐ τε ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς, εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεὼν ναυτικὸν ὑπερ-

13

The Samians seeing the bad prospects of the allied cause,

<sup>33</sup> παρεχομένην νέας τρεῖς. See note 354 on iv. 138; 512 on i. 162; and 542 on i. 165. The inveterate dislike of Milesians and Chians to the native of a city once a rival is in this passage combined with the commercial feeling in favour of property,—which not even their perilous situation could eradicate from the breasts of the wealthy traders. The epithet ἀλαζών is very characteristic and expressive of the disgust which a number of landmen would entertain towards a martinet commander.

<sup>34</sup> ἡμῖν γε, "for us at any rate," as if they were in a very different position from the Phocæan contingent. (See note 21, above.) Perhaps the terms of the Persian generals' proclamation induced them to think, in the fashion of Lucullus's soldier, that the interests of a few exiles were not identical with their own. "Ibit, ibit eo quo vis, qui zonam perdidit." (HORACE, *Epp.* ii. 2. 40.) The Phocæans were probably obnoxious to the sneer which Adimantus, the Corinthian, afterwards let fall against Themistocles (viii. 61).

<sup>35</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι, "rather than be kept without respite in this present one." See the note 361 on iii. 131.

<sup>36</sup> οἷα στρατῇ, "like a land-force." Dobree, considering that Herodotus would

have added the word πεζῇ, proposes to read οἷα ἀστρατηγίας, "as if on furlough," comparing ARISTOPHANES, *Peace*, 525. But the alteration seems uncalled for. The discipline to which Dionysius kept his men was specially naval. (See note 31, above.) The pitching tents for shelter would be the ordinary proceeding of a land army, even on service.

<sup>37</sup> ταῦτα γινόμενα. Gaisford prints ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα on the authority of some MSS. But S, V, P, and K omit the article, and the sense is certainly better without it.

<sup>38</sup> Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσώντος. He was tyrant of Samos at the time of the expedition of Darius to Scythia (see iv. 138); and as this would imply the possession of considerable force, it must be supposed that the fresh colonization under the auspices of Otanes (iii. 149) took place before that expedition. It is likely that the new population would be mainly, though not entirely, composed of persons favourable to the dynasty of Syloson, and consequently to the Persian alliance; and hence perhaps one cause of the success which the proposals of Æaces met with among the Samians. The remains of the old aristocracy thought very differently of the matter (below, § 22).

make separate terms for themselves,

## 14

and on an engagement taking place, all but eleven ships desert in a body.

βαλοῖατο τὸν Δαρεῖον, ἄλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλήσιον, προφάσιος ὧν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἴωνας ἀρνευμένους εἶναι χρηστοὺς, ἐν κέρδει ἐποιοῦντο περιποιῆσαι τὰ τε ἱρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἴδια<sup>39</sup>. ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης, παρ' ὅτε τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσώντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος τύραννος δὲ ἑὼν Σάμου, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρεω ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἀρχὴν, κατὰπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι<sup>40</sup>.

Τότε ὧν ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλων οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντανήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀγγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράφαι οἷτινες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἀλλήλους γὰρ κατατιῶνται. λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα, κατὰ τὰ συγκεῖμενα πρὸς τὸν Αἰάκεα, ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἰστία ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξις ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλὴν ἑνδεκα<sup>41</sup> νεῶν τουτέων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεον, ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσιν καὶ σφι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαμίων ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρήγμα<sup>42</sup> ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν, ὥς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖσι γενομένοισιν· καὶ ἔστι αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ. ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Λέσβιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας, τὸντο ἐποίουν τοῖσι Σαμίοισιν

<sup>39</sup> οἱ Σάμιοι ὧν, κ.τ.λ. The sentence appears rather a complicated one from the compression (after the manner of the Greeks) of two propositions into one. It would run quite smoothly in point of grammar if it had proceeded after the words τοὺς λόγους, thus: ἅμα δὲ ὄντα ἄδύνατα τὰ β. πρ. But although they had the evidence of their senses for the disorderly proceedings of the Ionians, the strength of the enemy was only a matter of opinion. Hence the second clause required the qualification ὥς κατεφαίνεται σφι. But instead of this being inserted, it is implied by the change of construction, and the two propositions are condensed into the one: ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνεται σφι εἶναι ἄδύνατα τὰ β. πρ. ὑπερβαλίσθαι. But the sentence is then regularly continued as if the compression had not taken place, the whole of it being complete within the clause which had suffered the change. Translate: "The Samians, then, listened to the proposals, seeing that there was an utter want of discipline on the part of the Ionians, while the king's game appeared to them one

impossible to baffle,—moreover being quite sure that even if the fleet they had should beat Darius, another force five times as great would arrive,—laying hold then (I say) of an excuse, the instant they saw the Ionians refusing to do their duty, they snatched at the luck of saving their own temples and their property." The subject of ὑπερβαλοῖατο is τὸ παρὲν ναυτικόν, which has a plural verb with it as a noun of multitude. The construction would unquestionably be much simplified in the latter part of the passage by reading τοῦ Δαρείου, but the MSS are unanimous in giving the accusative. If that conjecture be adopted, or if the words τὸν Δαρεῖον be erased, τὸ παρὲν ναυτικόν will be not the subject but the object of ὑπερβαλοῖατο.

<sup>40</sup> κατὰπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι. See v. 38.

<sup>41</sup> ἑνδεκα. The manuscripts S and V have δέκα. PAUSANIAS (vii. 10. 1) appears to have found ἑνδεκα in the copy he used.

<sup>42</sup> διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρήγμα. S and V omit these words.

ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίησαν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα. Τῶν δὲ 15  
 παραμεινάντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χῖοι, ὥς  
 ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔργα λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες. παρεί-  
 χοντο μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐπ’  
 ἑκάστης αὐτέων ἄνδρας τεσσεράκοντα τῶν ἀστῶν λογάδας ἐπι-  
 βατεύοντας. ὁρέοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων προδιδόν-  
 τας, οὐκ ἐδίκαιεν γενέσθαι τοῖσι κακοῖσι αὐτῶν ὁμοιοί· ἀλλὰ μετ’  
 ὀλγῶν συμμάχων μεμυνωμένοι, διεκπλώνοντες ἐναυμάχεον, ἐς δ’  
 τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες νέας συχνὰς ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν  
 τὰς πλεῖνας. Χῖοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇσι τῶν νεῶν ἀποφεύγουσι  
 ἐς τὴν ἐωντῶν. “Ὅσοισι δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ 16  
 τρωμάτων, οὗτοι δὲ, ὥς ἐδιώκοντο, καταφυγγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν  
 Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐποκείλαντες κατέλιπον, οἱ  
 δὲ περὶ ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν  
 Ἐφεσὶν κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χῖοι, νυκτός τε ἀπικέατο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ  
 ἐόντων τῇσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι θεσμοφορίων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι,  
 οὔτε προακηκούτες ὥς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων 17 ἰδόντες τε στρατὸν ἐς  
 τὴν χώραν ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλῶπας  
 καὶ ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναικας, ἐξεβοήθεον πανδημεὶ καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς  
 Χίους.

Οὗτοι μὲν νυν τοιαύτησι περιέπιπτον τύχησι. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ 17  
 Φωκαεὺς ἐπεὶ τε ἔμαθε τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα,  
 νέας ἐλὼν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε, ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ  
 εἰδὼς ὥς ἀνδραποδεῖται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ· ὁ δὲ ἰθὺς ὥς εἶχε  
 ἔπλωε ἐς Φοινίκην γαύλους 18 δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα  
 λαβὼν πολλὰ, ἔπλωε ἐς Σικελίην ὁρμεώμενος δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ληϊστής  
 κατεστήκεε, Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρ-  
 σηνῶν.

13 οὐτε προακηκούτες ὥς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων. One may suspect from this passage that the Ephesians had not taken a very active part in the Ionian alliance against Persia; and it will be observed that they do not appear in the list of the allied forces given in § 8. In this case, the pretext of mistaking the nature of the Chian inroad may have been subsequently coined, at a time when partisanship with Persia had become the most heinous crime a Greek could commit. The mistake was the more

possible, as the Chians and Ephesians spoke an entirely different language (i. 142). Still this very difference of language would go to prove that there was little intercourse between them, and afford a presumption that they belonged to rival commercial confederacies. Chios and Miletus appear from very early times to have stood quite apart from the rest of the Ionian cities in Asia (i. 18).

14 γαύλους. See note 373 on iii. 136.

Their example is followed by the Lesbians and the greater part of the Ionians.

The Chians suffer the most,

and many who escape fall in a night attack on them by the Ephesians, who take them for enemies.

Dionysius retreats to Sicily, and turns pirate.



- 18 *Miletus is captured, and the inhabitants enslaved, in the sixth year of the war.* Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεὶ τε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἴωνας<sup>45</sup>, τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα<sup>46</sup> καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες, αἰρέουσι κατ' ἄκρης, ἕκτω ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεω καὶ ἡνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν ὥστε συμπεσεῖν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μίλητον γενομένῳ. Χρεωμένοισι γὰρ Ἀργείοισι ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλιος τῆς σφετέρης, ἐχρήσθη ἐπικούριον χρηστήριον τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους φέρων, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκη<sup>47</sup> ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν νυν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἔχον, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τοῦ λόγου τότε μνησθήσομαι<sup>48</sup>. τὰ δὲ τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρεούσι ἔχρησε ἔχει ὥδε·

Καὶ τότε δὴ, Μίλητε, κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων<sup>49</sup>, πολλοῖσι δεῖπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσεται δ' ἄλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νύφους κομήτῃαι νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις ἄλλοιςι μελήσει.

τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὅτε γε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλευνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο· ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι<sup>50</sup>, ὁ νηὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο. τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολλάκις μνήμην ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου<sup>51</sup> ἐποίησάμην. Ἐυθεύτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἤγοντο ἐς Σούσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ σφεας Δαρείους κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο

20  
The inhabitants are

<sup>45</sup> τοὺς Ἴωνας. The manuscript F has τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ἴωνας, which appears to originate in a double reading. (See note 6, above.) The corrector has erased Ἑλληνας.

<sup>46</sup> ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα. See note 512 on iv. 200.

<sup>47</sup> τὴν δὲ παρενθήκη. S has τὸ δὲ παρενθήκη, which is preferred by Dobree.

<sup>48</sup> τότε μνησθήσομαι. See below, § 77.

<sup>49</sup> κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων. It would be interesting to discover when the oracle was delivered in which these words occur. Such an expression indicates disapprobation on the part of Apollo with the course upon which Miletus was entering, but what that course was does not appear on the face of things. I am inclined to suspect that it refers to the dissociation of themselves from the rest of the Ionians, which was manifested by the separate treaty with

Cyrus (i. 141). That treaty was to the prejudice of Croesus, who was undoubtedly a favourite at Delphi.

<sup>50</sup> ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι. It is singular that Herodotus, who elsewhere speaks of this temple as τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Βράγχιδῃσι (v. 36), or as αἱ Βράγχιδαι (i. 92; ii. 159), or even οἱ Βράγχιδαι (i. 157), should here use a different phrase without any explanation. It seems that the name Branchidæ came to be disused, and that of Apollo Didymæus to be the one habitually given to the oracle. (PLINY, N. H. v. 29.) Possibly the treacherous conduct of the Branchidæ at the time of the Persian invasion (see notes 327 and 527 on Book i.) was the cause of the change.

<sup>51</sup> ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου. See i. 92; v. 36.

ποιήσας κατοίκησε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ καλεομένῃ θαλάσῃ, ἐν Ἀμπρὶ πόλει<sup>52</sup>, παρ' ἣν Τύγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει<sup>53</sup>. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίης χώρας αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδῖον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδωσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι<sup>54</sup>.

conveyed to Susa, and planted by Darius in the city Ampe, on the bank of the Tigris.

Παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περσέων οὐκ ἀπέδωσαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρίται, οἱ Λάον τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον<sup>55</sup> τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συβάριος γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνιητέων, Μιλήσιοι πάντες ἤβηδον<sup>56</sup> ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προεθήκαντο· πόλεις γὰρ αὗται μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν<sup>57</sup>

21 Sorrow of the Athenians for the misfortunes of Miletus shown in their treatment of

<sup>52</sup> ἐν Ἀμπρὶ πόλει. This city is from the description to be looked for very low down on the Tigris, perhaps subsequently to the union of its waters with those other rivers which according to some writers procured for it, in its lowest part, the name of Pasitigris. (STRABO xv. c. 3, p. 319.) Opis, with which some have endeavoured to identify Ampe, was on the contrary very high up the stream. See note 636 on i. 189.

<sup>53</sup> ἐξίει. See note 604 on i. 180.

<sup>54</sup> Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι. See note 590 on i. 175. It seems strange that the Pedasians, the only Carians who offered a formidable resistance to Harpagus, should have been settled by the conqueror in the highlands overhanging the Milesian territory. One may almost suspect that the Carians in the text were mainly a remnant of the old Lelegian population which had been kept in a dependant condition by the Milesians, and that the Persians restored them to a certain state of independence. The Pedasians who survived the taking of their own town, or perhaps a party among them favourable to Persia, may have been transported to the Milesian territory and mixed with the emancipated perioeciæans, who would be of the same race with themselves, and thus the whole called Pedasians. It is to be observed that FELLOWES enumerates among the "Ancient Lycian" towns, in which he observed remains, a *Pedassia*. (See note 585 on i. 173.) Herodotus seems to be quite ignorant of the existence of a town of that name in Lycia; but if there really was such a one, it is possible that the Milesian Pedasians had been transported from thence. They too would probably be of Lelegian race.

<sup>55</sup> οἱ Λάον τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον. The former of these two towns is mentioned by STRABO (vi. c. 1, p. 3) as situated on the river of the same name, 120 *stadæ* from Velia, and as being a colony from Sybaris. Of Scidrus nothing is known. It is strange that this notice should appear here; but perhaps the passage was written after the author's arrival at Thurii, where his auditors would be more familiar with the localities.

<sup>56</sup> ἤβηδον, "including all adults." The phrase is probably derived from a classification of the population for military purposes. See i. 172, where it may be rendered "in full force."

<sup>57</sup> μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλήλοισι ἐξενόησαν. The commercial interests of these two cities could not, from their relative situations, at all interfere with one another; and both in the one and the other the *Achæan* element was a very important one in the population. For Sybaris, see especially the passage of Aristotle quoted in the note 561 in i. 167, and see also note 108 on v. 44. As for Miletus, its coins show that the predominant religious worship was that of Apollo Didymæus, whose temple, according to the *native legends*, was far more ancient than the emigration under Neleus. (PAUSANIAS vii. 2, 4.) This deity was in fact identical with the Apollo at Thornax and at Amyclæ (see note 236 on i. 70); that is to say, the Apollo not of the Heracleide invaders of the Peloponnese, but of the *Achæan* population they found there. (See note 189 on v. 72.) Independently of ethnical affinity, ΤΙΜΑΕΥΣ (*ap. Athenæum* xii. p. 519) says that the Milesian woollen manufactures were in great demand at Sybaris.

*Phrygians*  
the trage-  
dian.

ἀλλήλησι ἐξευνώθησαν. οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι<sup>55</sup>. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἀλώσει, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυγίῃ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι<sup>56</sup>, ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον καὶ ἐξημίωσάν μιν, ὥς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκίῃα κακὰ, χιλήσι δραχμῆσι καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.

22 Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἐρήμωτο. Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσι τι ἔχουσι<sup>57</sup> τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε. ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι, πρὶν ἢ σφί ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεια ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν, μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰάκεϊ δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαῖοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τούτου πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἰῶνας ἐς Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰῶνων. ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη Ἀκτὴ καλεομένη ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης<sup>58</sup>. τούτων ὦν ἐπικαλεομένων, οἱ Σάμιοι μόνου Ἰῶνων ἐστάλησαν σὺν δὲ σφί Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφυγότες. Ἐν ᾧ τοιόνδε δὴ τι συνήνεικε γενέσθαι Σάμιοι γὰρ κομιζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγίνοντο ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπίζεφυρίοις, καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύθης<sup>59</sup>, περιεκατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι

23  
and seize  
on Zancle.

<sup>55</sup> οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. This is a very slovenly expression to connect the following anecdote with what had preceded. It is worth remarking, that STRABO, while recounting the anecdote, gives as the authority for it, not Herodotus, but Callisthenes (xiv. c. 1, p. 167). It seems not impossible that the passage is an interpolated note of some one between the time of STRABO and that of LONGINUS, who quotes it as from Herodotus (*De Sublim.* § 24).

<sup>56</sup> διδάξαντι. This term is used of the production of a public performance, from the circumstance that the author himself had to superintend the instruction of the performers during their long practice in order to qualify themselves for the public display of his composition. The phrase is equally applicable to a play, a hymn, or a dance, where the parts were distributed among several persons, and each had not only to be made perfect in that which fell to him, but to be brought into combination with the rest. Thus (i. 23) Arion is

said to have been the first person διδάξαι διθέραμβον.

<sup>57</sup> τοῖσι τι ἔχουσι. See note 396 on iii. 143, and note 8, above.

<sup>58</sup> πρὸς Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης, "turned towards Tyrrhenia in its bearing from Sicily." Herodotus gives the name καλὴ ἀκτὴ to the promontory which running out from the shore and returning upon it produced that *sickle-like* appearance which gave the town built in the vicinity its name Ζάγκλη. Although really a portion of the island Sicily, it was, to the eye, so much cut off from it as to be susceptible of the description in the text. (See note 292 on i. 84.) The name καλὴ ἀκτὴ was not only adopted by the Romans in the word *Calacte*, but even the ethnic *Calactini* formed upon it. CICERO says, "*Calactinis* quamobrem imperasti anno tertio ut decumas agri sui, quas *Calactia* dare consueverant, Amestrati M. Cæsio decumano darent?" (*Verrin.* iii. 43.)

<sup>59</sup> τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύθης. In order to combine what is related of this Scythæ

μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλειος<sup>62</sup>, τότε ἐὼν διά-  
φορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμῖξας τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἀναπείθει ὡς  
χρεὸν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν Ἀκτὴν ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεον ἔαν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ  
Ζάγκλην σχεῖν εὐοῦσαν ἐρήμιον ἀνδρῶν πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων  
καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο  
ἐχομένην τὴν πόλιν ἐωυτῶν, ἐβοήθειον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἴππο-  
κράτεια τὸν Γέλης τύραννον ἣν γὰρ δὴ σφί οὗτος σύμμαχος· ἐπεὶ  
τε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἴπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατιῇ ἦκε βοηθῶν,  
Σκύθην μὲν τὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν  
ὁ Ἴπποκράτης πεδήσας, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα, ἐς  
Ἴνυκον πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους, κοινολογη-  
σάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ὄρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος, προέδωκε.  
μοσθὸς δὲ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος ὁδε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν  
ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀνδραπύδων τὰ ἡμίσεια μεταλαβεῖν<sup>63</sup> τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει,

with the narrative in vii. 163, 164, Perizonius has conjectured that this Scythes was the father of Cadmus, dynast of Cos; while Valcknaer supposes he may have been his great uncle. But there is no historical foundation for these guesses, and the necessity for them rests entirely on the assumption that the two narratives proceed from the same sources. See note on vii. 164, *ἐνθα μετὰ Σαμίων*, κ.τ.λ., and also note 86 (a) below.

<sup>62</sup> ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλειος. He had changed the form of government from an oligarchy to a tyranny. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* vi. p. 1316.) PAUSANIAS relates that this Anaxilaus was fourth in descent from Alcidas, who led a colony of Messenians to Rhegium in Italy, after the disastrous termination of the first Messenian war by the capture of Ithome; and that he himself, after the termination of the second by the capture of Iva, in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, invited some of the survivors who had retreated to Cyllene, the port of Elis, to come over and join him in an attack on Zancle, which at that time was occupied by pirates who interrupted the navigation of the straits, under the leadership of Crataemenes a Samian, and Perieres from Chalcis in Euboea (iv. 23. 3). This appears to me to describe the condition of Zancle, after the compact with Hippocrates presently related, and the refusal of the Samians to kill the 300 Zancleans who were put into their power. But the

chronology is nearly 200 years too early (as BENTLEY has shown in the *Dissertation on Phalaris*, pp. 210, seqq. ed. 1836); and in fact Crataemenes, a *Cymæan*, and Perieres of Chalcis are named by THUCYDIDES as the celestists of the early Zancle (vi. 4). Pausanias goes on to say that the Messenians in Cyllene, under the leadership of Gorgus and Manticlus, accepted Anaxilaus's invitation, and together with him captured Zancle, the Zancleans flying for refuge to the altars of the gods. Anaxilaus wished his allies to put them to death and make slaves of their wives and children; but they refused to do this, and instead of it united in one population with them and changed the name of the town to Messana. This Pausanias puts in the first year of the twenty-ninth Olympiad, consistently with what he has said before. It appears to me to be really the dislocated account of the recapture of Zancle from the Samian bucaniers slightly alluded to by THUCYDIDES (quoted in note 64, below), but not noticed at all by Herodotus.

<sup>63</sup> μεταλαβεῖν. This word is in sense to be separated into its component parts. It means μετ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, "to take on division with them." See note 686 on i. 204. So Athenagoras says to his aristocratic opponents (THUCYD. vi. 40): ἄλλ' ἦτοι μαβόντες γε ἡ μεταγρόντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως ξύμπασι κοινὸν ἀβέετε, ἡγησάμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἂν καὶ ἴσον καὶ πλέον οἱ ἀγαθὸι θμῶν ἤπερ τὸ τῆς πόλεως πλῆ-

τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἴπποκράτεια λαγχάνειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πλευνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ εἶχε δῆσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖσι Σαμίοισι κατασφάξαι· οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα. Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ τῆς Ἰνύκου ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐς Ἰμέρην ἐκ δὲ ταύτης παρὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον καὶ μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρείος πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτον εἶναι ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἐωντὸν ἀνέβησαν καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπῆκετο, καὶ αὐτὶς ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς δ' ἡγήραι μέγα ὄλβιος ἔων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃσι. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαχθέντες Μήδων, ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιβεβλήατο<sup>64</sup>. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου γενομένην, Φοίνικες κελυσάντων Περσέων κατήγον ἐς Σάμον Αἰάκεια τὸν Συλοσώντος, ὡς πολλοῦ τε ἄξιον γενόμενον σφισι καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασάμενον καὶ Σαμίοισι μούνουσι τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Δαρείου, διὰ τὴν ἐκλειψιν τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρά ἐνεπρήσθη. Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης, αὐτίκα Καρίην ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθελοντὴν τῶν πολλῶν ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκῃ προσηγάγοντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγίνετο.

24  
Anecdote  
of Scythas,  
tyrant of  
Zancle.

25  
The Per-  
sians place  
Æaces in  
Samos as  
dynast, and  
as a reward  
for his ser-  
vices spare  
the city.

ὅς μετὰ σchein, where μετασχεῖν τοῦτο is equivalent to μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων σchein τοῦτο, "have your share with the rest of this." So in iii. 3: ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν διαβὰς ἐς Εὐβοίαν, καὶ περὶ ἐπὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐλθὼν, ὁ κλάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχῶν means that the messenger, immediately upon arriving at Geræstus (ἐπὶ), found a merchant vessel getting under way (ὁ κλάδος ἀναγομένης ἐτυχε). In SOPHOCLES (*Philoctetes*, 320):

ὥς εἶσ' ἀληθεὶς οἶδα, συντυχῶν κακῶν  
ἀνδρῶν Ἀτρεΐδῶν τῆς γ' Ὀδυσσεώς  
βίας.

Toup (against all the MSS) wished to read κακοῖν ἀνδρῶν, &c., but the Scholiast rightly explains the construction as conveying the same meaning as σὺν σοὶτυχῶν. So (*Ædipus Colón.* 1482) we have

ἐναισίῳ δὲ συντόχοιμι,  
μηδ' ἔλαστον ἄνδρ' ἰδὼν,  
ἀκερδῇ χάριν μετὰσχοιμί πως,

where the sense is σὺν ἐταίροις τύχοιμι . .

and μετ' αὐτῶν ἔχοιμι.

The rationale of such passages as these has been concealed under the general rule, that compound verbs are sometimes used in the regimen of their simple themes; but in good authors the instances are very rare in which some difference of meaning is not intended.

<sup>64</sup> ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιβεβλήατο. It should not be overlooked that these Samians are apparently the representatives of the same political party with the bucaniers who laid waste Siphnus and afterwards established a piratical hold at Cydonia in Crete (iii. 57—59). See notes 124 on iii. 42; 394 on iii. 143; 409 on iii. 148; and 8 on § 5, above. From THUCYDIDES (vi. 5) it appears that Anaxilaus himself soon afterwards expelled them from their ill-gotten possession, and, recolonizing the place with a mixed population, called it Messana after his own original country. Compare the distorted account of PAUSANIAS (note 62, above).

Ἰστιαίῳ δὲ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐόντι περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμ- 26  
 βάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων ὁλκάδας ἐκπλωούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἐξαγγέλ- *Adventures*  
 λεται τὰ περὶ Μίλητον γενόμενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλάσποντον *of Histiaeus*  
 ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτράπει Βισάλτῃ, Ἀπολλοφάνεος παιδί, *after the*  
 Ἀβυδηνῷ αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων *capture of*  
 φρουρῇ οὐ προσιεμένη μιν συνέβαλε ἐν Κοίλοισι καλεομένοισι τῆς *Miletus.*  
 Χίης χώρης· τούτων τε δὴ ἐφόνευσε συχνοὺς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν *He occupies*  
 Χίων ὅλα δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς *Chios.*  
 Λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὁρμεώμενος. Φιλέει 27  
 δέ κως προσημαίνειν εὐτ' ἂν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνεϊ *Portents*  
 ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι πρὸ τούτων σημήνια μεγάλα ἐγένετο· *which hap-*  
 τοῦτο μὲν σφί πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νενηιέων ἑκατὸν δύο *pened at*  
 μῦνοι τοῦτων ἀπενύστησαν τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τε καὶ ἐννεήκοντα *the time.*  
 αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τοῦτον χρόνον, ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίης, παισὶ γράμματα διδα-  
 σκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἢ στέγη, ὥστε ἀπ' ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων  
 εἰς μῦνος ἀπέφυγε. ταῦτα μὲν σφί σημήνια ὁ θεὸς προέδεξε μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα, ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε· ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγένετο Ἰστιαῖος Λεσβίων ἀγων κεκακωμένων  
 δὲ τῶν Χίων, καταστροφὴν εὐπετέως αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο.

Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσον<sup>65</sup>, ἄγων Ἰώνων 28  
 καὶ Αἰολέων συχνοὺς. περικατημένῳ δὲ οἱ Θάσον ἦλθε ἀγγελίη, *He then*  
 ὡς οἱ Φοῖνικες ἀναπλῶνουν ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην *attacks*  
 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρρητον λείπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν *Thasos, but*  
 Λέσβον ἠπείγετο ἄγων πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λέσβου δὲ, *in making a*  
 λιμαινούσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς, πέρην διαβαίνει ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος<sup>66</sup> *descent soon*  
 ὡς ἀμήσων τὸν σίτον, τὸν τε ἐνθεῦτεν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καίκου πεδίου *afterwards*  
 τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις ἐτύγγανε ἑὼν *on Atarneus*  
 Ἀρπαγος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης<sup>67</sup>, στρατηγὸς στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης· ὃς οἱ *is captured,*

<sup>65</sup> ἐπὶ Θάσον. The mines in this island and in its dependencies on the main (see § 46) were doubtless a principal object of this expedition. Histiaeus could only hope to carry on the war by the aid of mercenaries, and above all things therefore required specie. See the note 88 on v. 36.

<sup>66</sup> Ἀταρνέος. Atarneus was the place which the Chians obtained as a grant in

return for their extradition of the Persian refugee Pactyas (i. 160).

<sup>67</sup> Ἀρπαγος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. There is no notice in Herodotus of the appointment of this individual to the command he held. Perhaps he may have succeeded Daurises or Hymeas. It should not be overlooked that the Harpagus of Cyrus's time was a Mede (i. 162), whereas this person is expressly stated to be a Persian.

ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν αὐτόν τε Ἰστιαῖον ζωγρήν ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν  
 29 στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πλέω διέφθειρε. Ἐξωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος  
 ὧδε ὡς ἐμάχοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐν τῇ Μαλήρῃ τῆς  
 Ἀταρνεϊτιδος χώρας, οἱ μὲν συνέστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἡ δὲ  
 ἵππος ὕστερον ὀρμηθεῖσα ἐπιπύπτει τοῖσι Ἕλλησιν τότε δὴ ἔργον  
 τῆς ἵππου τοῦτο ἐγένετο· καὶ τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ  
 Ἰστιαῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀπολέεσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέος διὰ τὴν παρ-  
 εοῦσαν ἀμαρτάδα, φιλοφυγίην τοιγύνη τινα ἀναιρέεται ὡς φεύγων  
 τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσῃ, καὶ ὡς καταιρεόμενος ὑπ'  
 αὐτοῦ ἐμέλλε συγκεντηθῆσεσθαι, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν μετεῖς κατα-  
 30 μνηνύει ἐωυτὸν, ὡς εἶη Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος. Εἰ μὲν νυν ὡς  
 ἐξωγρήθη ἄχθη ἀγόμενος<sup>68</sup> παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, ὁ δὲ οὔτ' ἂν  
 ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδὲν, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἀπῆκέ τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην νῦν  
 δέ μιν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα, καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὼν αὐτὶς μέγας  
 παρὰ βασιλείῃ γένηται<sup>69</sup>, Ἀρταφέρνης τε ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος καὶ  
 ὁ λαβῶν Ἀρταγος, ὡς ἀπῆκετο ἀγόμενος ἐς Σάρδις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ  
 σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν<sup>70</sup>, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες  
 ἀνήνεκαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐς Σοῦσα. Δαρεῖος δὲ πυθό-  
 μενος ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μιν οὐ  
 ζῶοντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἰστιαίου  
 λούσαντάς τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὖ ἐνετείλατο θάψαι, ὡς ἀνδρὸς  
 μεγάλως ἐωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσησι εὐεργέτῃ<sup>71</sup>. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστι-  
 αῖον οὕτω ἔσχε.

and being  
 taken to  
 Sardis is  
 put to death  
 by Artaphernes and  
 Harpagus  
 against the  
 wish of  
 Darius.

31 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ  
 δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὡς ἀνέπλωσε αἰρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ  
 ἡπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον<sup>72</sup>. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινα

In the next  
 year the  
 Persians  
 reduce the

<sup>68</sup> ἄχθη ἀγόμενος. This expression seems undoubtedly corrupt. Bekker conjectures ἀνάχθῃ ἀγόμενος.

<sup>69</sup> αὐτὶς μέγας παρὰ βασιλείῃ γένηται. The enmity of Artaphernes towards Histæus appears from the sarcasm addressed to him (above, § 1). Probably Darius would not have been sorry to have maintained some check upon the great Persian officers in Asia Minor by means of a Hellenic satrap of the coast and the islands. The union of Harpagus and Artaphernes in the execution of Histæus is to be remarked. Perhaps neither, by himself, would have had authority to order it. See note 79 on v. 31.

<sup>70</sup> τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν. So Gaisford prints with the majority of MSS. One however (S) has τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσταύρωσαν.

<sup>71</sup> εὐεργέτῃ. See note 421 on iii. 154.

<sup>72</sup> Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. The weakness of Chios is remarked (§ 27). At Lesbos there was a scarcity of provisions (§ 28), so that the Persians commanding the seas with the Phœnician fleet would soon starve it into a surrender, especially after the defeat of the expedition and death of Histæus. Tenedos was so near the main (see note 508 on i. 151), that under the circumstances an over-

τῶν νήσων, ὡς ἐκάστην αἰρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγήνεον τοὺς rest of Ionia  
and the  
islands,  
 ἀνθρώπους. (σαγήνεοῦσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον<sup>72</sup>. ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς  
 ἀψάμενος τῆς χειρὸς, ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορητῆς ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην  
 διήκουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες  
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.) αἶρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς  
 Ἰάδας κατὰ τὰ αὐτά· πλὴν οὐκ ἐσαγήνεον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ  
 γὰρ οἶα τ' ἦν. Ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο 32  
 τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπηπείλησαν τοῖσι Ἰωσὶ στρατοπεδευομένοισι and punish  
the rebels  
 ἐναντία σφίσι· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολλῶν, παῖδάς τε with ex-  
treme se-  
verity.  
 τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέταμνον καὶ ἐποίουν ἀντὶ εἶναι<sup>73</sup>  
 ἐνόρχιας εἰνούχους, καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλλιστενέουσας ἀνασπά-  
 στούς παρὰ βασιλέα· ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐποίουν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμ-  
 πρασαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι<sup>74</sup>. οὕτω δὲ τὸ τρίτον Ἴωνες κατεδου-  
 λώθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δις δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περ-  
 σέων<sup>75</sup>.

Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνῆς ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰ ἐπ' 33  
 ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἶρεε πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ The fleet  
then sails  
to the Hel-  
lespont.  
 δεξιὰ αὐτοῖσι [τοῖσι] Πέρσῃσι ὑποχέλρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἡπείρου.  
 εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ αἶδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου Χερσονήσός τε ἐν  
 τῇ πόλις συχναὶ ἔνευσι, καὶ Πέριωθος<sup>76</sup>, καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ  
 Θρηίκης<sup>77</sup>, καὶ Σηλυβρίη τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Βυζάντιοι μὲν νυν The Byzan-

whelming force might be landed from thence in a single day.

<sup>72</sup> σαγήνεοῦσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. See the note 411 on iii. 149.

<sup>73</sup> ἀντὶ εἶναι. See note 701 on. i. 210.

<sup>74</sup> αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι. After making every allowance for exaggeration in these accounts of the destruction wrought by the Persians, it is still clear that enough must have been done to destroy almost every vestige of Hellenic civilisation, and to make a complete break in the history of the Asiatic Greeks. The policy of Artaphernes was a far sterner one than that of Cyrus as regards the conquered Hellenic race. The Phœnicians were in point of cruelty the Croats of antiquity; and to turn over the towns of commercial rivals to their mercies was to ensure their utter destruction. Besides the loss of property and of human life, almost all the old associations, kept up mainly through the religious rituals, would die away when the centre of union, the temple of the tutelary deity, was destroyed. All archives

would likewise perish: and when the tide of fortune turned nearly twenty years afterwards, the history of the past would have to be reconstructed mainly from the recollections of the few exiles which returned.

<sup>75</sup> πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δις δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων. See i. 26, 27, and 169.

<sup>76</sup> καὶ Πέριωθος. This town, after suffering severely from the Pœonians, was captured by Megabazus immediately after the return of Darius from Scythia (v. 1). It was therefore not likely to be strong enough to offer any resistance either to the Ionian fleet (v. 103) or to the Phœnician.

<sup>77</sup> τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης. SCYLAX classes *Perinthus* and *Selymbria* among the *Θράκια τεῖχη*. He gives a list of them after going through the Chersonese: πρῶτον Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ, Τειρίστασις, Ἡράκλεια, Γᾶνος, Γανίαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Πέριωθος πόλις καὶ λιμὴν, Δαμνὸν τεῖχος, Σηλυμβρία πόλις καὶ λιμὴν (p. 28, Hudson). Herodotus



times and  
Chalcedoni-  
ans fly and  
found Me-  
sembria in  
the Euxine.

All the  
Greek towns  
except Cy-  
xicus and  
Cardia are  
sacked.

καὶ οἱ πέρηθεν Χαλκηδόνιοι<sup>71</sup> οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἀλλ' οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἔσω ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἴκησαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταύτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας, τράπονται ἐπὶ τε Προκέρνησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νείμαντες ἐπλουν αὐτὺς ἐς τὴν Χερσούνησον, ἐξαίρησιντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολλῶν ὅσας πρότερον προσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν. ἐπὶ δὲ Κύζικον οὐδὲ ἐπλωσαν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὶ γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ ἔτι πρότερον<sup>72</sup> τοῦ Φοινίκων ἔσπλου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ, Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάζου<sup>73</sup> ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ ὑπάρχῳ. τῆς δὲ Χερσούνησου, πλὴν Καρδίας πόλιος<sup>74</sup>, τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες.

34  
Story of the  
connexion  
of Miltiades  
with the  
Chersonese.

Ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στῆσαγόρεω, κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· εἶχον Δόλογχοι Θρήικες τὴν Χερσούνησον ταύτην. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ Δόλογχοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀφινθίων<sup>75</sup>, ἐς Δελφούς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας περὶ τοῦ πολέμου

appears to exclude from this class such towns as had a port of their own. *Selybria* was a Thracian name, the termination *bria* signifying πόλις in the local dialect. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub* v., and STRABO, quoted in note on vii. 58.) Perhaps the circumstance of its having a port produced such an influx of Hellenes as to destroy its Thracian character. In vii. 108 we hear of the *Σαμοθρηκία τεῖχεα*, and in vii. 112 of the *τεῖχεα τὰ Πιύρων*,—in both of which cases inland towns seem contemplated. In THUCYDIDES (i. 59), τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης is a very wide expression, including even Potidea.

<sup>71</sup> καὶ οἱ πέρηθεν Χαλκηδόνιοι. It is a proof of the efficiency of the operations of Histiaeus that the city Chalcedon should not have fallen into the hands of the Persians before this time. No doubt however first the diversion effected by the revolt of Caria (v. 117), and afterwards the death of Hymeas (v. 122), contributed something to this result.

<sup>72</sup> ἔτι πρότερον. Dobree conjectures *ἔτι πρότερον*.

<sup>73</sup> Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάζου. It is natural to suppose that the Megabazus here spoken of is the same as the Megabazus who was left in command of the troops in Thrace (iv. 143), and succeeded after a

time by Otanes (v. 26). The name *Μεγαβάρας* belongs to the groom to whose cunning Darius is said to have owed his kingdom (iii. 88). Another son of Megabazus was named *Bubaras* (v. 21). No doubt these names are significant in Persian.

<sup>74</sup> πλὴν Καρδίας πόλιος. It need not be supposed that Cardia successfully resisted the attack upon it; for at the time of Xerxes's expedition it served as a dépôt of naval stores for the Persians (ix. 115), and therefore must have been in their hands. And there is no mention of its being taken between this time and that. It was however inhabited by an Æolian population, and from the time of the fall of the Lydian dynasty there is no trace of any attempt of the Æolian towns to recover their independence. See note 476 on i. 141, and note 354 on iv. 138. It appears to me more likely that the inhabitants of Cardia were well affected to the Persian interests, and that on this account they were exempted from the visitation of the Phœnician fleet. They had been severely handled by their neighbours the *Bisaltæ* (CHARON OF LAMPISACUS, *ap. Athen.* xii. p. 520), and were probably very glad of the aid which Persia could afford.

<sup>75</sup> πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀφινθίων. It is a curious circumstance that this story

χρησόμενους· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἀνείλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν  
 χώραν τοῦτον, ὃς ἂν σφεας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξένια  
 καλέσῃ· ἴοντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογχοι τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκῶν τε καὶ  
 Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν καὶ σφεας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ’  
 Ἀθηνέων. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι τηνικαῦτα εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν 35  
 κράτος Πεισιστράτος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευε<sup>52</sup> καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέ-  
 λου ἐὼν οἰκίης θεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ’ Αἰακοῦ<sup>53</sup> τε  
 καὶ Διγίτης γεγονῶς τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναίος, Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἰαντος  
 παιδὸς γενομένου πρῶτου τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης Ἀθηναίου<sup>54</sup>. οὗτος ὁ  
 Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι τοῖσι ἐνωτοῦ, ὁρέων τοὺς  
 Δολόγχοις παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρήν καὶ αἰχμὰς,  
 προσεβῶσατο· καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγέλματο καταγωγὴν καὶ  
 ξένια. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξεινισθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐξέφαινον πᾶν  
 οἱ τὸ μαντήιον ἐκφῆναντες δὲ ἐδέοντο αὐτοὶ<sup>55</sup> τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι.  
 Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκούσαντα παραντῖκα ἔπεισε ὁ λόγος, οἷα ἀχθόμεον  
 τε τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκ ποδῶν εἶναι· αὐτίκα  
 δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον, εἰ ποιολὴ τὰ  
 περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογχοι προσεδέοντο; Κελευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς 36  
 Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, Ὀλύμπια ἀναιρηκῶς  
 πρότερον τούτων θεθρίππῃ, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα

of the invitation to Miltiades appears elsewhere, agreeing in almost every feature with the text, except that the *Apsinthians* are represented as giving the invitation, owing to the losses they suffered from the *Dolonchi*. (*Schol. inedit. in Aristidem*, quoted by Valcknaer.) See the notes 8 and 9 on iii. 2; also 213, 214 on i. 63 and 64. The *Apsinthians* are perhaps the periceians of Ænus. See note on vii. 58.

<sup>52</sup> ἐδυνάστευε. The word is used in the general sense of "influential." But that the power of Miltiades was actually much greater than that of an ordinary citizen can hardly be doubted. The leading men of Athens at this time may be compared with the heads of the great houses in the Italian republics of the middle ages. The occupation of the Chersonese by Miltiades, of Sigeum by Pisi-stratus, and of Lipedyrium by the Alcæonids, indicate physical force which could only spring from the maintenance of a large number of retainers.

<sup>53</sup> τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ’ Αἰακοῦ. See

note 156 on v. 62.

<sup>54</sup> Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἰαντος . . . Ἀθηναίου. The whole pedigree, although probably confused, is preserved in a quotation from DIDYMUΣ, the Alexandrine grammarian, who cites as his authorities Pherecydes and Hellanicus. It runs (1) Philaias, (2) Daiclus, (3) Epidycus, (4) Acestor, (5) Agenor, (6) Olius, (7) Lyces, (8) Typhon, (9) Laius, (10) Agamestor, (11) Tisander, under whose archonship something took place, but what is concealed by a lacuna, (12) Miltiades, (13) Hippocleides, in whose archonship the Panathenæa were established, (14) Miltiades, the colonist of Chersonese (*ap. Marcellinum, Vit. Thucyd.*).

<sup>55</sup> αὐτοί. This is the reading of the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford, on the authority of the rest, prints αὐτοῦ. But there seems an especial force in αὐτοί. The personal feelings of the Thracians had become enlisted in favour of Miltiades from his treatment of them. They therefore ἐδέοντο αὐτόν, "prayed him on their own account."

37  
Relations  
between  
the elder  
Miltiades  
and Croesus.

τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου, ἔπλεε ἅμα τοῖσι Δολόγκοισι καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν<sup>56</sup>. καὶ μιν οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύραννον κατεστήσαντο<sup>57</sup>. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετείχεισε τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἐς Πακτύνην, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιεν σφεας οἱ Ἀψίνθιοι δηλέεσθαι ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι στάδιοι ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερσονήσος εἴσω πᾶσά ἐστι σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων τὸ μῆκος. Ἀποτείχισας ὦν τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερσονήσου ὁ Μιλτιάδης, καὶ τοὺς Ἀψινθίους τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ὡσάμενος, τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοις ἐπολέμησε Λαμφακηνοῖσι<sup>58</sup>. καὶ μιν οἱ Λαμφακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἰρέουσι ζωγρίην ἣν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ἐν γνῶμῃ γεγονόας<sup>59</sup>. πυθόμενος ὦν ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα, πέμπων προ-

<sup>56</sup> ἔσχε τὴν χώραν. This, which is the reading of several MSS, is no doubt the true one. But both here and in § 47, below, the variant ἔσκε is found in others. It is now generally agreed that ἔσκε, whenever it is found in Ionic writers, has the sense of ἦν. But AULUS GELLIVS (*N. A.* vi. 16) speaks as if in his time ἔσκον was used as an Ionic form of ἔσχον. Such would be the case if ἔσκε were allowed to stand in the text; and if this be a corruption (which seems likely) it is one which neither Gellius nor a friend of his, whom he describes as 'multi studii atque in bonarum disciplinarum opere frequens,' recognized as such.

<sup>57</sup> τύραννον κατεστήσαντο. In the "treasury of the Sicyonians" at Elis, there was "a horn of Amalthea" of wrought ivory, on which was the inscription, "in ancient Attic letters,"

Ζηνὶ μ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ Χερσονήσου  
τεῖχος ἐλόντες Ἀράτου ἐπήρχε δὲ Μιλτιάδης σφιν.

PAUSANIAS (no doubt following the account he heard on the spot) says that the offering was made by "Miltiades, son of Cimon, who first of that house obtained sovereign power in the Thracian Chersonese" (vi. 19. 4). This is an instructive instance of the way in which the more celebrated person in a family attracts to himself in oral traditions the feats of the less distinguished. ÆLIAN'S *three* Miltiadeses, on the other hand (*Var. Hist.* xiii. 35)—like his *two* Perianders, *ten* Sibyls, and *three* Bacides,—spring from

the assumption that different traditions must needs relate to different persons.

<sup>58</sup> τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοις ἐπολέμησε Λαμφακηνοῖσι. Lampsacus was only forty stades distant from a headland of the Chersonese, on which in the time of STRABO a little town called Callipolis (*Gallipoli*) was built (xiii. c. 1, p. 92). This site, like the similar one of Zancle in Sicily, offered opportunities to the piratical adventurers of Miltiades's time not likely to be neglected, and probably the war in question was of a predatory character. Lampsacus was a colony from Miletus.

<sup>59</sup> ἐν γνῶμῃ γεγονόας. This expression seems to mean *γνώριμος γένόμενος*. It is far from unlikely that some sort of feudal relation had been entered into between Croesus and Miltiades. (See note 40 on iv. 14.) The whole of the coast of the Troad and Propontis was claimed by the Lydian kings as lords of the soil, and Abydos was said to be founded by the *permission* of Gyges. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 95.) It is probable under such circumstances that certain seigniorial rights would be reserved, and as the towns increased in wealth and commercial importance, a continual struggle would go on, the sovereigns endeavouring to increase the fund which they derived from the burghers, and the latter to get rid of the obligations under which they lay. To enforce payment in a summary manner, an effectual method would be to connive at the piratical proceedings of another vassal at the expense of the delinquent.

ηγόρευε τοῖσι Λαμψακηνοῖσι μετιέναι Μιλτιάδεα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, σφῆας  
 πίτυος τρόπον ἀπέλκεε ἐκτρίψειν<sup>37</sup>. πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψα-  
 κηνῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι τό σφι ἀπέλκεσεν ὁ  
 Κροῖσος, “πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν,” μόγις κοτὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις  
 πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι πίτυς μούνη πάντων δενδρέων ἐκκο-  
 πείσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα μετεῖ<sup>38</sup>, ἀλλὰ πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται  
 δέοντες ὧν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ Κροῖσον, λύσαντες μετήκαν Μιλ-  
 τιάδεα. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροῖσον ἐκφεύγει· μετὰ δὲ, τελευτᾷ 38  
 ἅπαις τὴν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδοὺς Στῆσαγόρῃ τῷ  
 Κίμωνος ἀδελφεοῦ παιδὶ ὁμομητρῷ καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσο-  
 νησίται θύουσι, ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ  
 γυμνικὸν ἐπιστάσι ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηνῶν αἰδελὺ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνί-  
 ζεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ ἔοντος πρὸς Λαμψακηνοὺς, καὶ Στῆσαγόρεα  
 κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἅπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει ἐν τῷ  
 πρυτανίῳ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολεμίου δὲ καὶ  
 ὑποθερμότερου τῷ ἔργῳ.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στῆσαγόρεω τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλ- 39  
 τιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Στῆσαγόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφεὸν, Relations  
 καταλαμφόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι of the  
 τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι<sup>39</sup>. οἱ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐπόλεον εὖ, ὡς younger  
 οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν<sup>40</sup> τοῦ πατρὸς Κίμωνος αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν Miltiades  
 ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῃ λόγῳ<sup>41</sup> σημανέω ὡς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικό- with the  
 μενος ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσον εἶχε κατ' οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Στῆ- Pisistratida.  
 σαγόρεα δηλαδὴ<sup>42</sup> ἐπιτιμῶν οἱ δὲ Χερσονησίται πυνθανόμενοι

<sup>37</sup> πίτυος τρόπον ἀπέλκεε ἐκτρίψειν. It has been concluded that Herodotus missed the real gist of this story, from the circumstance that he does not mention Lampascus having been formerly called *Pityoeas* or *Pityea*, which is said to have been the case. (DEIOCHUS and EUPHRODITUS, *ap. Steph. Byzant.* v. Λάμψακος.) But the name *Pityea* applied to some town in that region occurs even in the *Iliad* (ii. 829), and of this it is not likely that Herodotus would be ignorant. It does not seem to me necessary to suppose that Croesus intended a pun by the phrase he made use of. He resorted to an illustration which would be appropriate to the region, abounding as it did in firs; just as in the prophetic writings of the Old

Testament similar illustrations are supplied by the cedars of Lebanon and the vineyards and olive gardens of the valley of the Jordan.

<sup>38</sup> μετεῖ. See note 604 on i. 180.

<sup>39</sup> οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. The connexion of the Pisistratids with the Troad appears by their holding Sigeum (v. 94.)

<sup>40</sup> ἐς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν, “as if, forsooth, they knew nothing about.”

<sup>41</sup> ἐν ἄλλῃ λόγῳ, “in another story.” He fulfils his promise in *this* book, § 103, a circumstance which proves not only that the present division into nine books is not original (as LUCIAN's story makes it), but that a different division must have been contemplated.

<sup>42</sup> δηλαδὴ. See note 346 on iv. 135.

ταῦτα, συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολλῶν οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν κοινῇ δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὡς συλληπηθησόμενοι, ἐδέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσόνησον, πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρητικῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα Ἑγησιπύλην. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθει<sup>93</sup> ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, κατελάμβανε δέ μιν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα (τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει τούτων<sup>94</sup> Σκύθας ἔφευγε Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ

40  
His expulsion from the Chersonese by the Scythians.

<sup>93</sup> νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθει. On the assumption that this phrase refers to the first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese, Larcher and Clinton (*F. H. a.* 515) have created a greater difficulty than really exists in it, from erroneously supposing that "the Pisistratids" spoken of above must include Hipparchus, who was killed in the year 514 B.C. But "the Pisistratids" merely mean "the Pisistratid party," and the expression is so used by Herodotus (v. 62—65). The first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese need not therefore have taken place before 510 B.C. Yet even then it seems strange that such a phrase as νεωστὶ ἐληλύθει should be applied to an event occurring at least seventeen years before. This inconvenience would be avoided by supposing that "the recent arrival" of Miltiades meant his return after his flight. In that case, τὰ κατέχοντα πράγματα, "the troubles which occupied him," must be taken to mean the troubles arising out of his relations with the Scythians, and the ἄλλα χαλεπώτερα to refer to the new dangers threatened by the Ionian rebellion and its consequences. The Scythian invasion will be regarded as happening in the third year of these (τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων), and his return from the exile occasioned by it, in the third year before the arrival of the Phoenician fleet at Tenedos, and "the troubles which then came upon him" (τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων). This interpretation synchronizes tolerably well with the course of events. Aristagoras was certainly slain in Thrace by a great Thracian movement in 497 B.C. (see CLINTON under the years 497 and 465), and it is natural that the natives, flushed by success, should proceed to try whether they might not be as successful in the Hellespont. The Phoenician fleet came to Tenedos in 493, so that about two years would be given for the limits within which Miltiades was expelled and returned. The words τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων

will on this theory mean "in the third year of these troubles," i.e. the Ionian rebellion of which I am writing, which began with the burning of Sardis 499 B.C.

<sup>94</sup> τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει τούτων. This ought to mean the same, or nearly the same, as the more common expression, τρίτῳ ἔτει μετὰ ταῦτα. See below, δέ-τερῳ ἔτει τούτων (§ 46 and vii. 80). But the sense in which it has been generally taken is "in the third year before," and the time denoted regarded as the same with that expressed below by τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον. This interpretation seems however to be commended mainly by the assumption that νεωστὶ ἐληλύθει must refer to the first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese, and this appears to me far from certain. (See the last note.) I should rather be inclined to suppose that Herodotus has here got hold of a tradition belonging to a different cycle from that which he has just been following,—probably one derived from Hellespontine sources, which merely related that Miltiades, after flying from before the Scythians, whom Darius had provoked, remained in exile until he recovered his power by the aid of the *Dolonchi*,—an event which took place in the third year before the advent of the Phoenician fleet. Such a Hellespontine tradition would take no account of what might have happened to Miltiades's ancestors at Athens. Their adventures Herodotus probably obtained from some other quarter. We may perhaps suppose that the main thread of the narrative proceeded from the third line of § 34 to the beginning of § 40, thus: Ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτῶν μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρευ, κησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυβέλου· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης, κ.τ.λ., and that the author subsequently inserted the family history comprised in §§ 34—39.

νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν, καὶ ἤλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης· τούτους ἐπionτας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἔφευγε ἀπὸ Χερσονήσου, ἐς δ' οἷ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ μιν οἱ Δόλογοι κατήγαγον ὀπίσω·) Ταῦτα 41  
 μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων·<sup>91</sup> τότε δὲ πυθνανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρόντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ ὥσπερ ὠρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος, ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου παραμειβετό τε τὴν Χερσονήσον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῇσι νηυσί. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇσι τέσσαρσι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἴμβρον, τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς δὲ νεὸς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδew παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχων Μητιόχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρήικος ἐὼν θυγατρὸς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης· καὶ τοῦτον ἅμα τῇ νηϊ εἶλον οἱ Φοίνικες, καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι ὥς εἴη Μιλτιάδew παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκέοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι·<sup>92</sup> ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖσι Ἰωσι πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖσι Σκύθησι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέοντο λύσαντας τὴν σχεδὴν ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἐωντῶν. Δαρείος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητιόχον τὸν Μιλτιάδew ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν·<sup>93</sup> Μητιόχον ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ οἶκον καὶ κτῆσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμέαται. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἐξ Ἰμβρου ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.<sup>94</sup>

His narrow escape from the Phœnician fleet which captures his son Metiochus.

whom Darius treats with great kindness.

He arrives at Athens.

Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον 42

<sup>91</sup> ταῦτα μὲν δὴ . . . τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων. Dobree considers that this sentence is mainly derived from the hand of a commentator, who misunderstood the meaning of the words *τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων* in the beginning of the section. He would read as a substitute for them, ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρότερον. But this change is unsupported by any variation in the MSS.

<sup>92</sup> χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι. Literally, "would deposit a great favour with him," i. e. lay him under a great obligation. The metaphor is taken from the depositing of a balance with a banker, on whom the depositor thus acquires a hold. Thus Felix left St. Paul in bonds, θέλων χάριτα κατα-

θέσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, wishing not "to do the Jews a favour," but "to lay the Jews under an obligation," i. e. to stop their mouths in the event of his official conduct being attacked. (*Acts* xxiv. 25.)

<sup>93</sup> ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν. It seems not impossible that Darius rather wished than otherwise to attach to himself some person of influence among the number of the Hellenic dynasts in these regions. (See note 69 on § 30.) Both his temper and his comprehensive views would lead him to a very different policy from that which would occur to the merely military Persian commanders and the cruel semi-barbarous Phœnicians. (See note 74 on § 32.)

New settle-  
ment of  
Ionia.

ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νείκος φέρον Ἴωσι, ἀλλὰ τὰδε μὲν χρήσιμα  
κάρτα τοῖσι Ἴωσι ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ ἔτους. Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Σαρ-  
δίων ὑπαρχος, μεταπεμφάμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν συνθήκας  
σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τοὺς Ἴωνας ἠνάγκασε ποιεέσθαι, ἵνα δοσῶνται εἰεν  
καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. ταῦτά τε ἠνάγκασε  
ποιεῖν καὶ τὰς χώρας σφένων μετρήσας κατὰ παρασόγγας<sup>100</sup>,—  
τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια<sup>101</sup>,—κατὰ δὲ τούτους  
μετρήσας φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοισι, οἳ κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσιν  
ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ<sup>101</sup>, ὥς ἐτάχθησαν  
ἐξ Ἀρταφέρνηος ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τὰ καὶ πρό-  
43 τερον εἶχον<sup>102</sup>. Καὶ σφί ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι,  
τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος<sup>103</sup>, Μαρδο-

In the next  
spring Mar-

<sup>100</sup> μετρήσας κατὰ παρασόγγας. By this expression one may conjecture that the use of the Persian scale of measurement was at this time imposed upon the Ionians,—not a difficult matter, if the Persian scale was one adopted from Babylon. For it seems probable that this scale was identical with one which prevailed in Egypt from very early times (see note 511 on ii. 168), and this had been adopted for commercial purposes by the Samians, and probably also by all persons who had commercial intercourse either with Phœnicia or Egypt. Hence it is not unlikely that in the time of Herodotus any Ionian merchant (especially if his trade lay with the east) would speak in terms of the Perso-Babylonian scale. (See note 597 on i. 178.)

<sup>101</sup> τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια. This must not be regarded as strictly true. STRABO (xi. c. 11, p. 442) says that some put the *parasang* at sixty stades, some at thirty, and some at forty. He remarks a similar variation with regard to the Egyptian *schenus*. (See note 24 on ii. 6.) These differences will not be surprising if we regard the measure as forming an element in an organized system of locomotion, such as the Persian *estafette*. A *parasang* would be the *posting unit of distance*, the space which on average ground a courier would perform in a given time. But in the *tariff* by which travellers would be guided there would be bye-laws to meet the varying conditions of road, of season, of climate, and perhaps even of fiscal or police regulations, which would materially affect the length of the *parasang* considered geogra-

phically. These considerations appear in the Roman Itineraries and in every modern system of posting conducted by the governments of the country. Col. Stiel in 1837 found considerable inconvenience from the Kurdistan muleteers whom he hired habitually *halting every farsakh*, i.e. *parasang* (*Journal of Geogr. Soc.* viii. p. 77), and on the road on which this occurred there were certainly no measured distances.

<sup>101</sup> ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ. This passage has been remarked as decisively proving the subjection of the Asiatic Hellenes to the king of Persia, at a time when the restoration of their liberty by Athenian arms was a favourite topic with the Attic orators. MÜLLER (*Dorier*. i. pp. 186, 187) points out several other circumstances which show the same thing.

<sup>102</sup> κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. This mild treatment of the rebels is said by DIODORUS SICULUS (*Excerpt. Vat.* p. 38) to be due to the persuasions of Hecataeus, who was deputed by his countrymen to plead their cause with Artaphernes.

<sup>103</sup> τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος. Every thing which is related of Darius, with the exception of a single anecdote (see note 235 on iv. 84), goes to show that, like Alexander and Napoleon, his genius for consolidating the countries he conquered, and combining anew the elements of prosperity, was no less striking than his success as a conqueror. The generals mentioned in the text appear to have been superseded by direct orders from the king; and there seems every likelihood that the immediate occasion of this was the extreme harshness

νιος ὁ Γωβρύεω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν <sup>donius con-</sup>  
 κάρτα πεζὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν <sup>ducts an</sup> <sup>104</sup>, ἡλικίην τε νέος <sup>expedition</sup>  
 ἔων, καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκὸς βασιλέος Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἄρταζώ- <sup>over land,</sup>  
 στρην <sup>105</sup>. ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπεὶ τε <sup>against Era-</sup>  
 ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἅμα <sup>tria and</sup>  
 τῇσι ἄλλῃσι νηυσὶ <sup>106</sup>, στρατιὴν δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἦγον <sup>Athens no-</sup>  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὥς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπίκετο ὁ <sup>minally, but</sup>  
 Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖσι μὴ <sup>really for</sup>  
 ἀποδοκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων <sup>107</sup> Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπὶ Ὀτάνεα γνῶμην <sup>the subju-</sup>  
 ἀποδέξασθαι ὥς χρεὼν εἴη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς γὰρ <sup>gation of</sup>  
 τυράννους τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημο- <sup>Hellas.</sup>  
 κρατίας <sup>108</sup> κατίστα <sup>109</sup> ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ἡπειγέτο  
 ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη μὲν χρήμα πολλὸν νεῶν,  
 συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς πολλὸς στρατὸς, διαβάντες τῇσι νηυσὶ τὸν  
 Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης· ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τε  
 Ἐρέτρια καὶ Ἀθήνας. Αὗται μὲν ὧν σφί πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ <sup>44</sup>  
 στόλου· ἀτὰρ ἐν νόφ ἔχοντες ὅσας ἂν πλείστας δύναιντο καταστρέ-

The fleet  
in attend-

with which they treated the towns they  
 overran. (See § 32.)

<sup>104</sup> πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν. See note 190  
 on i. 59. To the instances there quoted  
 may be added CICERO (*Pro Rabirio*, § 4),  
 "Hæc verba non solum tenebris vetustatis,  
 sed etiam luce libertatis oppressa sunt."

<sup>105</sup> Ἄρταζώστρην. Gobryas himself was  
 Darius's father-in-law (vii. 2), and brother-  
 in-law (vii. 5). He appears in the account  
 of the conspiracy against Smerdis as the  
 most courageous and zealous of all the  
 seven chiefs. The rock inscriptions make  
 him "bow-bearer" of Darius. (See note  
 199 on iii. 70.) In the narrative of the  
 Scythian expedition he is represented as  
 the most sagacious and prudent of all the  
 Persians. All these particulars go to the  
 point of his being especially attached to  
 Darius's person and possessing his confi-  
 dence. The appointment of his son  
 Mardonius, therefore, with extraordinary  
 powers in the existing conjuncture looks  
 like the consummation of Darius's policy  
 of imperial order, as contradistinguished  
 from the violent individual despotism of  
 the great chiefs belonging to the old Per-  
 sian régime. Perhaps even the feature of  
 Mardonius's youth is significant. He was  
 not old enough to have imbibed the pre-

judices of the ruffianly school who mutilated attendants (iii. 119), and considered all regulation of fiscal imposts worthy only of a huckster (iii. 89). Among the generals superseded is an Otanes, who, though not himself the conspirator, was probably connected with him.

<sup>106</sup> ἅμα τῇσι ἄλλῃσι νηυσὶ. Perhaps to keep in check the savagery of the Phœnicians. See note 74 on § 32, above.

<sup>107</sup> τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδοκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων. See iii. 80.

<sup>108</sup> δημοκρατίας. These constitutional governments would be no inconvenient machinery for carrying on the ordinary business of the respective towns, while at the same time the imperial interests were protected by the existence of a considerable Persian force at Dascyleum and Magnesia. But the argument from such measures in favour of the historical truth of the views attributed to Otanes, is of the same kind as one would be, which should infer the probability of a republican government being suggested in the council chamber of a Plantagenet, from the fact that the kings of that dynasty were not unfriendly to municipal institutions.

<sup>109</sup> κατίστα. See note 287 on ii. 102.



ance on the  
army is  
wrecked off  
Athos,

φεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολλῶν, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇσι νηυσὶ Θασίους οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταειραμένους καταστρέψαντο, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο <sup>110</sup>. τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφί ἦν ἤδη ὑποχέλρια γεγονότα <sup>111</sup>. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην, ὑπὸ τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὁρμώμενοι, τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ σφί περιπλέουσι βορῆς ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος, κάρτα τρηχέως περιέσπε πλήθει πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἄθων λέγεται γὰρ κατὰ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ὥστε γὰρ θηριωδεστάτης εὐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης <sup>112</sup> ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄθων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἀρπαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάτο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ῥίγעי. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικός στρα-

45 and the land  
forces suffer

τὸς οὕτω ἔπρασε. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευομένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήικες <sup>113</sup> ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ σφεων

<sup>110</sup> Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο. Possibly at this time Alexander the Macedonian became formally a vassal of Persia. See notes on v. 21, vii. 127, and viii. 136.

<sup>111</sup> σφί ἦν ἤδη ὑποχέλρια γεγονότα. The operations of Megabazus, who had been left in Sestos with 80,000 men by Darius on his return from Scythia (iv. 143), were continued by Otanes (v. 26), and it would seem likely that the services of the former were confined to the European shore, where, after taking Perinthus, ἤλαυε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτη οικημένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλείῃ (v. 2). The only particulars given of those operations relate to the Peonians; but it appears incidentally that Doriscus was then strongly garrisoned, and Eion on the Strymon occupied (vii. 106, 7). From the anecdotes related of him (iv. 143, 144) it is plain that Megabazus was not only highly valued by the king, but that he had an eye for an effective military position; which latter quality is further evinced by his seeing through the plans of Histieus (v. 23). Possibly therefore when he had completed the arrangements for the permanent military occupation of the European shore, he returned, and Otanes

was put in his place to carry out the details which were necessary on the Asiatic coast and the Hellespont for connecting the two continents by a chain of posts. By the list which Herodotus gives of the places taken by Otanes (v. 26), it is plain that the main consideration which influenced him was to command the straits so as to secure an uninterrupted communication. It should not be overlooked that the phrase τὰ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων is only appropriate to a narrator who takes some place in the neighbourhood of the straits for his centre.

<sup>112</sup> θηριωδεστάτης εὐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης. This expression has been put forward as an instance of gross incorrectness on the part of Herodotus; and, in the view of defending him from the charge, it has been suggested that his meaning may be, that the *shore* of the sea in question was thickly tenanted with wild animals. But the words can hardly bear such a meaning; and a better defence would be, that by them the author intends to describe the existence of *sharks* in large numbers.

<sup>113</sup> Βρύγοι Θρήικες. It can scarcely be doubted that these are the same tribes elsewhere called *Bryges* or *Bryges*. See note on vii. 73.

πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τραυματίζουσι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρέων τούτων Μαρδόνιος, πρὶν ἢ σφεας ὑποχειρίλους ἐποιήσατο. τούτους μέντοι καταστρεφάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατὴν ὀπίσω, ἅτε τῷ πεζῷ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς Βρύγους<sup>114</sup> καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλως περὶ Ἄθων. οὗτος μὲν νῦν ὁ στόλος αἰσχροῦς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

severely from a night attack of the Thracians, and the expedition returns.

Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρεῖος, πρῶτα μὲν Θασίους δια- 46

βληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγεϊτόνων ὡς ἀπόστασιν μηχανολάτο, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκέλευε σφεας τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν<sup>115</sup>. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οἳ ὑπὸ Ἰσθίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγαλέων, ἐχρέοντο τοῖσι χρήμασι ναῦς τε ναυπηγεύμενοι μακρὰς καὶ τεῖχος ἰσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἡ δὲ πρόσδοδος σφί ἐγένετο ἕκ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν ἐν Σκαπτῇ Ὑλῃ<sup>116</sup>, τῶν χρυσέων μετάλλων, τὸ ἐπίπαν ὀγδώκοντα τάλαντα προσήιε ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσφ ἐλάσσω μὲν τούτων, συχὰ δὲ οὕτω ὥστε τὸ ἐπίπαν Θασίοισι, ἐούσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι<sup>117</sup>, προσήιε ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἔτεος ἐκάστου δηκόσια τάλαντα· ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον προσήλθε, τριηκόσια. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα· καὶ μακρῷ ἦν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεύρουν, οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην ἦτις νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὐνομα ἔσχε<sup>a</sup>. τὰ δὲ μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτα ἔστι τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθρίτης· ὁρος μέγα, ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητήσει. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν ἔστι

Next year the Persians seize the navy of Thasos, and destroy the walls.

Great wealth of the islanders, specially from their mines.

<sup>114</sup> Βρύγους. One MS (b) has Βρύγας. See the last note.

<sup>115</sup> τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν. Herodotus (i. 168) represents Abdera as founded for the second time by the Teians flying from before the face of Harpagus. But by this time it would seem to have become Persian in feeling; otherwise it would hardly have been selected as a dépôt for the galleys. The story told in viii. 120 goes to prove that even the defeat of Xerxes failed to detach Abdera from his cause.

<sup>116</sup> ἐν Σκαπτῇ Ὑλῃ. This name became *Scaptèria* in Latin, the aspirate being represented by the sound s; just as

ἐξ, ἐπὶ, ἔργω, ἄς appear in their Latin equivalents as *sex, septem, serpo, sal*.

<sup>117</sup> ἐούσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι, "while free from imposts on their produce." The author apparently means to say that without the islanders paying any tithe or land-tax, the whole of the public expenses were defrayed from the profits of the mines, and the produce of the public demesne on the continent, a balance still remaining of two or three hundred talents. It must be remembered that among the public expenses would come the celebration of the religious festivals—a very heavy burden in ancient times.

<sup>a</sup> ἔσχε. See above, note 86f.

τοιούτο· οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ σφέτερον κατέϊλον, καὶ τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀβδῆρα.

48 Darius summons all the Hellenic states to submit.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὃ τι ἐν νόφ' ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐνωτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐνωτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλεις τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς

49 Most of them comply, and among these the Æginetæ, to punish whom at the appeal of the Athenians,

καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιεέσθαι. οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα· καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἠπειρωτέων ἐδίδουσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ οἱ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικόλατο αἰτήσοντας. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρεῖφ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῆται· ποιήσασι δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέκεατο, δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας<sup>118</sup> τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας δεδωκέναι ὡς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύωνται· καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτέοντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγορεῖν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίην Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, βασιλεὺς ἐὼν Σπαρτιητέων, διέβη ἐς Αἰγίαν βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητέων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους· ὡς δὲ ἐπειράτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο ἀντίῃσοι τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κρίος ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα· ὃς οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξειν χαίροντα Αἰγινητέων· ἀνευ γάρ μιν Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιεῖν ταῦτα ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα χρήμασι· ἅμα γὰρ ἂν μιν τῷ ἐτέρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνειν· ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου<sup>119</sup>. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης, εἵρετο τὸν Κρίον ὃ τι οἱ εἴη τὸ οὐνομα; ὃ δὲ τὸ ἐὼν ἔφρασε οἱ· ὃ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν

50 Cleomenes goes to the island, but is thwarted by his colleague Demaratus.

<sup>118</sup> ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας. Several MSS have ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας, but EUSTATHIUS (on Od. xix. 71, τί μοι ἐπέχεις;) takes occasion to remark that Herodotus separates the compound verb into its constituent parts. The expression ἐπέχειν here seems to answer to the old English phrase "to have at." Translate: "considering that the Æginetæ were aiming a blow at *them* when they rendered the

symbols of submission, that they might make war upon them with the Persian king for an ally."

<sup>119</sup> ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου. The first decided break between Cleomenes and Demaratus was with the army of confederates at Eleusis. See note 200 on v. 75. For the use of the word ἐπιστολή, see note 27 on iv. 10.

ἔφη “ ἤδη νῦν καταχάλκου, ὦ Κριε, τὰ κέρα <sup>120</sup>, ὡς συνοισόμενος  
μεγάλῳ κακῷ.”

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρτος ὁ 51

Ἀρίστωνος διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἐὼν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Story of this  
Demaratus.

Σπαρτιηγῶν οἰκίης δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστέρης· κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν

ὑποδεεστέρης,—ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγονάσι,—κατὰ πρεσβυ-

γενείην δὲ κως τετίμηται μᾶλλον ἢ Εὐρυσθένης. Λακεδαιμόνιοι 52

γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ <sup>121</sup> λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστοδήμον, Early his-  
tory of the  
kings of  
Sparta ac-  
cording to  
Lacedæmo-  
nian tradi-  
tions.

τὸν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἰλλου, βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν

σφέας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν ἐκτέταται, ἀλλ’ οὐ τοὺς

Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλόν, Ἀριστοδήμῳ

τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα τῇ οὐνομα εἶναι Ἀργεῖν· θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῇν

<sup>120</sup> καταχάλκου, ὦ Κριε, τὰ κέρα.  
There is a bitterness about the Spartan king, whose authority was not only resisted, but resisted with the insolent words: οὐδένα ἔξεν χαίροντα Ἀθηνηίων, which should have prevented any comparison of this expression with the jests of Cicero upon the name of Verres. It is rather the mask of levity under which the deepest feelings seek to conceal themselves; and may be more fitly compared with the words of Esau (*Gen. xxvii. 36*), which were spoken just after he had “cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry.” SHAKESPEARE (*King Richard II., Act 2, Sc. 1*) furnishes a matchless specimen of this condition of mind, and at the same time gives the clue to its explanation:

“KING RICHARD. What comfort, man?  
How is’t with aged Gaunt?”

GAUNT. O, how that name befits my composition!

Old Gaunt, indeed; and gaunt in being old.

Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast;  
And who abstains from meat, that is not gaunt?

For sleeping England long time have I watched;

Watching breeds leanness; leanness is all gaunt.

The pleasure that some fathers feed upon  
Is my strict fast,—I mean my children’s looks;

And therein fasting hast thou made me gaunt.

Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as the grave,

Whose hollow womb inherits nought but bones.

KING RICHARD. Can sick men play so nicely with their names?

GAUNT. No: misery makes sport to mock itself:

Since thou dost seek to kill my name in me,

I mock my name, great king, to flatter thee.”

With the same propriety he makes Constance, who in an agony of passion at the compromise of her son’s claim had thrown herself upon the earth in the presence of the assembled sovereigns (*King John, Act 3, Sc. 1*), rise up, on hearing the words of King Philip:

“The yearly course, that brings this day about,

Shall never see it but a holiday,”

with the reply—

“A wicked day, and not a holy day.”

<sup>121</sup> ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ. The narrative which follows is extremely valuable, as containing the genuine Lacedæmonian traditions relative to the condition of their country at the period immediately following the Heraclide invasion. It may be put together with the account of Theras given in iv. 147—149, and from the combination of the two a very complete ethnological account (in terms of mythology) may be constructed of what the Lacedæmonians of the time of Herodotus thought about their own early history.

λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος· ταύτην δὲ τεκεῖν διδυμα· ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοδήμον τὰ τέκνα νόσφ' τελευτῶν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἔοντας βουλευσάσαι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι· οὐκ ὄντι σφῆας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἔλονται, ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἔόντων, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γνῶναι, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρωτῶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι διαγινώσκειν, εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα βουλομένην δὲ εἰ κως ἀμφοτέροι γενοίετο βασιλεῖς· τοὺς δ' ὦν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέειν ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρησόμενους ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ πρήγματι; τὴν δὲ Πυθίην κελεύειν σφῆας ἀμφοτέρα τὰ παῖδια ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμῶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραίτερον τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταῦτά σφι ἀνελεῖν τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἔσσαν ὅκως ἐξεύρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ἰποθέσθαι ἄνδρα Μεσσηνίου τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Πανίτην· ἰποθέσθαι δὲ τούτου τὸν Πανίτην τάδε τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, φυλάξαι τὴν γενομένην ὁκότερον τῶν παίδων πρότερον λούει καὶ σιτίζει· καὶ ἦν μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνεται αἰεὶ ποιέουσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἔχειν ὅσον τι καὶ διζήνται καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρεῖν ἣν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκεῖνη ἐναλλάξ ποιέουσα, δηλὰ σφι ἔσσεσθαι ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἶδε· ἐπ' ἄλλην τέ σφῆας τραπέσθαι ὁδὸν ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας, κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ἰποθήκας, φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων λαβεῖν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σίτοισι καὶ λουτροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδυῖαν τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο· λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γενομένης, ὥς ἔον πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ οἱ οὐνομα τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθέnea, τῷ δὲ [νεωτέρῳ<sup>122</sup>] Προκλέα· τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας, αὐτοὺς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ἔοντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελέειν. Ταῦτα μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι μῦθοι Ἑλλήνων· τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα<sup>123</sup> ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ γράφω . . . . . τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας<sup>124</sup> μέχρι μὲν Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ

53

The account  
which is  
current  
among the

<sup>122</sup> [νεωτέρῳ]. This word is omitted from M, K, F, d. It is quite unnecessary, and seems to have crept in as a gloss.

<sup>123</sup> κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα. This is the reading of the majority of MSS. Gais-

ford follows Schweighauser, who, on the authority of F, adopts κατὰ ταῦτα λεγόμενα.

<sup>124</sup> τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας. Before these words there appears to be a

θεοῦ ἀπέοντος<sup>125</sup>, καταλεγόμενους ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀπο- other Hel-  
 δεικνυμένους ὥς εἰσι Ἕλληνες (ἤδη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας  
 οὔτοι ἐτέλειον) ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι  
 ἔλαβον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα<sup>126</sup>, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμία Περσεί οὐδεμία  
 πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλεί Ἀμφιτρύων ἦδη ὦν ὀρθῶ λόγῳ  
 χρεωμένῳ μέχρι τοῦ Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηται μοι. ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης  
 τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν, φαινοίαιτο  
 ἂν ἔόντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές. Ταῦτα 54  
 μὲν νυν κατὰ τὰ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι γεγεννηλόγηται ὥς δὲ ὁ Περ- The Per-  
 σέων λόγος<sup>127</sup> λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς ἐὼν Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο sian ac-  
 Ἕλληνα, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε count of  
 πατέρας ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηιότητα Περσεί οὐδέν<sup>128</sup>, τούτους δὲ Persæus.  
 εἶναι, κατὰπερ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγυπτίους. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νυν 55  
 περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω ὃ τι δὲ ἔόντες Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὃ τι ἀποδεξά-  
 μενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληίας<sup>129</sup>, ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν  
 εἴρηται, ἑάσομεν αὐτὰ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο τούτων μνήμην  
 ποιήσομαι.

Γέρεα δὲ δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῇται δεδώκασιν ἱρωσύ- 56  
 νας δύο, Διὸς τε Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Διὸς Οὐρανίου<sup>130</sup>. καὶ πόλεμόν Prerogatives  
 of the kings

lacuna, which I apprehend was filled up with a genealogy connecting the Lacedæmonians with the royal houses of Mycenæ and Argos, perhaps derived from the γεναλογία of Hecateus. (See Cæuzea, *Historicorum Græcorum antiquissimorum Fragmenta*, pp. 46—55.)

<sup>125</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπέοντος. The Hellenic genealogies invariably ended with the name of some deity, probably the tutelary deity of the family, but any how necessary as an hypothesis, in order that the list of ancestors might not be infinite. Thus Herodotus (ii. 143) speaks of the rivalry of the Egyptian genealogers with Hecateus, γεναλογήσαντι ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκαυδέκατον θεόν. In this passage the author says that he has given the catalogue in its proper order, as the Greeks recognize it, all the names having clear evidence of being Greek, but has left out "the god," the point d'appui of the pedigree.

<sup>126</sup> ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα. The MSS and Gaisford reverse the order of the clauses: τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον.

<sup>127</sup> ὁ Περσέων λόγος. See notes 338 on i. 95, and 471 on i. 139.

<sup>128</sup> ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηιότητα Περσεί οὐδέν. According to the "Persian" legend Perseus had nothing whatever to do with Acrisius, whom the Hellenic traditions made his maternal grandfather. Hence the ancestors of Acrisius are said "in no respect to agree with [the Persian] Perseus in the point of relationship;"—they indeed being, as the Hellenic legend made them, Egyptians.

<sup>129</sup> ὃ τι δὲ ἔόντες Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὃ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληίας, "but in what way they were Egyptian, and what feats they did, that they received the Dorian kingdoms." The "others" of whom the writer here speaks are, I conceive, especially Hecateus.

<sup>130</sup> Διὸς τε Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Διὸς Οὐρανίου. This is the only passage in which Ζεὺς Λακεδαιμόνων is mentioned in any ancient writer. It can scarcely be doubted, whatever the original idea of the deity here spoken of, that he was invoked under this title as the guardian of the nation, and stands in the same relation to the Lacedæmonians that *Athene* did to the Athenians. It is not necessary to suppose that he had a separate temple under this title, or that the kings were priests of him

of Sparta  
abroad

and at  
home.

γε ἐκφέρειν ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώραν τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτιηγέων διακαλυπτήν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄγρῳ ἐνέχεσθαι· στρατευομένων δὲ, πρώτους ἵνα τοὺς βασιλέας ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπῖεναι· ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας\* λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς· προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίῃσι ὁκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι· τῶν δὲ θυομένων ἀπάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα 57 λαμβάνειν σφέας. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, τὰ εἰρηναῖα, κατὰ τὰδε σφί δέδοται· ἦν θυσίην τις δημοτελῆ ποιήηται, πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δειῖπνον ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρώτον ἄρχεσθαι διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοις δαιτυμόνεσι· καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων προβάτων τὰ δέρματα· νεομηνίας δὲ ἀνὰ πάσας καὶ ἐβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς<sup>151</sup>, δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήϊον τέλειον ἑκατέρῳ

in all his relations; but only that they, as the representatives of the nation, were bound to conduct the ritual in which the functions of a national deity were ascribed to him. The origin of the name is another question. Larcher considers that *λακεδαίμων* is equivalent to *deus tonans*, in which case *Zeus Λακεδαίμων* is synonymous with *Zeus ὑψιβρεμέτης* the 'thunder-god,'—a not improbable account of the matter. In this view he would probably, as an elemental deity, be derived from the ante-dorian times, which the *Zeus Οὐράνιος* undoubtedly is. But this very circumstance excites a certain suspicion of the truth of the conjecture. Of the two elements which constituted the nation, one would expect each to be represented, either by separate rituals appropriate to each, or by one which should unite the characteristics of both. Hence the *Zeus Λακεδαίμων* seems more likely to be a deity of the Heraclide invaders. If we suppose him analogous to the Cretan Zeus, an armed warrior-god, the root *λακ*, both here and in the name of the people (*Λάκωνες*), seems more likely to be connected etymologically with *λαῖ* (the sole of the foot), and to have reference to the sounding tramp of the soldiery, the Cadmeo-dorian conquerors of the country (*κρουπέροφῶρων γένος ἄνδρῶν*). In this view the ritual would probably be of a pyrrhic nature, like that of the Curetes (STRABO x. c. 3, p. 356), and may be supposed to date from the time of the Lyncgean institutions, i. e. the

time of the military organization of the nation. This would account for the order in which the two priesthoods are named, that of the military caste naturally taking precedence over the one common to the members of it with their perioecian fellow subjects.

\* From other passages it would seem that the body-guard consisted not of one but of three hundred. (See note on vii. 205.) But perhaps the three hundred were divided into three watches, so that there were never less than one hundred on guard at a time. In the case of a battle of course the whole number would turn out. (THUCYDIDES, v. 72.)

<sup>151</sup> *ἐβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνός*. Apollo was called *ἐβδομαγέτας* (ÆSCHYLUS, *Theb.* 806), and it has been assumed that this name is derived from the tradition that he was born on the seventh day of the month, which unquestionably was sacred to him on that account. HESIOD (*Opp. et D.* 770) says: *ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμῶν τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσόδορα γένετο Λητώ*. The *Carnea* were celebrated on the seventh day of the month which at Athens was called Thargelion, and the philosopher Carneades got his name from being born, as Plato was, on that day. (PLUTARCH, *Quæst. Symp.* viii. 1, 2.) But with reference to Apollo's reputed birth on the seventh day of the month, Plutarch (l. c.) expressly gives him the name of *ἐβδομαγενής* from it; and there seems no reason for wishing to change this, as Valckenaer does, into *ἐβδομαγέτης*.

ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος<sup>133</sup>, καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων, καὶ οἶνου τετάρτην Λακωνικὴν<sup>134</sup>. καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους· καὶ προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι τοῦτοισι προσκείσθαι τοὺς ἀν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστών· καὶ Πυθίους αἰρέεσθαι δύο ἑκάτερον (οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσι θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφούς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια.) μὴ ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἀποπέμπεσθαι σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοίνικας ἑκατέρῳ καὶ οἶνου κοτύλην· παρεοῦσι δὲ διπλήσια πάντα δίδοσθαι· τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τιμᾶσθαι· τὰς δὲ μαντητὰς τὰς γινομένας τούτους φυλάσσειν· συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους<sup>135</sup>. δικάζειν δὲ μούνους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μούνα· πατρούχου τε παρθένου<sup>136</sup> πέρι ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ περ ὁ πατήρ αὐτὴν ἐγγήσῃ· καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσιέων πέρι· καὶ ἣν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποίεεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποίεεσθαι· καὶ παρίζειν βουλευόουσι τοῖσι γέρουσι, ἐοῦσι δυνῶν, δέουσι τριήκοντα· ἣν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστα σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους<sup>137</sup>, τρίτην δὲ, τὴν ἐωυτῶν.

<sup>133</sup> ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος. The manuscripts S and V have ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα. But the use of the genitive seems to admit of an explanation. The animal was probably brought to the temple of the god, and there delivered to the king to be sacrificed.

<sup>134</sup> τετάρτην Λακωνικὴν. The ellipse appears to be of the word *μοῖρα* or *μερίς*, and one may suppose the quantity intended to be the fourth part of some generally received measure, probably the jar in which the wine when made was stowed away. These would differ in different countries. The *amphoreus*, in times when its contents came to be accurately settled, contained 8 gallons, 7·365 pints (*Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities*, sub v.), but in every country local convenience furnishes the original standard of quantity, and the Laconian measure, of which the kings received a fourth part, was probably at first merely the contents of a jar which when full could be conveniently carried by its two ears (*ἀμφιφορεύς*). It may be observed that the *τετάρτη* (or quarter-bottle) is not a subdivision recognized in the Attic metrology, from which the *medimnus* seems to be taken. Hence perhaps the qualificatory epithet *Λακωνικὴ*. The *chænis* and

the *cotyle* were Attic; hence no explanation is given of them.

\* *προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι* . . τῶν ἀστών. The protection which the possession of a *proxenus* afforded to a foreigner was in all cases no doubt purchased at the price of considerable presents from the client; and hence the assignment of the right to stand in that relation would be an important piece of patronage. Similarly the bestowing the custody of wards was one of the most valuable privileges of the early English sovereigns.

<sup>135</sup> *συνειδέναι* δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. The importance of having some check upon the kings in order to prevent the publication of false oracles is evinced by the case of Demaratus (below, § 66). See also v. 63.

<sup>136</sup> *πατρούχου παρθένου*, "an heiress." The technical name given to a female so circumstanced was in Athens *ἐπίκληρος* or *ἐγκληρος*. The Dorians called her *ἐπιπάμων*, *ἐπιπαματίς*, or *αὐτοπάμων*. (SUITER, *Lectiones Andocidae*, p. 48; ΤΙΜÆΥΣ, *Vocc. Platt.* v. *πατρ.* π.) The number of females so situated was very great at Lacedæmon. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* ii. p. 1270.)

<sup>137</sup> *δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους*. THUCY-



58 Ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται<sup>137</sup> ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε ἱππέες περιωγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιϊοῦσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι<sup>138</sup>. ἐπεὰν ὦν τοῦτο γένηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἐκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμαίνεισθαι<sup>139</sup>, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέεσθαι νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ὥντος καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ τῶν γὰρ ὦν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῖνες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων<sup>140</sup>, ἀριθμῷ τῶν περιόικων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἵεναι. τούτων ὦν καὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλλεχθῶσι ἐς τῶντ' ὅσον πολλὰι χιλιάδες, σύμμιγα τῆσι γυναῖξὶ κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα<sup>141</sup> προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ· φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἀριστον<sup>142</sup>. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἰδῶλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψῃσι, ἀγορῇ δέκα ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἵσταται σφί οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίῃ συνίζει, ἀλλὰ

DIDES (i. 20) mentions this opinion as one of the popular fallacies of his time. Another he speaks of is the reputed existence of the Πιτανάτης λόχος in the Lacedæmonian army, which he emphatically denies. See ix. 53, below.

<sup>137</sup> ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται. It is remarkable that the writer should not mention among the regal rights the absolute power of life and death with which the kings were invested when on service, as he does take notice of some privileges which accrued to them only then. ARISTOTLE expressly remarks on the great change in their powers according as they were at home or abroad (*Politic.* iii. p. 1285), and quotes Homer to show that it was the same with Agamemnon. But both this power and the unlimited amount of flesh noticed in the text arise out of the necessities of martial law. He who is responsible for the safety of an army must be absolute over the commissariat.

<sup>138</sup> λέβητα κροτέουσι. Probably the representative of the oriental *gong*,—a feature, which as well as that of exhibiting

the signs of mourning in a sordidness of dress and person, bespeaks a custom existing antecedently to the Dorian invasion, and probably derived from Asiatic ancestors,—with whom to put dust on the head would be a common expression of grief.

<sup>139</sup> καταμαίνεισθαι. See last note.

<sup>140</sup> χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, "independently of the Spartans," just as *χωρὶς τοῦ φόρου* (i. 106) is "independently of the specified tribute." The assemblage of mourners was to consist of two free Spartans (a man and woman) from each house, and a fixed number, the amount of which Herodotus does not specify, of perioeciæans.

<sup>141</sup> τὰ μέτωπα. These words are omitted in S.

<sup>142</sup> τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἀριστον, "that this one, if ever there was (δὴ), had been a very great man." These staple commendations are the *neniæ* which used to be recited over the ancient Roman patricians, "*Hunc plurimi consentiunt Romani patrīæ primorem fuisse virum*," and the like, which in their case, as well as that of the Lacedæmonians, are probably derived from a common ancestry.

πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας. Συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο τόδε τοῖσι 59  
 Πέρσῃσι. ἐπεὰν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἄλλος ἐνίστηται  
 βασιλεὺς, οὗτος ὁ ἐσιὼν ἐλευθεροὶ ὅστις τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὤφειλε ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσῃσι ὁ κατιστάμενος  
 βασιλεὺς τὸν προσοφειλόμενον φόρον<sup>143</sup> μετίει πάσῃσι τῇσι  
 πόλιν. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ 60  
 κήρυκες αὐτῶν<sup>144</sup> καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πα-  
 τρώϊας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητέω γίνεσθαι, καὶ μάγειρος  
 μαγεῖρον, καὶ κήρυξ κήρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιθέμενοι  
 ἄλλοι σφέας παρακλητοῦσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι<sup>145</sup>.  
 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεσθαι.

Coincidence  
of Spartan  
with Persian

and Egypt-  
ian customs.

Τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομένηα, ὄντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίῳ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι 61  
 ἀγαθὰ προσεργαζόμενον, ὁ Δημάρχτος διέβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγυπτέων  
 οὕτω κηδόμενος ὥς φθόνῳ καὶ ᾄγῃ<sup>146</sup> χρωόμενος. Κλεομένης δὲ  
 νοστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἐβούλετο τὸν Δημάρχτον παῦσαι τῆς βασι-  
 λείης, διὰ πρήγμα τοιούδε ἐπίβασιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιούμενος· Ἀρίστωνι  
 βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γήμαντι γυναικας δύο παῖδες οὐκ  
 ἐγίνοντο· καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἷτιος,  
 γαμέει τρίτην γυναικα· ὧδε δὲ γαμέει· ἦν οἱ φίλος τῶν Σπαρ-  
 τιητέων ἀνὴρ, τῷ προσεκέετο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα ὁ Ἀρίστων  
 τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε ἐούσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν  
 Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχίστης  
 γενομένη· ἐούσαν γάρ μιν τὸ εἶδος φλαύρην ἢ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα  
 ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἐούσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ  
 ὀρέουσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα  
 ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα, ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρεε αὐτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν

Story of  
Demaratus  
and his feud  
with Cleo-  
menes con-  
tinued from  
§ 51.

<sup>143</sup> τὸν προσοφειλόμενον φόρον, "the tribute in arrear," i. e. that which is owing in addition to what has been paid.

<sup>144</sup> οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν. See below, vii. 134. There was also at Athens a house of Κήρυκες.

<sup>145</sup> οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιθέμενοι . . . ἐπιτελέουσι· "others do not on the strength of vocal power invade their sphere and exclude them, but they continue on doing as their fathers did."

<sup>146</sup> ᾄγῃ. The MSS vary between ᾄγει, ᾄτῃ, αὐτῇ, and ᾄτῃ. The word ᾄγῃ was

restored by Valcknaer, by the help of a citation of Suidas; and there can be little doubt it is the genuine reading. Ἀγας is interpreted by Hesychius ζῆλόςσεσι, and ascribed to Æschylus in the *Threassa*. The same lexicographer gives Ἀγασίς· φθόνος, and Ἀγαστή· βάσκανος. And Herodotus uses the word ἀγαμέμνοι in connexion with φθονοῦντες in viii. 69. According to Eustathius, the ancient Alexandrine grammarians asserted that ἀγασθαι was used in three senses: τὸ θαυμάζειν, τὸ φθονεῖν, τὸ μισεῖν.

- ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάνης ἱρόν· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ<sup>147</sup> καλε-  
μένη ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηίου ἱοῦ. ὅπως δὲ ἐνέλκειε ἡ τροφὸς, πρὸς  
τε τὸ γαλαμα ἵστα καὶ ἐλίσσεται τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορ-  
φίης τὸ παιδίον καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιώσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱοῦ τῇ τροφῇ  
γυναικα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανείσαν δὲ ἐπείρσεσθαι μὲν ὃ τι  
φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ; καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορέει· τὴν δὲ  
κελεύσαι οἱ δεῖξαι<sup>148</sup>. τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι, ἀπειρήσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν  
γενναμένων μηδενὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἐσωτῇ κελεύειν  
ἐπιδεῖξαι· ὁρῶσαν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ἰδέσθαι  
οὕτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δεῖξαι τὸ παιδίον τὴν δὲ καταφύσασιν τοῦ  
παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι, ὡς καλλιστευέσκει πασέων τῶν ἐν  
Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσέειν  
τὸ εἶδος· γαμέει<sup>149</sup> δὲ δὴ μὲν ἐς γάμου ὥρην ἀπικομένην Ἀγῆτος ὁ  
62 Ἀλκείδης, οὗτος δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος. Τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα  
ἔκνιζε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρως· μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιάδε· αὐτὸς  
τε τῷ ἐταίρῳ τοῦ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῇ ὑποδέκεται δωτήνῃ δώσειν τῶν  
ἐσωτοῦ πάντων ἐν τὸ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ἔλθαι, καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον  
ἐσωτῇ ἐκέλευε ὡσαύτως τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς  
ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικί, ὁρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναῖκα, κατανέει  
ταῦτα· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν μετὰ δὲ, αὐτὸς τε [ὁ  
Ἀρίστων<sup>150</sup>] ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὃ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἶλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν  
Ἀρίστωνος [ὁ Ἀγῆτος<sup>151</sup>]. καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι  
παρ' ἐκείνου, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἐταίρου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπειρᾶτο ἀπ-  
άγεσθαι· ὁ δὲ πλὴν τούτου μόνου τὰ ἄλλα ἔφη κατανέειν· ἀναγκα-  
ζόμενος μὲν τοι τῷ τε ὄρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπίει  
63 ἀπάγεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναῖκα ὁ Ἀρί-

<sup>147</sup> ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ. See note 189 on v. 72. The temple of Helen belonged to the Achæan or ante-dorian times, when not the Heracides, but the Tyndarides were the ruling race. Its superior antiquity to the Phœbeum is shown by the position it occupies relatively to it, the hill-top being the place which the earliest settlers would fix on for the site of their temples. *Therapne* was, according to the Laconian traditions, a daughter of Lelex. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 19. 9.)

<sup>148</sup> δεῖξαι. All the MSS have this form instead of δέξαι, which would be in accordance with the practice of Herodotus elsewhere, and there is an equal unanimity

for ἐπιδεῖξαι, just below.

<sup>149</sup> γαμέει. The change from the infinitive to the indicative, upon the author passing from the relation of an idle story to that of an undoubted fact should not be overlooked.

<sup>150</sup> ὁ Ἀρίστων. These words exist in all the MSS, but so do τῶν Ἀρίστωνος below, and it seems impossible that *both* should have been written.

<sup>151</sup> ὁ Ἀγῆτος. These words are wanting in S, and as they render the sense much more perspicuous, they are much more likely to have been added by a transcriber than to have been omitted.

σταν, τὴν δευτέραν ἀποπεμφόμενος· ἐν δὲ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσον, καὶ Demaratus, the son of a third wife, was born under doubtful circumstances.

οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας ἢ γυνὴ αὕτη, τίκει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον καὶ τις οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θώκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὥς οἱ παῖς γέγονε· ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάμενός τε τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας, εἶπε ἀπομόσας, “οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἴη.” τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι· πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραντίκα. ὁ δὲ παῖς ἠύξετο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παῖδα γὰρ τὸν Δημάρητον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οἱ ἐνόμισε εἶναι. Δημάρητον δὲ αὐτῷ οὖνομα ἔθετο διὰ τὸδε πρότερον τούτων πανδημεὶ Σπαρτιτῆται Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμέαντι διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποιήσαντο παῖδα γενέσθαι· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ τὸ οὖνομα Δημάρητος ἐτέθη. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε Δημάρητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην· ἔδεε δὲ, ὡς ἔοικε, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα καταπαύσαι Δημάρητον τῆς βασιληΐας, διὰ τὰ <sup>152</sup> Κλεομένει διεβλήθη μεγάλως πρότερόν τε ὁ Δημάρητος ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐπ’ Αἰγινήτας τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάντος Κλεομένεος. Ὀρμηθεὶς ὦν ἀποτίνυσθαι ὁ Κλεομένης, συντίθεται <sup>64</sup> Δευτυχίδῃ τῷ Μενάρει τοῦ Ἁγίου\*, ἐόντι οἰκίῃς τῆς αὐτῆς Δημαρήτης, ἐπ’ ᾧ τε, ἦν αὐτὸν καταστήσῃ βασιλέα ἀντὶ Δημαρήτου, ἔφεται οἱ ἐπ’ Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ Δευτυχίδης ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῷ Δημαρήτῃ μάλιστα γεγονὼς διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἀρμολαμένον Δευτυχίδεω Πέρκαλον τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δημάρητος ἐπιβουλεύσας, ἀποστρεῖ Δευτυχίδα τοῦ γάμου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἀρπάσας καὶ σχὼν γυναῖκα. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Δευτυχίδῃ ἡ ἐχθρὴ ἢ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον ἐγεγόνεε· τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίας <sup>153</sup> ὁ Δευτυχίδης κατόμνυ-

Leotychides by the aid of Cleomenes,

<sup>152</sup> διὰ τὰ. Bekker alters this without any MS authority into δι’ α. But there is no reason whatever why τὰ should not here have the force of the relative. Translate: “But, as it would seem, the ventilating of these matters was fated to deprive Demaratus of his crown, owing to the strong charges brought against him by Cleomenes, not only before, for having withdrawn the army from Eleusis, but more than ever on this occasion, when Cleomenes went over after the Median parti-

zans among the Æginetæ.”

\* τοῦ Ἁγίου. All the MSS have this reading, but in viii. 131 all but one have Ἡγησίλειω, and that has Ἡσίλειω, which is obviously a mere corruption from it. But neither is to be altered: there we have the formal pedigree of Leotychides; here a story probably based on local tradition.

<sup>153</sup> ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίας, “urged by the ardent desire of Cleomenes.” Compare τὴν τοῦτου προθυμίην, i. 124.

ται<sup>154</sup> Δημαρήτου, φὰς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιητέων οὐκ ἔοντα παῖδα Ἀρίστωνος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην ἐδίωκε ἀνασώζων ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἔπος τὸ εἶπε Ἀρίστων τότε, ὅτε οἱ ἐξηγγεῖλε ὁ οἰκῆτης παῖδα γεγονέναι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλλεόμενος τοὺς μῆνας ἀπώμοσε, φὰς οὐκ ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι· τοῦτου δὴ ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ῥήματος ὁ Δευτυχίδης, ἀπέφαινε τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε ἐξ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα, οὔτε ἰκνευμένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἐφόρους μάρτυρας παρεχόμενος κείνους οἱ τότε ἔτυχον πάρεδροι τε ἔοντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Ἀρίστωνος. Τέλος δὲ, ἔοντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτησι ἐπείρεσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος; ἀνφστου<sup>155</sup> δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοῆς τῆς Κλεομένης ἐς τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιέεται Κλεομένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπέθει ταῖς Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι λέγειν. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη, ἐπειρωτώντων τῶν θεοπρόπων, ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα. ὥστερ' ἔμντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἔφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

66

who corrupts the Delphic oracle, succeeds to the place of Demaratus,

67

who, being insulted by Leoty-chides,

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρήτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιλείης οὕτω ἐγένετο. ἔφευγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιούτου ὀνειδέος· μετὰ τῆς βασιλείης τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἤρχε αἰρεθείς ἀρχὴν. ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδίαι<sup>156</sup> θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρήτου, ὁ Δευτυχίδης γεγωνὼς ἤδη αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα, ἐπὶ γέλωτί τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὁκοῦν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν; ὁ δὲ ἀλλήσας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φὰς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἤδη πεπειρησθαι, κείνον δὲ οὐ τὴν μὲντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίας. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ κατακαλυφάμενος, ἦγε ἐκ τοῦ θεήτρου ἐς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ

<sup>154</sup> κατόμνται, "protests upon oath against him,"—a proceeding probably necessary for the purpose of initiating an investigation of the matter.

<sup>155</sup> ἀνφστου. This rare form of the verbal is analogous to the aorist infinitive ἀνφσαι which appears i. 157.

<sup>156</sup> γυμνοπαιδίαι. See note 286 on i. 82.

The time of the year at which this festival took place was early in the month Hecatombeon; for the battle of Leuctra took place on the fifth day of that month, and the news of it reached Lacedæmon on the last day of the festival. XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, vi. 4. 16.

οικία· αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ἔθνε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν, θύσας δὲ, τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε. Ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθéis ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ<sup>156</sup> τῶν σπλάγγων, κατικέτευε λέγων τοιαύδε· “ὦ μήτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος<sup>157</sup> ἱκετεύω καὶ τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε<sup>158</sup> φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθῆν, τίς μεν ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ; Λευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐν τοῖσι νείκεσι λέγων, κυέουσάν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὕτω ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστων· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασὶ σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τὸν ὀνοφορβόν, καὶ ἐμὲ εἶναι ἐκείνου παῖδα. ἐγὼ ὦν σε μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀληθές· οὔτε γὰρ, εἴ περ πεποίηκάς τι τῶν λεγομένων, μούνη δὴ πεποίηκας μετὰ πολλέων δέ· ὃ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς Ἀρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιῶν οὐκ ἐνῆν τεκεῖν γὰρ ἂν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε· ἡ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “ὦ παῖ, ἐπεῖτε με λιτῇσι μετέρχεται εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀληθῆν, πᾶν εἰς σὲ κατειρήσεται τὰληθές. ὥς με ἡγάγετο Ἀρίστων ἐς ἐωυτοῦ, νυκτὶ τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἦλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρίστων· συνευνηθὲν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους οὓς εἶχε ἐμοὶ περιετίθει· καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰχώκεε, ἦκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστων ὥς δέ με εἶδε ἔχουσιν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἴη ὃ μοι δούς; ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκείνῳ· ὃ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο· ἐγὼ δὲ κατωμνύμην φαμένη

68

after learning the particulars of his birth from his mother,

69

<sup>156</sup> οἱ. See note 318 on ii. 113, and note 534 on ii. 175.

<sup>157</sup> καταπτόμενος. The phrase καταπτόμενος Ἑρκείου Διὸς is to be explained on the principle that the tasting the flesh of the victim dedicated to the god was regarded as bringing the person so tasting it into a personal communication with him. The small portion of the flesh which was burnt, or the wine which was poured out, was considered to be consumed by the god himself (“Ante Larum quas venerabilior Lare dives,” HORACE (*Sat.* ii. 5. 14), and they who partook of the remainder were deemed to share the feast with him (δοσιπάρε(οι)). This feeling it was which produced so strong an objection in the early Christians to eat εἰδωλόθυστα. They were universally regarded by the gentiles as by the mere act becoming κοινῶναι τῶν δαμονίων, and even of themselves very few could get rid of old habits of thought, and be aware, with ST. PAUL, that ‘idols and offerings to idols’ were things of nought. (See

1 Cor. x. 16—21.) Demaratus, by placing a portion of the victim in his mother’s hands to taste, caused her also καθάπτεισθαι τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς.

<sup>158</sup> τοῦδε, “this image here.” The meal took place in the presence of the image of the family god.

“O noctes coenaeque Deum, quibus ipse meique  
Ante Larum proprium vescor, vernasque procaces  
Pasco libatis epulis.”

(HORACE, *Sat.* ii. 6. 66.)

In Ethiopia a practice was said to prevail which shows the origin of this kind of solemnity (iii. 24). The Ζεὺς Ἑρκίος, or the Lar, was at the outset the deified common ancestor of the δημοῖναι or δμόκατοι. His altar at Athens was in the Pandroseum, a temple which belongs to the primitive times, antecedent to the συνοικισμός which is in mythical history ascribed to Theseus.

αὐτὸν οὐ καλῶς ποιεῖν ἀπαρνεύμενον ὄλγον γάρ τι πρότερον  
 ἐλθόντα καὶ συνενηθέντα δοῦναι μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. ἄρεων δέ με  
 κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἀρίστων, ἔμαθε ὡς θεῖον εἶη τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ  
 τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἔοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἥρωϊου τοῦ παρὰ  
 τῆσι θύρῃσι τῆσι αὐλείῃσι ἰδρυμένον (τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστρα-  
 βάκου<sup>159</sup>) τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥρωα ἀναίρεον  
 εἶναι. οὕτω δὴ, ὦ παῖ, ἔχεις πᾶν ὅσον τι καὶ βούλει πυθέσθαι·  
 ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἥρωος τούτου γέγονας καὶ τοι πατὴρ ἐστὶ Ἀστρά-  
 βακος ὁ ἥρωας, ἡ Ἀρίστων ἐν γὰρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι.  
 τῇ δέ σευ μάλιστα κατὰπτονται οἱ ἐχθροί, λέγοντες ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ  
 Ἀρίστων, ὅτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἡγγέλθης γεγεννημένος, πολλῶν ἀκουόντων  
 οὐ φήσεί σε ἑωντοῦ εἶναι, (τὸν χρόνον γάρ, τοὺς δέκα μῆνας, οὐδέ  
 κω ἐξήκειν,) αἰδρητῇ τῶν τοιούτων κείνος τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος·  
 τίκτασι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι  
 δέκα μῆνας ἐκτελέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σέ, ὦ παῖ, ἐπτάμηνον ἔτεκον ἔγνω  
 δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον, ὡς ἀνοήτῃ τὸ ἔπος  
 ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος τῆς σεωντοῦ μὴ  
 δέκεο· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκήκως. ἐκ δὲ ἀνοφορβῶν  
 αὐτῷ τε Δευτυχίδῃ καὶ τοῖσι ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες  
 70 παῖδας.” Ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγε· ὁ δὲ πυθόμενός τε τὰ ἐβούλετο  
 καὶ ἐπόδια λαβὼν, ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἡλιν<sup>160</sup> τῷ λόγῳ, φὰς ὡς ἐς Δελ-  
 φούς χρῆσόμενος τῷ χρηστήριῳ πορεύεται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑπο-  
 ποτηθέντες Δημάρητον δρησμῷ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐδίωκον καὶ κως ἐφθῃ

flies to *Elis*,  
 and from  
 thence to  
 the court  
 of Darius.

<sup>159</sup> Ἀστραβάκου. The local traditions relative to Astrabacus connected him with the rites of the Tauric Artemis. He and his brother Alopecus were said to have found the sacred image brought by Orestes and his sister Iphigenia, and left, according to the Laconian legend, in the neighbourhood of Sparta. The sanctity of the fetish exhibited itself in the frenzy which seized upon them. (Pausanias, iii. 16. 9.) As the ritual of *this* Artemis is undoubtedly of the ante-dorian times, it is reasonable to suppose that Astrabacus belongs to the same era. Hence the derivation of his name from ἀστράβη (any beast of burden, but especially an ass—ἀστραβηλάτης; being interpreted as ἀνηλάτης), is a very plausible one. That the protecting genius of the stable should be called by a name derived from this animal is not wonderful when it is remembered that Arcadia was

celebrated for its breed; and the Latin *Erpina* in fact presents an exact parallel. The connexion of such a deity with orgiastic frenzy is a matter of extreme obscurity. Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is that which would identify him with the *Silenus*, who on ancient monuments is often represented as riding upon an ass in an excited state among a crowd of bacchanals. CREUZER'S view, that the true form of Astrabacus is Astrobaculus, and that the personage in question is a moon-struck astrologer (*Symbolik*. iii. pp. 638. 737), appears to me utterly worthless. Still the majority of the MSS here have the form Ἀστροβάκου, although Gaisford in adopting the other has the countenance of S and V.

<sup>160</sup> ἐς Ἡλιν. This must not be taken to mean *Elis*, the town, but the country, "the land of Elis." See note on viii. 73.

ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβὰς <sup>161</sup> ὁ Δημάρητος ἐκ τῆς Ἡλίδος ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τε ἄπτοντο καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτὸν ἀπαιρέοντο μετὰ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδοσαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεύτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην <sup>162</sup> παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείον· ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλῶσι <sup>163</sup>, καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἔδωκε <sup>164</sup>. οὕτω ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος <sup>165</sup> καὶ τοιαύτῃ χρυσάμενος τύχῃ, ἄλλα τε Λακεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισι τε καὶ γνώμῃσι ἀπολαμπρυνθεῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα <sup>166</sup> σφι ἀνελόμενος τεθρήνην προσέβαλε, μῦθος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

Λευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος, Δημαρήτου καταπαυσθέντος, δι- 71  
 ἐδέξατο τὴν βασιλῆην καὶ οἱ γίνεται πάϊς Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Family of  
 Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων ἐκάλεον. οὗτος ὁ Ζευξίδημος Leoty-  
 οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης· πρὸ Λευτυχίδου γὰρ τελευταῖα, λιπὼν chides,  
 παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον Λευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει  
 δευτέρην γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην, ἐοῦσαν Μενίου μὲν ἀδελφεῇ Δια-

<sup>161</sup> ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβὰς. The direct run from the Peloponnese to Zacynthus was from the headland Araxus, which is the northern boundary of "hollow Elis." (STRABO, viii. c. 2, p. 140.) To get round this into the Corinthian gulph, so as to reach Delphi by way of Cirrha, might be very difficult, and thus Demaratus would be furnished with an excuse for bearing up to Zacynthus. The most natural course for him to have taken to get to Delphi would have been through Arcadia to the Achaean seaboard; but this would have led him through the parts where his enemy Cleomenes was most popular.

<sup>162</sup> ἐνθεύτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Ctesias would seem to have represented him as not joining the Persian court until the expedition of Xerxes. (See Photius, quoted in note on vii. 37.) That passage is perhaps reconcilable with an earlier flight, by the supposition that, like Themistocles, he remained for some time on the coast of Asia; but it is decidedly opposed to the account of Herodotus, who makes him a resident at the court of Susa, and an adviser of Xerxes, long before the death of Darius. See vii. 3 and 239.

<sup>163</sup> μεγαλῶσι. The manuscripts S and V have μεγάλως.

<sup>164</sup> γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἔδωκε. In a similar way Artaxerxes bestowed upon The-

mistocles, when he took refuge under his empire, three cities, Magnesia, Lampsaenus, and Myus. (THUCYDIDES, i. 137.) The position held by these chiefs was apparently the same as that designated in the parable. (LUKE xix. 12—28.) They were, in the nomenclature of India, the *semindars* of the localities over which they had authority. They collected the revenue, which was fixed at a certain proportion of the gross produce, of which the amount was estimated at an unvarying sum. Their income therefore would be the difference between these two. Themistocles netted from Magnesia no less than fifty talents. The cities granted to Demaratus seem to have been Teuthrania, Halicarnassus, and Pergamus; for these were in the hands of his descendants Eurysthenes and Procles at the time of Thimbron's expedition. (XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, iii. 1. 6.)

<sup>165</sup> οὕτω ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος. He reached Susa, according to Herodotus (vii. 3), not earlier than the fourth year after the battle of Marathon.

<sup>166</sup> Ὀλυμπιάδα. Some MSS have Ὀλύμπια, which is the expression used in § 36, and one which S has in § 125. But all the MSS have Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελίσσθαι in § 103, and νικῆν Ὀλυμπιάδα in ix. 33. The word to be understood is *vicenn*.



and their  
fortune.

72 *κτοριδεω δὲ θυγατέρα· ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεταί οὐδὲν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Λαμπιτώ· τὴν Ἀρχιδήμος ὁ Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει, δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω. Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Λευτυχίδης κατεγήρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τοιήνδε τινὰ Δημαρήτην ἐξέτισε· ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην<sup>167</sup>, παρεὼν δὲ οἱ ὑποχείρια πάντα ποιήσασθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολὺν ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῃ δὲ ἀλοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπικατήμενος χειρὶδι πλὴν ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης, ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθεὶς· καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη· ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην<sup>168</sup>, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὕστερον.*

73  
Proceedings  
of Cleomenes at  
Ægina.

73 *Τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένει εὐδωθή<sup>169</sup> τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρήγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Λευτυχίδεα ἦιε ἐπὶ τοὺς Διγινήτας, δεινὸν τινὰ σφι ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἔχων. οὕτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ Διγινῆται, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἡκόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἐδικαίλευν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκείνοί τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας δέκα Διγινητέων τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλοῦτῃ καὶ γένει, ἦγον καὶ*

<sup>167</sup> *ἐς Θεσσαλίην.* This was an expedition undertaken against the *Alenadae*, the chiefs of that party which had endeavoured to bring about the interference of Persia. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 7, 8.) It is likely therefore that it took place at no long period of time after the success of the Hellenic confederates against the Persians. And this circumstance will perhaps help to explain the different statements by DIODORUS (xi. 48) and other authors as to the time of the death of Leotychides. Pausanias says that Archidamus, his grandson, succeeded to the regal power upon the exile of Leotychides. Diodorus apparently confuses this with his death, and accordingly puts this in 476 B.C. Concurring with other authorities in making Archidamus reign forty-two years, he puts his death in 434 B.C., consistently with his first mistake (xii. 35). But it is quite certain from THUCYDIDES (iii. 1. 26) that Archidamus was alive in 428 and dead in 427 B.C.; and it appears from PLUTARCH (*Cimon*, 16) that the year of the earthquake at Sparta and the revolt of the Helots (i.e. 464 B.C.) was the fourth year of his reign. But Leotychides came to the throne in 491 B.C. (see CLINTON on the year); and the positive statement of DIODORUS, that the reigns of Leotychides and Archidamus together amounted to sixty-four years, exactly agrees with the

indirect evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides, which makes them spread over the interval between 491 and 427. The whole of these variations will be explained if we suppose that Leotychides lived in exile at Tegea from 476 to 469, and that during that interval Archidamus his grandson was regent at Sparta. This would place the expedition against the Alenadae about the year 477. And as in that year the Lacedæmonians lost their supremacy, it is not likely that any prominent part in punishing traitors to the cause of Hellas would be taken by *them* afterwards.

<sup>168</sup> *ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην.* Leotychides took sanctuary, according to PAUSANIAS (see note 221 on i. 66), in the temple of Athene Alea, and died in Tegea. By his alliance with Cleomenes one may gather that he was favourable to the Achæan policy of that king; and hence perhaps the reason of his choosing Arcadia as his place of refuge. The recollection of the power wielded by Cleomenes under similar circumstances (§ 76 and note 172, below) possibly induced the Spartans to abstain from pressing him too hard, and made them still recognize him as king, although they made his grandson and son-in-law Archidamus regent. (See the last note.)

<sup>169</sup> *εὐδωθή*, "was put into good train." See note 362 on iv. 139.

ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρόϊον τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσαμβον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἵπερ εἶχον μέγιστον κράτος ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφεας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, παραθήκην παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Διγυνήτῃσι Ἀθηναίους. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κλεομένηε ἐπαίιστον 74  
γενόμενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δεῖμα ἔλαβε Σπαρ- Subsequent  
τιγτέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε<sup>170</sup> ἐς Θεσσαλίην ἐνβέυτην δὲ ἀπικόμενος Cleomenes,  
ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην, νεώτερα ἐπρησσε πρήγματα συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας<sup>171</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὄρκους προσάγων σφῆ, ἡ μὴν ἐψεσθαὶ σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγήται<sup>172</sup>, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγωνέων, ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ<sup>173</sup>. [ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει λέγεται εἶναι

<sup>170</sup> *ὑπεξέσχε*. See note 186 on v. 72.

<sup>171</sup> *συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας*. This attempt to organize an alliance of the antedorian population of the Peloponnese against Sparta seems to be the final development of the general policy of Cleomenes. See the notes 189 on v. 72 and 200 on v. 75.

<sup>172</sup> *ἡ μὴν ἐψεσθαὶ σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγήται*. These are the *terms* of the oath, for the maintenance of which, among other securities, Cleomenes was especially anxious to have that of the water of the Styx, sworn to by the leading chieftains of Arcadia. It should not be overlooked that the *ὄρκος* is not what is meant by the word "oath" in its modern acceptation. It is the sacred *symbol* which the person who swore touched in order to give a religious sanction to the promise or the assertion which he made—whatever that might be. Its representative in modern proceedings is the volume of the Old or New Testament, which is taken in the hand of the Jew or Christian, as the case may be, —or the china cup which a Malay breaks before he gives evidence. Hence *ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ* is "to administer an oath by the water of Styx," which HESIOD (*Theog.* 784) calls *θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον*.

The political significance of this procedure of Cleomenes was to get himself constituted *dictator* of the Arcadian townships, who, just like the Latin confederates by the fountain Ferentina, met through their chiefs by the fountain of Styx from the earliest times. It was a daring attempt to undo the effects of the Heraclide invasion and to convert Lacedæmon, as an Achæan state, into the most powerful member of an ancient confederacy, of which one of

her kings should be constituted the chief. There were many elements in the Peloponnese favourable to the success of this scheme. The old population remained in considerable numbers in every part of the peninsula, and in the north was unmixed with any other. The Achæan League of nearly 400 years later showed how strong a hold their ancient associations still had upon the race to which Cleomenes made it his boast to belong (v. 72). Had he succeeded in his attempt the kingdom of Sparta must have fallen to pieces. The pure Spartans were a very small minority even of the free Lacedæmonians; while the whole of the pericecians were genuine Achæans. In Argos Cleomenes had already destroyed so many of the free citizens as to lead to a revolution, in which "the slaves," *i. e.* the old Achæan population, gained the upper hand and held their power for several years (below, § 83). In the Megarid the Achæan interest would be represented by the connexions of his protégé Isagoras (see notes 167 on v. 66 and 196 on v. 74), while of an important portion of Elis (the valley of the Alpheus and the mountains bounding it to the west), STRABO says: *μεστὴ ἔστιν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα Ἀρτεμισίων τε καὶ Ἀφροδισίων καὶ Νυμφαίων, ἐν ἅλασιν ἀνθέων ὡς τὸ πολλὸν, διὰ τὴν εὐθέρειαν· συγχὰ δὲ καὶ Ἑρμείᾳ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, Ποσειδῶν δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς*—in other words, it was full of traces of the elemental religious system of the Achæan race (viii. c. 3, p. 154).

<sup>173</sup> *τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*. LEAKE (*Travels in the Morea*, iii. pp. 165—9) says that the natives still retain some of the ancient superstitions relative to this famous water, which is a slender perennial stream falling

75  
who at last  
destroys  
himself in  
a fit of mad-  
ness, which  
is variously  
accounted  
for.

ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ<sup>174</sup>.] καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι ὕδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος· τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἵμασις τις περιθέει κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νάνακρῖς, ἐν τῇ ἡ πηγὴ αὕτη τυγχάνει ἐούσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεῶ. Μαθόντες δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κλεομένεα ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, κατήγον αὐτὸν δέισαντες<sup>175</sup> ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίῃ νοῦσος ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον ὅκως γὰρ τεφ' ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέκραυε<sup>176</sup> ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον ποιεῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὁ δὲ δεθείς τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἵτεε μάχαιραν, οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι, ἀπειλεε τὰ μιν αὐτίς ποιήσῃ· ἐς δὲ δέισας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος,—ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων,—διδόει οἱ μάχαιραν Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σῖδηρον, ἄρχειτο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἑωυτὸν λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμνων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προὔβαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἔς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας· ἐς δὲ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπῖκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημάρητον γενόμενα λέγειν ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μῦθοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν ὥς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱοῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἀργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπηρσε.

76  
Narrative  
of an expe-

Κλεομένει γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἀργος αἰρήσειν. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπῖκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν

over a very high precipice and entering the rock at the bottom, which part, from the nature of the ground, is inaccessible. They call it τὰ Μαυρο-νέρια (*the black waters*), and τὰ Δρακο-νέρια (*the terrible waters*), and say that no vessel will hold it. In the most improved shape which the fiction of the poisoning of Alexander by Aristotle took, this water was represented as the agent. See BLAKESLEY'S *Life of Aristotle*, pp. 91—3.

<sup>174</sup> [ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ . . ὕδωρ.] This paragraph is omitted in F, and it can hardly have stood *together with* the paragraph which presently follows, ἡ δὲ Νάνακρῖς . . πρὸς Φενεῶ, although they may possibly

both have proceeded from the hand of the author.

<sup>175</sup> κατήγον αὐτὸν δέισαντες. See note 194, below.

<sup>176</sup> ἐνέκραυε, "he used to make a feint of thrusting." The form ἐπέκραυον is used by APOLLONIUS RHODIUS (ii. 283): τῶν ἀκροτάτησιν ἐπέκραυον ἤλιθα χερσίν. The future κραύσῃ appears in the *Iliad* v. 138, where the Scholiast explains it by ἀμύξῃ ἐπ' ὀλίγον and τὸν χρότα ἐπιξύσῃ. It is very characteristic that the lunacy of Cleomenes should have taken the turn of insult to that section of his countrymen whom his constant policy was to humble.

'Ερασίνου, ὃς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφηλῆς λίμνης (τὴν γὰρ <sup>dition of Cleomenes</sup> δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδούσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν <sup>against Argos.</sup> Ἀργεῖ, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἐρασίνου καλέεσθαι) ἀπικόμενος δ' ὦν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐκαλλιέρεε διαβαίνειν μιν, ὄρασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου<sup>177</sup> οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολίτας, Ἀργεῖους μέντοι οὐδ' ὥς χαιρήσειν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναχωρήσας, τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταύρην, πλοίοισι σφεας ἤγαγε ἐξ τε τὴν Τίρυνθιν ἡμέραν καὶ Ναυπλιν<sup>178</sup>. Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐβοήθειον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ 77 θάλασσαν ὥς δὲ ἀγγεῖον μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος χώρας δὲ ἐν τούτῃ τῇ κέεται Σήπεια οὐνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἔζοντο ἀντίοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλφ αἰρεθέωσι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπικοῖνα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη<sup>179</sup> τούτοις τε καὶ Μιλησίοις, λέγον ὥδε·

'ΑΛΛ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενά νικήσασα  
ἐξελάσῃ, καὶ κύδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρηται<sup>180</sup>,

<sup>177</sup> ὄρασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου. The contrast between the conduct of Cleomenes here, and his utter contempt of the hero Argus's fate (below, § 80), is no doubt partly to be accounted for by the circumstance that when he committed the sacrilege his blood was heated, and this would induce a man who was ὀπομαργότερος to do much in the way of outrage, from which, in his cooler moments, he would shrink. But it must not be forgotten that the Erasinus was exactly one of those streams to which the ante-dorian population most attached the notion of sanctity. It, like the Styx, entered the earth in Arcadia,—the home of the old religion,—and although it burst forth afresh in an enemy's country, it still was sacred in the eyes of Cleomenes's party, whose prejudices would have been shocked by a disregard of the omens which forbade it to be crossed. Nothing of this sort would offend them at Argos, which was mainly Cadmeo-dorian. The seat of government of the Atridae was Mycenæ, the population of which were a thorn in the sides of the Argives until they destroyed the city in

the year 468 B.C. See CLINTON on the year.

<sup>178</sup> ἐξ τε τὴν Τίρυνθιν ἡμέραν καὶ Ναυπλιν. This region would probably be full of an Achaean population. The two towns were both noted for their cyclopic walls; and like Mycenæ, although in the territory of Argos, were ill-affected to the Dorian interest. Hence Cleomenes might consider that he was going to land in a friendly country. It seems not unlikely that an understanding with their inhabitants, or a party among them, enabled him to secure the means of transport at Thyreæ, and that his success in this operation produced the fear in the minds of the Argives μὴ δόλφ αἰρεθέωσι. The vessels were some of them Æginetan, pressed into the service (§ 92); probably merchant vessels lying at Thyreæ after delivering their cargoes.

<sup>179</sup> τὸ ἐπικοῖνα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη. See above, § 19.

<sup>180</sup> ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενά νικήσασα ἐξελάσῃ, καὶ κύδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρηται.

These lines seem to refer to the success

πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφίας τότε θῆσει·  
ὥς ποτὲ τις ἐρείει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων,  
δεινὸς ὅφρις τριέλικτος ἀπάλετο <sup>181</sup> δούρι δαμασθεῖς.

- Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα <sup>182</sup> τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρεῖχε·  
καὶ δὴ σφί πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι·  
δόξαν δέ σφί, ἐποίηεν τοῖνυνδε ὅπως ὁ Σπαρτιάτης κήρυξ προση-  
μαίνει τι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίηεν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὸντὸ τοῦτο.
- 78 Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῦντας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὁκοῖόν τι ὁ  
σφέτερος κήρυξ σημήνιει, παραγγέλλει σφί ὅταν σημήνη ὁ κήρυξ  
ποιέεσθαι ἄριστον, τότε ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν ἐς τοὺς  
Ἀργεῖους. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.  
ἄριστον γὰρ ποιευμένοις τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος  
ἐπέκεατο καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλὰ δ' ἔτι πλεύναν  
ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἀργίου καταφυγόντας περιζύζομενοι ἐφύλασσον.
- 79 Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίηε τοῖνυνδε ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄν-  
δρας <sup>183</sup> καὶ πυρθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλει πέμπων κήρυκα ὄνο-

of Cleomenes in obtaining the crown of Lacedæmon to the prejudice of his half-brother Dorieus (v. 42). If this was owing to the influence of his *mother's* family (the importance of which seems to be implied by their names being given, v. 41), the description of the transaction is not inappropriate. It has been already remarked, that it was in all probability *through his mother* that Cleomenes became the representative of the Achæan party among the population. (See note 100 on v. 41.) The "obtaining renown among the Argives" may have been the fruit of the wars of which the contest for Thyreæ was the beginning. When Aristagoras came to Sparta, these either had not ended, or at any rate not ended so long back as to prevent him from speaking of them as a thing of the time (see v. 49), and there is nothing in Herodotus's story of the burning of the grove to fix its chronology.

<sup>181</sup> δεινὸς ὅφρις τριέλικτος ἀπάλετο. This expression must refer to the Argives, whose death is to make "many women tear their garments in sign of mourning;" but it is not easy to give a perfectly satisfactory explanation of the image employed. The symbol of the Argives of the time of the Œdipodean legend is in SOPHOCLES not the *serpent*, but the *eagle* which stoops

upon it, the serpent being the emblem of Thebes (*Antigone*, 110—126). But if this story in the text be derived from Peloponnesian sources, it is not impossible that the δεινὸς ὅφρις of the oracle is the *Cadmean* element of the Argive nation, which seems to have entered much more largely into its composition than it did into that of the Lacedæmonians, probably from the much greater communication in early times between Argos and Phœnicia. (See the genealogy of Theras, the brother of Argeia, in iv. 147, and the story of Io in i. 1.) It is quite clear from the sequel of the narrative (see note 188, below) that the great loss of Argos fell upon the ruling class, *i. e.* the Cadmean-dorian element.

<sup>182</sup> ταῦτα πάντα συνελθόντα, "the coincidence of all these things," viz. the oracle to Cleomenes, "that he should take Argos," his former success against them after the expulsion of his rival brother, and their finding themselves occupying the position called *Σήπεια*, which they connected with *σηπία*—a word that appears in some parts of Peloponnese to have signified ὅφρις, PAUSANIAS, viii. 16—and with the δεινὸς ὅφρις by which the oracle denoted themselves.

<sup>183</sup> ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄνδρας. These would be not from the Argives shut up in the fane, but from the Achæan serfs, whose

μαστί λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργμένους· ἐξεκάλεε δέ, φὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα· ἄποινα δέ ἐστι Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνέαι<sup>184</sup> τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρά αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἀργείων, ὡς ἐκάστους ἐκκαλεύμενος, ὁ Κλεομένης ἔκτεινε· ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθην τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει· ἅτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ ἄλσος, οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὃ τι ἐπρησσον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δένδρος κατεῖδε τὸ ποιούμενον· οὐκ ὄντων δὴ ἔτι καλεόμενοι ἐξήσαν. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν εἰλωτῶν περι-  
 80 νέειν ὕλην τὸ ἄλσος· τῶν δὲ πειθομένων, ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος· καιομένου δὲ ἤδη, ἐπείρετο τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων, τίνος εἴη θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος; ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ἄργου εἶναι· ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάζας μέγα εἶπε· “ὦ Ἀπόλλον χρηστήριε, ἡ μεγάλης με ἡπάτηκας φάμενος Ἄργος αἰρήσειν συμβάλλομαι<sup>185</sup>·” ὃ ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον.” Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὴν ἀπήκε  
 81 ἀπιέναι ἐς Σπάρτην· χιλλοὺς δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστέας ἦε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον θύσων<sup>186</sup>. βουλούμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἱρεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὄσιον εἶναι ξελνφ αὐτόθι θύειν· ὁ δὲ  
 82 Κλεομένης τὸν ἱεῖα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπαγοντας μαστιγῶσαι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσεν, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπήγε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην<sup>187</sup>. Νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ὑπήγγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς

80

81

His violation of the sanctity of the Heronum.

82

masters were among them, and who betrayed their names to the conqueror.

<sup>184</sup> δύο μνέαι. The same ransom was exacted by the Athenians for each of the Chalcidian *Hippobotæ* which they took (v. 77). It therefore may be considered as the ransom of a man-at-arms, not of an inferior soldier; and hence too it may be inferred that the Argives shut up in sanctuary were of the ruling class, i. e. Cadmeo-dorians.

<sup>185</sup> συμβάλλομαι. See note 322 on i. 91.

<sup>186</sup> ἦε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον θύσων. This temple was on the confines of the domains of Argos and Mycenæ, forty *stadæ* distant from the former and ten from the latter. (STRABO, viii. c. 6, p. 195.) Its proximity to the latter place indicates that its original foundation belonged to a time when Mycenæ was the seat of government,—and therefore that the fundamental character of the ritual was ante-dorian. Hence Cleomenes

confidently sacrificed in it, as being of Achæan descent, and treated the priest who endeavoured to prevent him as if he were really the intruder. Hence too, when the temple was burnt down, the priests took sanctuary in an Achæan fane at Tegea in Arcadia. See note 221 on i. 66. For a similar proceeding of Cleomenes with regard to the temples of ante-dorian deities, see note 188 on v. 72.

<sup>187</sup> ἀπήγε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. The local legends of Argos in after times represented him as having been repulsed from the city by Telesilla the poetess, who occupied the fortifications of the town with the domestic servants, and met the enemy in the field with a force consisting of the women accoutred in the armour which hung up in the temples. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 20. 9.) SOCRATES (*ap. Plutarch, De mul. viri.* p. 245) gives the same account in even a more exaggerated form. The other Spartan king, Demaratus, had succeeded in

On his return to Sparta he is accused of treachery, but successfully defends himself.

ἐφόρους, φάμενοί μιν δωροδοκῆσαντα οὐκ ἔλεεν τὸ Ἄργος, παρὲν εὐπετέως μιν ἐλεῖν ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεξε, οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι· ἔλεξε δ' ὦν φάμενος ἐπεὶ τε δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἄργου ἱρὸν εἶλε, δοκέειν οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος, πρὶν γε δὴ ἱροῖσι χρήσθαι, καὶ μάθῃ εἶτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς παραδιδόι εἶτε οἱ ἐμποδῶν ἔσθαι· καλλιερευμένῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαν· μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκίην, ὅτι οὐκ αἰρέει τὸ Ἄργος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἰρέειν ἂν κατ' ἄκρης τὴν πόλιν· ἐκ τῶν δὲ στηθέων λάμψαντος, πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων, πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιήτῃσι λέγειν, καὶ ἀπέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας.

83

Utter protestation of the Argive power.

Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐξηράθη οὕτω, ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν<sup>188</sup> ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρὴρηματα ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς δ' ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες. ἔπειτ' αὖ σφας οὗτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἑαυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον· ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα<sup>189</sup>. τῶς μὲν δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθμα ἐς ἀλλήλους·

occupying a part of the city called *Pamphylia*, and was beaten out of it by the women.

<sup>188</sup> οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν. The Achæan perieciæ. See notes 172 on § 74, above, and 419 on i. 121. PLUTARCH (*De mul. virt.* p. 245), following the authority of Socrates, says of this transaction that the Argives, ἐκ-αναρθεύμενοι τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν οὐχ, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, τοῖς δούλοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιόικων ποιησάμενοι πόλιν· τὰς ἀρίστοις συνέκτισαν τὰς γυναῖκας. He adds a curious feature, which is clearly a distortion of the fact, that a part of the revolution consisted in legitimatizing the marriages of the Dorian rulers with the Mycænean subjects, and ratifying the bond by the religious sanction of the *Mycænean Here*. The number of Argives slain by Cleomenes was so great that popular fables made it 7777. (PLUTARCH, l. c.) The Argives themselves put it at 6000 in their complaint to the Delphic oracle (vii. 148). It is no doubt this transaction to which ARISTOTLE alludes (*Politik.* v. p. 1303): καὶ ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένηος τοῦ Λάκωνος, ἡρακλεισθῆσαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιόικων

τινῶν.

<sup>189</sup> μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. It is impossible to doubt that the blow struck by Cleomenes to the ruling class in Argos produced a disorganization of the existing constitution, and that the effects of this must have showed itself throughout the whole of the Argive dependencies by increasing the power of the Achæan race. Whether this showed itself in the form of a servile war, or of an enforced claim for the possession of extended civil rights in the several towns, it is impossible to say from the scanty accounts which the narrative in the text gives. The analogy of other ancient states would render it probable that the first effect of the victory of Cleomenes would be the replenishment of the ruling class by a large draft from the commons, and by the constituting new tribes, or new houses in existing tribes; and probably a preponderance of Achæan influence resulted, which in time produced a reaction. In such a view the attack of "the slaves" upon Tiryns might really be something analogous to the secession of the Roman *plebs* to the *Mons Sacer*.

ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φυγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας<sup>190</sup>. οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι δεσπότῃσι· ἐκ τούτου δὲ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχρὺν, ἐς δὲ δὴ μόγις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεά φασι μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆται φασι ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομένεα, Σκύθῃσι δὲ ὀμιλήσαντά μιν ἀκρητοπότῃν γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι· Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπεὶ τέ σφι Δαρεῖον ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονῶναι μιν τίσασθαι· πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην, συμμαχίην τε ποιεέσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὥς χρὸν εἶη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν<sup>191</sup> πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὀρμωμένους ἀναβαίνειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι, ἡκόντων τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ὀμιλέειν σφι μεζόνως, ὀμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνευμένου μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναι μιν νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται· ἔκ τε τούτου<sup>192</sup>, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν ζωρότερον βούλονται πείειν, "ἐπισκύθισον" λέγουσι. οὕτω δὲ Σπαρτιῆται τὰ περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσι. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτην ἐκτίσαι<sup>193</sup>.

84

Spartan account of the cause of the madness of Cleomenes.

Herodotus gives his own view.

<sup>190</sup> γένος ἐὼν Φυγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας. A prophet from Phigalia would not improbably endeavour to carry out the policy which Cleomenes attempted, viz. to unite the populations which had descended from the old ante-dorian inhabitants, by the common bond of their religious associations; and to persuade them that the time had come for the recovery of the Achæan supremacy and the reduction of Dorian Argos to its former condition as a dependency on Achæan Mycenæ. There can be little doubt that in the war between Argos and Tiryns a part was taken by Mycenæ, and that its termination was effected by the utter destruction of that city by the Argives, which THUCYDIDES mentions to have taken place, without at all entering into the circumstances which led to it (i. 10).

<sup>191</sup> παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν. For the course which, under such circumstances, they would be conceived to take, see note 363 on i. 104. Such a route would be an impossibility for nomads, for it would involve a journey of nearly thirty days for

a man in travelling trim (εὐδύνῃ) along the N.E. coast of the Black Sea, by mere mountain paths. But the story appears to be a mere fiction, without any historical foundation. See note 216 on iv. 77.

<sup>192</sup> ἐκ τε τούτου, "from so far back." The manuscripts S, V have ἐκ τούτου.

<sup>193</sup> ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτην ἐκτίσαι. It may seem strange that Cleomenes's misfortune should be considered as a visitation inflicted especially in consequence of his treatment of Demaratus, — when the treachery and cruelty displayed in his conduct at Argos is to modern apprehensions so much more striking. But it should be remembered that in order to effect his purpose he had tampered with the Pythian priestess (§ 66); and although subsequently to his banishment for this he was again restored to all his regal rights, yet the offence must always have appeared of the gravest kind to Dorians, especially when it turned out to have been committed in the course of a scheme for humiliating the Dorian race throughout Peloponnesus. When this



85

Spartan proceedings relative to Ægina after the death of Cleomenes.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένους, ὡς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινῆται, ἔπεμπον ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβασσομένους Λευτυχίδεω περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι δμήρων ἐχομένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες, ἔγνωσαν περιῦβρίσθαι Αἰγινῆτας<sup>194</sup> ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω· καὶ μιν κατέκριναν ἔκδοτον ἄγεσθαι ἐς Αἴγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐχομένων ἀνδρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν Λευτυχίδα, εἰπέ σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος, ἐὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος ἀνὴρ· “τί βούλεσθε ποιεῖν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἔκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι ἔγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται, ὅκως ἐξ ὑστέρης<sup>195</sup> μή τι ὑμῖν, ἦν ταῦτα πρήσσητε, πανώλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐσβάλλωσι<sup>196</sup>.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἔσχοντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς· ὁμολογίῃ δὲ ἐχρήσαντο τοιῇδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδα ἐς Ἀθήνας, ἀποδοῦναι Αἰγινῆτησι τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτεε τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσις εἰλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἔοντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι, καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀποδιδόναι. οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔλεξε σφι Λευτυχίδης τάδε· “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖτε μὲν ὁκότερα

86

Anecdote of a judgment on one Glaucus for breach of faith.

scheme was entirely shipwrecked by Cleomenes's insanity and death, it is only natural to suppose that the opposing party recovered much of the influence they had lost. And the whole narrative of Cleomenes bears many traces of being derived from some person attached to that party. Hence the commendation of Cleomenes's half-brother Dorieus as τῶν ἡλικῶν πάντων πρῶτος and ἐδ' ἐπιστάμενος κατ' ἑνδραγαλίην αὐτὸς σχίσων τὴν βασιληίην. Yet as a Laconian the narrator has no sympathy for the Argive prisoners who were destroyed, or for the violation of the sacred precincts at Eleusis and Argos, although as a Dorian he speaks of the Argive pericæcians as the *slaves* of the ruling class. All these characteristics fit in very well with the situation and hereditary sympathies of Archias of Pitane, of whom Herodotus makes mention in iii. 55.

<sup>194</sup> ἔγνωσαν περιῦβρίσθαι Αἰγινῆτας. No explanation is given of this sudden change in the policy of Sparta. Perhaps it may be found in the circumstance that Gorgo, the daughter and heiress of Cleo-

menes, was married to her uncle Leonidas (vii. 239). He was a son of Anaxandrides by his *first* wife (v. 43). This marriage therefore may be regarded as an union of the Dorian and Achæan interests in the royal house of the Eurysthenides. Leonidas would have had a right to Gorgo as her nearest kinsman; but the alliance perhaps became the more welcome to her Achæan connexions, from Cleomenes having clearly shown, during his banishment in Arcadia, that his views were not confined to the elevation of the Spartan Achæans, but extended to the supremacy of the Achæan race in the Peloponnese,—at the expense of Sparta if necessary.

<sup>195</sup> ἐξ ὑστέρης. See note 382 on i. 108.

<sup>196</sup> ἐσβάλλωσι. Gaisford prints this on the authority of some MSS. The others vary between ἐμβάλλωσι and ἐκβάλλωσι, either of which would seem at least as good as ἐσβάλλωσι. But there is no criterion of their relative probability. If ἐκβάλλωσι be used, there must be implied a reference to the *expulsion* of Leotychides from Sparta.

βούλεσθε αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιέετε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ὁκοῖον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνεπείχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παραθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῖται, γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο<sup>197</sup> Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμέν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι<sup>198</sup> πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἰκεον· συνεπειχθῆναι δέ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαι οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους, προῖσχύμενον τοιάδε· εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἦκω δὲ τῆς σῆς, Γλαῦκε, βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαύσαι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην, τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλὸς, ἐμεωυτῷ λόγους ἐδίδουν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπικινδυνὸς ἐστὶ αἰεὶ κοτε ἢ Ἰωνίῃ ἢ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλῶς ἰδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ ὄραν ἔχοντας· ταῦτά τε ὦν ἐπιλεγόμενῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενῳ ὥς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοι· σὸα· σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶζε λαβών· ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτή, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι· ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἦκων ξείνος τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε· Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παραθήκην ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ· χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἦλθον ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τοῦτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα, ἀπαίτεον τὰ χρήματα· ὁ δὲ διαθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε· οὔτε μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα, οὔτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε<sup>199</sup>, βούλομαι τε ἀναμνησθεῖς ποιέειν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ

<sup>197</sup> τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο. See note 95 on iii. 34.

<sup>198</sup> τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμέν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι. Of this man our account is, that beside all other qualities of the first kind which attached to him, he had the highest reputation for justice. Περιήκειν is nearly the same in sense as περιβάλλειν. A similar expression occurs below, vii. 16: τὰ σε καὶ ἀμφοτέρω περιήκοντα κακῶν ἀνδρῶν θμιλίαι σφάλλουσι, "both of which qualities (*viz.* sagacity and readiness to follow good

counsels) belong to you, but the influence of evil associates foils them [in their operation]."

<sup>199</sup> ὅτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε, "nor does any thing lead me indirectly to a knowledge about the matters you mention," *i.e.* I have no clue, in following which I may come in a roundabout way to know about the matter. This is the exact description of the mental process in *recollection*. Τούτων is governed by *περὶ* understood; and οὐδὲν is the nominative to *περιφέρει*.

γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι· καὶ εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρῆσθαι ἐς ὑμέας· ταῦτα ὦν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ὥς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρῆσόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ· ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὄρεα τὰ χρήματα ληΐσεται; ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι·

Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδείδῃ, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὖτα  
ὄρεα νικῆσαι, καὶ χρήματα ληΐσασθαι.  
ἔμην· ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὐορκον μένει ἄνδρα.  
ἀλλ' Ὀρκου πάϊς ἐστὶν ἀνάνυμος· οὐδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρες,  
οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰσέκει πᾶσαν  
συμμάχῃας δλέσει γενεήν, καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.  
ἄνδρες δ' εὐορκον γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέτο αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη, τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι. Γλαῦκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμφόμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους, ἀποδιδόει σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ λόγος ὅδε, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥρμηθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται Γλαύκῳ νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἰστίη οὐδεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκῳ ἐκτέτριπταί τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης<sup>2</sup>. οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παραθήκης ἄλλο γε, ἢ ἀπαιτεῖν τῶν ἀποδιδόναι." Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὥς οἱ οὐδὲ οὕτω ἐσήκουον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσεται.

87

Story resumed of the feud between Athens and Ægina.

Οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται<sup>300</sup>, πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὑβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν τοιούτους μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι, ὥς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο· καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ

<sup>2</sup> πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. JUVENAL has reproduced this story,—not very aptly as regards the subject he is illustrating:

"Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates:  
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret

Depositum retinere, et fraudem jure tueri  
Jurando. quærebat enim, quæ numinis esset

Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet  
Apollo?

Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus; et tamen omnem

Vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit,

Extinctus totâ pariter cum prole domoque  
Et quamvis longâ deductis gente propinquis."

Sat. xiii. 199—210.

<sup>300</sup> οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται. The history of the feud between Athens and Ægina is resumed from v. 89.

τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντητηρὶς<sup>291</sup> ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες ὦν τὴν θεωρίδα νῆα εἶλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἔδησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Αἰγινητέων, οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ' Αἰγινητήσι· καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνωβίου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινητήσι προτέρην ἐωντοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν ἡκειν δεήσει βοηθέοντας· μετὰ ταῦτα, καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθῆκατο<sup>292</sup> ὁ Νικόδρομος Ἀθηναίοισι τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον εἶσαι νέες σφι ἀξιώμαχοι τῇσι Αἰγινητέων συμβαλέειν ἐν ᾧ ὦν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρήσαι σφι νέας, ἐν τοῦτ' διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα<sup>293</sup>. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα<sup>294</sup>, Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωτίην γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἔξῃν δοῦναι· ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς σφετέρας<sup>295</sup>, πληρώσαντες ἐβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγίναν καὶ ὑστέρισαν ἡμέρῃ μὴ τῆς συγκειμένης. Νικόδρομος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον ἐσβὰς ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἔσποντο· τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὗτοι ὀρμεώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἡγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγινήτας· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγινητέων δὲ οἱ παχέες, ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ, ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ ἔπειτ' ἀσφείας χειρωσάμενοι, ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἶοι τε ἐγίνοντο ἐπι-

<sup>291</sup> πεντητηρὶς. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has πεντήρης, which would mean "a galley with five banks of oars." The meaning of the text is "a festival held every fifth year."

<sup>292</sup> κατὰ τὰ συνεθῆκατο. See note 211 on iv. 78.

<sup>293</sup> διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα, "their game was ruined." See § 13: κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλείας πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι.

<sup>294</sup> ἦσαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. This friendship may have originated in the conduct of the Corinthians recorded in v. 93, they having put a decisive bar to the scheme of the Lacedaemonians for restoring the Pisistratids.

<sup>295</sup> καὶ τὰς σφετέρας. These therefore must have been fifty in number; for the reason of which see SMITH'S *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, sub voce ναυκραρία.

γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι· καὶ εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρῆσομαι ἐς ὑμέας· ταῦτα ὦν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ὥς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων· Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρῆσόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ· ἐπέριωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὄρκῳ τὰ χρήματα λήϊσεται; ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι·

Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδείδῃ, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω  
ὄρκῳ νικῆσαι, καὶ χρήματα λήϊσασθαι.  
ὅμνυ· ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὐορκον μένει ἄνδρα.  
ἀλλ' Ὀρκου πάϊς ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος· οὐδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρες,  
οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰσέκε πᾶσαν  
συμμάχῃας δλέσει γενεὴν, καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.  
ἄνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέτο αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη, τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι. Γλαῦκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους, ἀποδιδόῃ σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ λόγος ὁδε, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται· Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἰστίῃ οὐδεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκον· ἐκτέτριπται τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης<sup>a</sup>. οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παραθήκης ἄλλο γε, ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι." Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὥς οἱ οὐδὲ οὕτω ἐσήκουνον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο.

87 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται<sup>200</sup>, πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὕβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιούντες ἀδικέεσθαι, ὥς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο· καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ

Story resumed of the feud between Athens and Ægina.

<sup>a</sup> πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. JUVENAL has reproduced this story,—not very aptly as regards the subject he is illustrating:

"Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates:  
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret

Depositum retinere, et fraudem jure tueri  
Jurando. quærebat enim, quæ numinis esset

Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet  
Apollo?

Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus; et tamen omnem

Vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit,

Extinctus totâ pariter cum prole domoque  
Et quamvis longâ deductis gente propinquis."

Sat. xiii. 199—210.

<sup>200</sup> οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται. The history of the feud between Athens and Ægina is resumed from v. 89.

τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντητηρὶς<sup>201</sup> ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες ὦν τὴν θεωρίδα νῆα εἶλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἔδησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα 88 πρὸς Αἰγινήτων, οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτησι· καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνωίου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν ἡκειν δεήσει βοηθέοντας· μετὰ ταῦτα, καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο<sup>202</sup> ὁ Νικόδρομος Ἀθηναίοισι τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ 89 ἔτυχον εἶσαι νέες σφι ἀξίωμαχοι τῇσι Αἰγινήτων συμβαλέειν ἐν ᾧ ὦν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρήσαι σφι νέας, ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα<sup>203</sup>. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα<sup>204</sup>, Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἰκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωτίην γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἔξῃν δοῦναι· ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς σφετέρας<sup>205</sup>, πληρώσαντες ἐβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγίναν καὶ ὑστέρισαν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ τῆς συγκειμένης. Νικόδρομος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον ἐσβὰς ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινήτων ἔσποντο· τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδωσαν ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὗτοι ὀρμεώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἡγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγινήτας· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγινήτων δὲ οἱ παχέες, 90 ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα Νικοδόρῳ, ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ ἔπειτ' ἀσφείας χειρωσάμενοι, ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο ἐπι-

<sup>201</sup> πεντητηρὶς. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has πεντήρης, which would mean "a galley with five banks of oars." The meaning of the text is "a festival held every fifth year."

<sup>202</sup> κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο. See note 211 on iv. 76.

<sup>203</sup> διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα, "their game was ruined." See § 13: κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλείας πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι.

<sup>204</sup> ἦσαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. This friendship may have originated in the conduct of the Corinthians recorded in v. 93, they having put a decisive bar to the scheme of the Lacedæmonians for restoring the Pisistratids.

<sup>205</sup> καὶ τὰς σφετέρας. These therefore must have been fifty in number; for the reason of which see SMITH'S Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, sub voce ναυκραρία.

μηχανώμενοι· ἀλλ' ἔφθισαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἣ σφι ἴλεων γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν· ἐπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγήσαντες, ἐξήγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες· εἰς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Διμήτρος θεσμοφόρον ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἶχετο· οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τέ μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἶοι τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω· χεῖρες δὲ κεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι  
 92 ἐπισπαστήρσι. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐργάσαντο· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἤκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἐβδομήκοντα· ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεκαλέοντο τούτους αὐτοὺς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον<sup>296</sup>, Ἀργεῖους· καὶ δὴ σφι οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι<sup>297</sup>, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Αἰγιναῖαι νέες ἀνάγκη λαμβθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώραν καὶ συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίοισι. συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυνωίων νεῶν ἄνδρες<sup>298</sup> τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ. καὶ σφι ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη, χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσαι, πεντακόσια ἐκατέρους. Σικυνῶνιοι μὲν νυν συγγνόντες ἀδικῆσαι, ὠμολόγησαν, ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες, ἀξήμοιο εἶναι. Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἦσαν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὴ ὧν σφι ταῦτα δεομένοισι ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθεε, ἐθέλονται δὲ ἐς χιλίους<sup>299</sup>. ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ φ' ὄνομα Εὐρυβάτης, πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας. τούτων οἱ πλευνες οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὑπὶ πῶ, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ'

<sup>296</sup> τοὺς καὶ πρότερον. The Argives, according to their own and the Æginetan account, had contributed to the destruction of the Athenians recorded in v. 85—87.

<sup>297</sup> οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι. The severe blow which had been struck by Cleomenes to the ruling class probably much crippled them, independently of the soreness which they would have felt at the service rendered by Æginetan vessels in the transport of the Lacedæmonian army. But besides this, the population of Sicyon, which was exalted in influence by the policy of the Orthagorid dynasty (see note 169 on v. 67), they would inherit a hatred

of the ruling class of Argos, and be not unwilling to lend themselves to the policy of Cleomenes.

<sup>298</sup> ἐθέλονται δὲ ἐς χιλίους. Perhaps these may be regarded as mercenaries taken into the service of the Æginetæ. It seems impossible to frame any connected notion of the operations in this contest, of which the important feature in the mind of the narrator appears to be the personal prowess of the two individuals whom he names. But the succession of contests, first between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, and, after the blow struck by Cleomenes, between the ruling class and the serfs, could hardly fail to collect bands of *condottieri* ready to take service any where if good pay were offered;—and this it would certainly be in the power of a rich mercantile state to do. The skill of Eurybates certainly bespeaks a *professional soldier*.

Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης, μονο-  
μαχίῃν ἐπασκέων, τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ  
τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελέος ἀποθνήσκει. Αἰγινῆται δὲ 93  
εὐοῖσι ἀτάκτοισι Ἀθηναίοισι συμβαλόντες τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐνίκησαν  
καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον.

Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνήπτο πρὸς Αἰγινῆτας. ὁ δὲ 94  
Πέρσης τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐποίηε, ὥστε ἀναμνησκόντος τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θερά-  
ποντος <sup>210</sup> μεμνησθαι μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδῶν  
προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος  
ὁ Δαρεῖος, ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος, καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς  
Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ <sup>211</sup>. Μαρδόνιον  
μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης  
ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγούς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ  
Ἀθήνας, Δατίν τε ἔοντα Μῆδον γένος, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνηα τὸν Ἀρτα-  
φέρνεος <sup>212</sup> παῖδα ἀδελφιδέου ἑαυτοῦ ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε  
ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν, ἄγειν ἑαυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ  
ἀνδράποδα <sup>213</sup>. Ὡς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες, πορευό- 95  
μενοι παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς τὸ Ἀλήϊον πεδίον <sup>214</sup>,

Continu-  
tion of the  
story of the  
Persian in-  
vasion.

Expedition  
of Datis  
and Arta-  
phernes.

<sup>210</sup> ἀναμνησκόντος τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράπον-  
τος. See v. 105.

<sup>211</sup> τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ  
ὕδωρ. See above, § 48.

<sup>212</sup> Ἀρταφέρνηα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνεος. The  
manuscripts P, K, V, F have Ἀρτα-  
φέρνεα τοῦ Ἀρταφέρνηος. See note 63  
on v. 25.

<sup>213</sup> ἄγειν ἑαυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.  
There is a harshness about this commis-  
sion which contrasts strongly with the  
mildness of the policy related in §§ 42,  
43, and also with the treatment of the  
captive Eretrians when brought to Darius  
(§ 119). It would seem as if the failure  
of Mardonius had given greater weight to  
the party who advocated a stern policy in  
the treatment of the conquered nations.  
(See notes 74 on § 32, and 103 on § 43.)  
That the expedition of Datis and Arta-  
phernes was distinguished by great severity  
is plain from the sufferings of Naxos.  
(See notes 216 on vi. 96, and 77 on v.  
31.) But the attributing the severity of  
the commission to personal irritation of  
Darius against the Athenians, stimulated  
by the charges of the Pisistratids, is, it  
can hardly be doubted, a piece of later

Athenian colouring, and from the same  
mint as the story introduced by PLATO  
into the funeral oration (*Menexenus*, § 10),  
that Datis was sent with orders to bring  
the Eretrians and Athenians into the pre-  
sence of Darius, if he wished to keep his  
own head on his shoulders. Compare  
*Legg.* iii. § 15.

<sup>214</sup> τὸ Ἀλήϊον πεδίον. For Ἀλήϊον the  
manuscript S has Ἀλῆϊον, and P, Ἀλῆ-  
νιον. These are perhaps all genuine  
readings,—at least, not derived from one  
another by any error of transcription, but  
representing the views of Alexandrine  
grammarians as to the proper form of the  
word. The root of this is perhaps really  
*Al* or *Hal* (see note 243 on i. 72), and  
the name may be derived from the acces-  
sibility of the place to vessels from the sea.  
In the *Iliad*, after the usual manner of  
the Greeks to find etymologies for every  
name in their own tongue, it is made the  
scene of the wanderings (ἄλῃ) of Belle-  
rophon, who,

— καππεδίων τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἶος ἀλῶτο  
ὃν θυμὸν κατέδωκε, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλε-  
εῖν (vi. 201).



ἄμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευόμενοισι ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοισι· παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἵππαυοι νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει προεῖπε τοῖσι ἐωντοῦ δασμοφόροισι Δαρεῖος ἐτοιμάζειν. ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔπλεον ἐξακοσίησι τριήρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηίκης· ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὀρμεώμενοι, παρὰ τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόνον ἐποιεύντο, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει<sup>215</sup>, δέισαντες μάλιστα τὸν περίπλοον τοῦ Ἄθω, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ποιούμενοι ταύτῃ τὴν κομιδὴν μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἡνάγκαζε, πρότερον οὐκ ἀλοῦσα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμειξαν τῇ Νάξῳ, (ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ πρώτῃ ἐπεῖχον στρατεῦσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι, μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον<sup>216</sup>), οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ οὖρεα οἴχοντο φεύγοντες, οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες<sup>217</sup>, ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀνάγοντο.

96

Capture of  
Naxos and  
the other  
islands,

97

with the ex-  
ception of  
Delos, to  
which Datis  
pays the  
highest re-  
spect.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίουν, οἱ Δῆλιοι, ἐκλιπόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δῆλον, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τήνον τῆς δὲ στρατῆς καταπλευούσης, ὁ Δάτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν νῆσον προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηνῇ<sup>218</sup>· αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἵνα ἦσαν οἱ Δῆλιοι, πέμπων κήρυκα ἡγόρευέ σφι τάδε· “ἄνδρες ἱεοὶ, τί φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε οὐκ ἐπιτηδέα καταγόντες κατ' ἐμεῦ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ γε φρονέω, καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν ᾗ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ<sup>219</sup> ἐγένοντο ταύτην μηδὲν

<sup>215</sup> δοκέει. Gaisford has δοκέειν. The MSS are divided.

<sup>216</sup> μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον. They appear to have remembered the powerful resistance made by the Naxians (v. 34) when they had notice of the armament coming against them, and therefore determined to surprise them this time. The manuscripts S and V have τῶν προτέρων, which is perhaps the preferable reading, —if it were supported by an equal weight of authority.

<sup>217</sup> ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες. For some idea of the amount of the mischief comprised in this brief notice see note 77 on

v. 31.

<sup>218</sup> ἄλλα πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηνῇ. The word ἔσχε or some equivalent is to be supplied, gathered by inference from οὐκ ἔα προσορμίζεσθαι. See note 190 on i. 59.

<sup>219</sup> οἱ δύο θεοί. The Median Datis recognized in the Phœbus and Phœbe of Delos the Mithras and Mitra of the Magian religion. Hecatus and Hecate were the names under which the same deities were worshipped over all the Asiatic coast in the neighbourhood of Lesbos and Tenedos. (See note 506 on i. 151.) The Phœnicians, who doubtless formed a part of the fleet, would have had no re-

σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν  
 ὦν καὶ ἄπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε.”  
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκέυσατο τοῖσι Δηλίοισιν· μετὰ δὲ, λιβανωτοῦ  
 τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμίησε. Δᾶτις 98  
 μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν  
 πρῶτα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας<sup>220</sup>. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον  
 ἐνθεῦτεν ἐξαναχθέντα, Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Δῆλιοι, καὶ  
 πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα [μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα<sup>221</sup>]. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου  
 τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν<sup>222</sup> ἔφηνε ὁ θεός·  
 ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ  
 Ἀρταξέρξω τοῦ Ξέρξω<sup>223</sup>, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεῶν, ἐγένετο  
 πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου  
 γενομένας· τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γεγόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπ’

The arma-  
ment sails  
for Eretria.

An earth-  
quake at  
Delos pre-  
ludes the  
miseries  
suffered  
during the  
reigns of  
Darius,  
Xerxes,  
and Ar-  
taxerxes.

spect for this combination of deities; and hence Datis sailed on by himself, and kept them at Rhenea. They would have respected *Mitra* in her character of *Aphrodite Urania*; but in this she would have not been coupled with a male deity, but have been more analogous to the Arcadian *Artemis*, or the Sardinian *Cybele*. (See note 297 on v. 102.) For another instance of Datis's reverence for the Delian *Apollo*, see § 118.

<sup>220</sup> ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. The effect of the conciliatory and temperate policy of Darius (§§ 42, 43) had doubtless been to render the Hellenic cities on the main again available for supplying a subsidiary force, just as they had been to Cyrus and Cambyses. (See ii. 1; iii. 1.)

<sup>221</sup> [μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα]. The MSS vary in this passage in such a way as to induce the belief that the variations have all arisen out of the desire of explaining the fact that Herodotus limited the assertion of the Delians to his own experience, —which of course from the nature of the case he necessarily did. M and K have μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα, which Gaisford adopts. One manuscript (F) has ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα without μέχρι. One (P) has μέχρι ἐμέο μηδέποτε σεισθεῖσα, and several τὰ μέχρι (or μέχρις) ἐμέο οὐ σεισθεῖσα.

A great deal of trouble has been occasioned to the commentators by the circumstance of THUCYDIDES (ii. 8) having stated that Delos was stirred by an earthquake just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, adding πρότερον οὕτω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ’ οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται.

There is no doubt that his statement and that of Herodotus are at direct issue with each other; but it will be observed that Herodotus grounds his merely upon the assertions of the Delians; and the only inference to be drawn from the discrepancy is, that Thucydides, if he heard, did not credit the story of the first earthquake, and that Herodotus either wrote *this passage* before the second occurred (see last note on vii. 137), or at some place where he did not hear of it,—which if he were in Italy would not be wonderful. For a proof of the futility of basing historical conclusions on such statements as these, see note 32 on iii. 10.

<sup>222</sup> μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν. In the view of the victorious Greeks after the battles of Salamis and Plataea, the destruction of Athens and of the other towns in Europe devastated in the expedition of Xerxes appeared the prominent features of Hellenic suffering. But from the account of Herodotus himself it is very plain that the destruction of Miletus, Phocæa, Naxos, and other Hellenic states in the islands and on the Asiatic main, must have produced a far greater amount of calamity.

<sup>223</sup> καὶ Ἀρταξέρξω τοῦ Ξέρξω. It has been argued that because Herodotus names the three Persian sovereigns together, and at the same time speaks of three generations, Artaxerxes must have been dead; and consequently that this passage could not have been written before B.C. 425. See the following note.

αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμούντων. οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς κινήθηναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν εἶδυσαν ἀκίνητον καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὥδε

Κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον, ἀκίνητόν περ εἶδυσαν<sup>224</sup>.

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρείος ἐρξίης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀρταξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος<sup>225</sup>. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὥδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην "Ἑλληνες καλέοιεν.

99 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπῆραν ἐκ τῆς Δήλου προσίσχον πρὸς τὰς νήσους<sup>226</sup>. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ στρατιὴν τε παρελάμβανον καὶ ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτέων παῖδας ἐλάμβανον ὡς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους, προσέσχον καὶ ἐς Κάρυστον<sup>227</sup>, (οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε

The armament arrives at Caryæus, which at first resists,

<sup>224</sup> καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον . . . ἀκίνητόν περ εἶδυσαν. These words are omitted in the manuscripts M, F, K. But they exist in the rest; and they can hardly be considered as an interpolation, although perhaps neither they nor indeed the greater part of the section may have existed in the first draught of the work. (See note 231 on § 101.)

<sup>225</sup> Ἀρταξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος. If, as seems to follow from this passage, the root *Art* has the significance of *μέγας*, the conjecture of CREUZER, that the word "*Artemis*" is a derivative of *Artia*, gains some plausibility; as the signification of the word would in that case be ἡ μεγάλη, or even ἡ μεγάλη μήτηρ, and it is in this character that the Artemis worship prevailed from Ephæsus throughout Phrygia and Cappadocia.

<sup>226</sup> πρὸς τὰς νήσους. These are doubtless the Cyclades, which were dependent upon Naxos, and were likely to yield at once when the metropolis fell. (See v. 31.) The Persians do not seem to have landed their cavalry until their arrival in Eubœa. It should not be overlooked that in this expedition Datis exactly followed the plan of operations sketched out some years before by Aristagoras in his conference with the elder Artaphernes.

<sup>227</sup> ἐς Κάρυστον. This city, which was situated on the roots of Mount Ocha, derived its wealth mainly from exporting the marble from the quarries in its vicinity, the fine polish of which made the expression Καρύστιαί κίονες proverbial. (STRABO,

x. c. 1, p. 322.) The marble is that which in Italy is called *ciprotino*, which was much used by the wealthy Romans of the time of the empire, as is evinced by the number of columns of it still remaining. In resisting the summons of the Persians, the Carystians perhaps depended upon the danger of their rockbound neighbourhood, which is at this day considered the most dangerous navigation of the whole Ægean. The present population are wreckers of the very worst description; and although the bay appears to be protected from the Etesian winds (exposed as it is to every other), the appearance is a fallacious one. HAWKINS was nearly lost there, and describes the circumstance as follows: "We appeared to be so completely sheltered from the Meltem (Etesian) wind then blowing by the ridge of Mount Ocha, and there was so little chance at that season (September 12) of a wind from any other quarter, that I felt no apprehension of danger. What then could exceed my surprise and consternation when the whole fury of the Meltem poured down upon us from the ridge above,—its force having been concentrated, as I conceive, by the hollow form of the coast on the opposite side of the island? I had often experienced the effect of very violent gusts of wind in sailing along a mountainous coast; but this was a continued blast for the space of thirty hours, which would have tried the strength of the stoutest cable." (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, ii. p. 287.)

ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀστυγείτονας στρατεύ-  
 εσθαι, λέγοντες Ἑρετρίαν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας,) ἐνθαῦτα τούτους ἐπολι-  
 ὀρκεόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφέων ἔκειρον, ἐς δὲ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρ-  
 ἔστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνῶμην. Ἑρετριέες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι 100  
 τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσιν, Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐδεήθησαν σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπέλπαντο  
 τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους κληρουχέοντας τῶν  
 ἱπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν, τούτους σφί διδοῦσι τιμωροῦς  
 τῶν δὲ Ἑρετριέων ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ἰγίης βούλευμα· οἱ μετεπέμποντο  
 μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ἰδέας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν  
 ἐβουλευόντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας<sup>228</sup>,  
 ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν<sup>229</sup> ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω  
 οἴσεσθαι, προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο· μαθὼν δὲ τούτων ἑκάτερα ὡς  
 εἶχε Διοσχῆνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἐὼν τῶν Ἑρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει  
 τοῖσι ἦκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφί πρήγματι  
 προσεδέετό τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι σφας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἵνα μὴ  
 προσαπόλωνται· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Διοσχῆνι συμβουλευσάντι  
 πείθονται· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὠρωπὸν ἔσωζον σφέας  
 αὐτούς. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλείοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἑρετρικῆς 101  
 χώρας κατὰ Ταμύνας καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλια· κατασχόντες δὲ  
 ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο<sup>230</sup>, καὶ παρεσκευ-

but after-  
wards sub-  
mits.

The Eretri-  
ans send to  
Athens for  
aid.

The arma-  
ment arrives  
at Eretria,  
and after

<sup>228</sup> ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας, "into the mountain tops of Euboea." Valcknaer, from a description of the coast given by DIO CHRYSOSTOM under the person of a shipwrecked mariner, who gets ashore with great difficulty by running πρὸς τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, which he describes as ἄγρια καὶ σκληρὰ τῆς νήσου τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, forms the strange opinion that the τὰ ἄκρα spoken of here are pretty nearly the same as the τὰ κοῖλα of viii. 13; and that the object of the Eretrians was to seek a refuge on a part of the coast inaccessible, or difficult of access, to the ships of the Persians. But a coast may very well be a rocky and rough one, and extremely dangerous to land on, although the height of the cliffs may be very small. The summits on which the Eretrians proposed to take refuge were no doubt those of the mountains, of which *Derphys*, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, is nearly inaccessible from its steepness.

<sup>229</sup> ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν. That there was a

party in Eretria strongly inclined towards the Pisistratid faction is plain from the fact of that town serving as the base of Pisistratus's operations against Athens during his second exile. (See i. 62, and the note 199 on v. 74.) XENOPHON speaks of the Æolian towns *Myrina* and *Grynium*, as given by the king of the Persians to one Goggylus, *ὅτι μόνος Ἑρετριέων μηδίσας ἔργον*. (*Hellenica*, iii. 1. 6.) Gorgion, the brother of Goggylus, had the town Gambrium in the same vicinity, and the two joined Thimbron in his expedition. As this was eighty years after the battle of Marathon, we must suppose the Goggylus of Xenophon either to have played the traitor at a much later time than the one of which Herodotus is speaking, or to have been the grandson of the original grantee.

<sup>230</sup> αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο. The cavalry was a powerful arm both at Eretria and its neighbour Chalcis. (See the passage of ARISTOTLE quoted in the note

six days  
burns the  
town and  
carries off  
the inha-  
bitants.

ἄζοντο ὡς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσιν· οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριέες ἐπεξελ-  
θεῖν μὲν καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῖντο βουλὴν εἰ καὶ δὲ διαφυ-  
λάξαιεν τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφι ἔμελε πέρι, ἐπεὶ τε ἐνῖκα μὴ  
ἔκλιπεν τὴν πόλιν προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ  
τείχος, ἐπιπτον ἐπὶ ἑξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τῇ δὲ  
ἐβδόμῃ Εὐφορβὸς τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέου,  
ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι, προδιδούσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι· οἱ δὲ  
ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν  
ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς  
ἀνθρώπους ἡνδραποδίσαντο<sup>231</sup> κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

102 Under the  
guidance of  
Hippias, the  
Persians  
then land at  
Marathon,  
where the  
Athenians

Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας,  
ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντές<sup>232</sup> τε πολλὸν, καὶ δοκέοντες  
ταῦτά τοις Ἀθηναίοις ποιήσῃν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας ἐποίησαν  
καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιπ-  
πεύσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγγέτο  
Ἰππίας<sup>233</sup> ὁ Πεισιστράτης. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα,

103

206 on v. 77.) There was therefore reason for landing the horses. The resources of Eretria in its palmy days, which must have been about this time, are evinced from the circumstance that on a column in the temple of Artemis at Amarnthus (a village about a mile from the town) STRABO (x. c. 1, p. 326) found an inscription stating that the festival of the goddess had been attended by a procession of 3000 hoplites, 600 knights, and 60 chariots. Andros, Tenos, Ceos, and other islands, independently of the settlements on the Macedonian shore, were among the dependencies of the town. Yet at Salamis the surviving Eretrians could only muster seven galleys (viii. 46), and at Platæa only 600 hoplites, including the contingent from their neighbouring dependency Styra (ix. 28).

<sup>231</sup> τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡνδραποδίσαντο. STRABO seems to have read a different text here from that which the present MSS give. His words are τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίαν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν Πέρσαι, σαγηνεύσαντες δὲ φησιν Ἡρόδοτος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῷ πλήθει, περιχυθέντων τῶν βαρβάρων τῷ τείχεϊ (x. cap. 1, p. 324). Undoubtedly there was a tradition that this operation had been carried into effect in the case of the Eretrians, for PLATO (Legg. iii. § 14) mentions that Datis τινὰ λόγον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἀφήκε φοβερὸν,

ὡς οὐδὲς Ἐρετριέων αὐτὸν ἐκπεφυγὼς εἶη· συνάψαντες γὰρ τὰς χεῖρας σαγηνεύσαιεν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐρετρικὴν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Δατίδος. The MSS in the time of Strabo may have varied here, as the present MSS vary in iii. 149. That the destruction or capture of the Eretrians was nearly complete, appears from the circumstances mentioned in the last note; but that Datis's boast was not strictly true is insinuated by Plato himself.

<sup>232</sup> κατέργοντες. The manuscripts S, V, P have κατερράζοντες. The passage appears to me corrupt, but I can suggest no plausible correction.

<sup>233</sup> ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγγέτο Ἰππίας. It was by this point that Pisistratus entered Attica after his second exile; and independently of the circumstances mentioned in the text, and the good omen which the former success furnished, it seems not improbable that Hippias expected a demonstration to be made by his partizans in Attica similar to that which took place on the former occasion. (See i. 62, 63, and the notes.) But the new arrangements which resulted from Clisthenes's constitution (v. 66), had done much to break up the old associations, and the Athenian force was able to meet the invaders on the coast without immediate fear of an attack in the rear. (See note 176 on v. 69.)

ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἦγον δέ σφεας στρατηγῶν <sup>under Mil-  
tiades meet  
them.</sup> δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης <sup>224</sup>. τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Σιτησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Πεισιστράτον τὸν Ἱπποκράτεος· καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελεῖσθαι τεθρίππῳ συνέβη, καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενον μιν τῶντ' ἐξενέ-  
κασθαι τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ· μετὰ δὲ, τῇ ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι νικῶν παραδιδόει Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τῇ νίκῃ παρὲς τούτῳ κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ ὑπόσπονδος καὶ μιν ἀνελόμενον τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι περιεόντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου· κτείνουσι δὲ οὗτοί μιν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανεῖον, νυκτὸς ὑπέσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέραν τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ <sup>225</sup>. καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφονται αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι. ἐποιήσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἵπποι ἤδη τῶντ' οὗτο, Εὐσαγόρεω Λάκωνος· πλέω δὲ τουτέων, οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρεσ-  
βύτερος τῶν παίδων τῷ Κίμωνι Σιτησαγόρης ἦν τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τῷ πατρί Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κίμωνι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι, τοῦνομα ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστῆ τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω· [Μιλτιάδης <sup>226</sup>]. Οὗτος δὴ ὢν τότε 104  
ὁ Μιλτιάδης, ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλοῦν θάνατον, ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικό-  
μενοι ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, δοκούντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ, ἤδη τὸ ἐνθεύτεν μιν οἱ ἔχθροί <sup>227</sup> ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ· ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη <sup>228</sup>, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

<sup>224</sup> τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης. The account of this family is resumed from §§ 34—43 of this book.

<sup>225</sup> πέραν τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ. From this point the author seems to get into the full stream of Athenian local traditions. The story of Cimon is apparently connected with his tomb; that of Phidippides (§ 105) with the shrine of Pan. See note 52 on i. 13.

<sup>226</sup> [Μιλτιάδης]. I have enclosed this word between brackets because, if not spurious, it seems at any rate not in its

proper place.

<sup>227</sup> οἱ ἔχθροί. These were doubtless the Alcmaeonids. See note 263 on § 115, below.

<sup>228</sup> στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέ-  
χθη, "was thereupon made general of the Athenians,"—as if something connected with the trial led to the distinction. See note 315 on § 140, below. Compare ἔρ-  
μζε οὕτως, § 107, and St. JOHN (Evang. iv. 6): ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακὸς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοπορίας ἐκαθέζετο οὕτως (as he reached it) ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ.

105

*Phidippides, a courier, is sent to beg aid from Sparta. The god Pan appears to him on his way, and promises aid.*

Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, ἔοντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστει, οἱ στρατιῆγοι ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα· τῷ δὴ, ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε<sup>239</sup>, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οὖρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει· βώσαντα δὲ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδew τὸν Πᾶνα, Ἀθηναίοισι κελεύσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι διότι ἐωντοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖνται ἔντος εἵνου Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου ἤδη σφίσι χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων<sup>240</sup> πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα, ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρὸν<sup>241</sup> καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης

<sup>239</sup> ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε. In later times the feat of Phidippides was adorned with some picturesque features quite incompatible with this statement. He was said on returning to have brought back to Athens the news of the victory at Marathon; and, rushing into the prytaneum, to have died with the words *χαίρετε· νικῶμεν* on his lips. (LUCIAN, *Pro lapsu*, § 3.) (See the note 284 on i. 82.) And in some accounts the adventitious part of the narrative even extruded the historical foundation. Phidippides's death was related to have taken place in an attempt, in obedience to an oracle, to bring the sacred fire from Delphi to Athens in a single day. (*Schol. inedit. ad Aristidem*, quoted by Valcknaer.) PAUSANIAS, where he gives an account of the fane (i. 28. 4), calls the courier Philippides,—which is also the reading of the manuscripts S and V. I should be inclined to think it the genuine one; for the name *Phidippides* is put by ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 67) as if invented by the homely Strepsiades and his fashionable wife by way of compromise between their respective crotchets. The point of the jest would be a good deal dulled if the name had been one of any celebrity at the time the *Clouds* were acted.

<sup>240</sup> καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, "when their affairs were at last on a firm footing." The establishment of the ritual was apparently coincident with the settlement of the new constitution on a firm basis,—a result to which it cannot be doubted the great national effort in repelling the foreigners contributed a most important part. See the

way in which the Athenian is made by PLATO to put the matter: ἡμῖν γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὅτε ἡ Πελοπόννησος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἴσως δὲ σχεδὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦσιν, ἐγγίγντο, πολετεία τε ἦν παλαιὰ καὶ ἐκ τιμωμάτων ἀρχαῖαι τινες τεττάρων, καὶ δεσπότης ἐνὴν τις αἰδώς, δι' ἣν δουλεύοντες τοῖς τότε νόμοις (ἣν ἠθέλομεν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ στόλου κατὰ τὴν γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν γενόμενον, φόβον ἄπορον ἐμβαλόν, δουλείαν ἔτι μείζονα ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις δουλεύσαι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ἡμῖν ξυνέπεσε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σφόδρα φιλία. (*Legg.* iii. § 15.) The statesmen of the time took advantage of that feeling of union which the external pressure had generated to conciliate that part of the population which was descended from the rustic aborigines, identical in blood and religious associations with the Arcadian mountaineers. This was effected by making Pan (*deus Arcadiæ*) one of the state deities, and dedicating to him a fane in the acropolis, which obtained national reverence the more easily from the occasion which gave rise to its consecration. (See note 178 on v. 69.)

<sup>241</sup> Πανὸς ἱρὸν. It is very doubtful whether what was done was more than the revival with new (and probably increased) solemnities of an old and possibly neglected ritual. For the shrine of Pan was in a cave immediately below the Propylæa, by the side of a well of water. (PAUSANIAS, i. 28. 4.) He was associated with Apollo here, the cave being the reputed scene of the union of that deity with Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus and mother of Ion. (PAUSANIAS, i. c.)

θυσίῃσι ἐπετείῃσι καὶ λαμπάδι<sup>343</sup> ἱλάσκονται. Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς 106  
 ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν  
 Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ·  
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε· ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι ὑμῶν δέονται σφισι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν  
 ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλῃσι δουλοσύνην περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς  
 ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἑρέτριά τε ἠνδραπόδισται, καὶ  
 πόλι λογίμη ἢ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι τὰ  
 ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι,  
 ἀδύνατα δὲ σφι ἦν τὸ παραντίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα οὐ βουλομένοισι  
 λύειν τὸν νόμον ἦν γὰρ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη· εἰνάτῃ δὲ  
 οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἔντος τοῦ κύκλου.  
 Οὗτοι μὲν νῦν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατ- 107  
 ηγγέτο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχο-  
 μένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ  
 μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνεννηθῆναι· συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου,  
 κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασπασάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, τελευτή-  
 σειν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός<sup>344</sup>. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο<sup>345</sup>

The Spar-  
tans are  
prevented  
from march-  
ing at the  
instant, but  
promise  
their sup-  
port.

107  
Dream of  
Hippias.

This site is confirmed by EURIPIDES.  
It is:

· ἐνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας  
 Παλλᾶδος ἐπ' ὄχθῃ τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς  
 Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἄνακτες Ἀτθίδος.  
 (Ion, 11.)

and on a coin figured by LEAKE from the original in the British Museum, the fane appears as a grotto in the rock of the acropolis, on the north side of the descent from the Propylæa. There is a descent to it from the platform of the acropolis by forty-seven steps cut in the rock. (WORDSWORTH, *Athens and Attica*, p. 82.) Such a site as this indicates (on the principle laid down by THUCYDIDES, ii. 15) a ritual of the very earliest times; and probably the Apollo who forced Creusa was originally a Pan, who in later times under Dorian influence gave place to the other deity, and now again was admitted to a share of his old quarters.

<sup>342</sup> λαμπάδι. For the nature of the torch-race, see the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*, v. λαμπάδιφορία. It is however an assumption to suppose that the word λαμπὰς always implies a race. It is not likely that it does so here; for it would have been quite impossible to

run to a fane so situated as that of Pan was. (See the last note.) Neither could there have been any race in that portion of the solemnity in honour of Hephæstus, at the time of the *Apaturia*, when Ἀθηναίων οἱ καλλίστας στολὰς ἐνδεδυκότες, λαβόντες ἡμῖνας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας, ὁμοῦσι τὸν Ἕφαιστον θύοντες, ὑπόμνημα τοῦ κατανοήσαντα τὴν χρεῖαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδᾶναι τοὺς ἄλλους. (ISTER, *ap. Harpocration*, v. λαμπάδι.) So too the solemn procession with which the *Oreætan* trilogy of ÆSCHYLUS terminated had torches, but nothing like a race. In the case in the text it seems as likely that an illumination of the cave with torches was the ceremony introduced. At *Acæcium* in *Arcadia* fire was kept continually burning before the image of Pan, who, as at Athens, was there associated with Apollo. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 36. 8.) See also the passage quoted in the note 109 on i. 32.

<sup>343</sup> γηραιός. For his age at this time see notes 203 on i. 61, and 165 on v. 65, from which it will appear probable that he had been a young man grown up sixty years before, and therefore could not be less than seventy-six or seventy-seven.

<sup>344</sup> συνεβάλετο. See note 322 on i. 91. The interpretation which he put upon his



ταῦτα· τότε δὲ κατηγορούμενος, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρῆς ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέαν, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν<sup>245</sup>. τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε οὕτως<sup>246</sup>, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε· καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθε· οἳ δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἔοντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλευνες ἐσειόντο· τούτων ὦν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ, ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐξευρεῖν ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετο οἱ ὁ ὀδὸν, ἀνασθενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας· “ἡ γῆ ἦδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ, οὐδὲ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρὴν ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δὲ τι μοι μέρος μετὴν ὁ ὀδὸν μετέχει.” Ἰππῆς μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὕψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοις ἐν τεμνείῃ Ἡρακλῆος, ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεῖ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσάν σφας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συγχροὺς ἤδη ἀναίρεατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε· πιεζέμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδουσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένει τε. τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ<sup>247</sup> καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφῆας αὐτοῦς· οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλσχόν σφι τάδε· “ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρῳ τε οἰκέομεν καὶ

108

The Plataeas only help the Athenians. Origin of the connexion between them.

dream was the same which Julius Caesar's advisers gave him under similar circumstances: “*Confusum eum somnio proximæ noctis (nam visus erat per quietem matri stuprum intulisse) conjectores ad amplissimam spem incitaverunt, arbitrium orbis terrarum portendi interpretantes; quando mater quam subjectam sibi vidisset, non alia esset quam terra quæ omnium parens haberetur.*” (Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, § 8.) Compare also PAUSANIAS, iv. 26. 3. In the time of ARTEMIDORUS such a vision was recognized as a particularly lucky one for a statesman, on the principle above mentioned. (*Oνειροcrit.* i. 82.) And it seems not impossible that a strange notice respecting Cyrus the Great in Ctesias (see note 441 on i. 130) is to be explained from the existence of some piece of mystical symbolism in the Magian religion, by which the absolute sovereignty over the earth was formally conveyed to the monarch at his coronation.

<sup>245</sup> καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν. This clause appears to me an interpolated note. Some of the MSS have Αἰγίλειαν, and Stephanus Byzantinus Αἰγιάλεια. The

place seems the same as that spoken of above (§ 101) under the name of Αἰγίλεια or Αἰγίλειας.

<sup>246</sup> οὕτως. This is the reading of one MS only (b). Gaisford with the majority reads οὕτως. But οὕτως is very significant (see note 238, above), and οὕτως would be superfluous. Hippas, accustomed to operations on the Greek coasts, first ran his ships aground and debarked the troops, and *thereupon*, as on being lightened the ships again floated, he moored them with an anchor out to sea, just off the shore, so as to be ready to receive the land forces again on an emergency. After doing this he proceeded to form the barbarians who had landed. The manoeuvre, as far as the ships are concerned, is precisely the same as that mentioned in vii. 188.

<sup>247</sup> Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ. This occasion will probably have been when the Pisistratids were expelled (v. 64, 65), and while Cleomenes expected that the principal influence in Athens would be retained by the party to which he was favourable, viz. that represented by Isagoras.

ὕμῶν τοιήδε τις γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρίῃ ψυχρῇ· φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολ-  
λάκις ἑξαδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων συμβουλευ-  
ομεν δὲ ὑμῶν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισι τε  
ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι<sup>2</sup>.” ταῦτα συνεβούλευον  
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ κατὰ εὐνοίην οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὥς βου-  
λόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόρους συνεστεώτας Βοιωτοῖσι<sup>248</sup>.  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ  
ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι<sup>249</sup>,  
ικέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς· Θηβαῖοι  
δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας, Ἀθηναῖοι  
δὲ σφι ἐβόηθεον μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ  
περιεῖδον παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεφάντων  
ἄμφοτέρων, οὖρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἔαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν  
τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν<sup>250</sup>. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ  
ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο  
Βοιωτοὶ, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ· ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ  
Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὖρους, τού-  
τους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὖρον Θηβαίοισι  
πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ῥσιᾶς<sup>251</sup>. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες

<sup>2</sup> συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῶν, κ.τ.λ. This is the same view of the matter as that offered by the Plataeans when tried for their lives by the Thebans and Lacedæmonians about sixty years afterwards: δεομένων γὰρ συμμαχίας ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσαντο, ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκελεύετε τραπέσθαι ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντας, ὑμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων. (THUCYDIDES, iii. 55.) But in Thucydides the Plataeans make this abandonment of themselves by the Lacedæmonians take place *after* the year of the earthquake and the occupation of Ithome by the Helots. Their argument required this; but it is striking that such an anachronism should be confidently ventured so soon after the events themselves. See notes 213 on i. 63; 138 on iii. 47; and 279 on v. 96.

<sup>248</sup> συνεστεώτας Βοιωτοῖσι, “having come to direct issue with Boeotians.” See note on vii. 142.

<sup>249</sup> τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι. If the object of the Plataeans was to establish a league between themselves and Athens, the time of a sacrifice to “the twelve gods” would be an especially appropriate

occasion; for they were probably θεοὶ συμβόλαιοι. See note 16 on ii. 4.

<sup>250</sup> ἔαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν, “that the Thebans should not meddle with those of the Boeotians who chose not to be merged in the Boeotian league.” See for an explanation of the phrase the note 96 on iii. 34.

<sup>251</sup> πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ῥσιᾶς. Probably it was to recover the territory thus lost that the Thebans took advantage of the Lacedæmonian occupation of Eleusis (described v. 74) to seize Hysie. The Plataean orator in THUCYDIDES (ii. 71) asserts that the independence of Plataea was solemnly guaranteed by Pausanias and the Lacedæmonians in the presence of all the allied army immediately after the victory over Mardonius. At that time the Thebans would be in extremely bad odour from the connexion of the party in power with the Persian invaders; and perhaps this circumstance was taken advantage of to procure a declaration which at any other time could scarcely have been hoped for.

σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἤκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

109  
Dissensions  
among the  
Athenian  
generals.

The conduct of  
Miltiades  
and the  
polemarch  
Callimachus

Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐόντων συμβάλλειν ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλέειν τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω κελευόντων ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἡ χεῖρων τῶν γνωμένων, ἐνθαῦτα, ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδόφορος ὁ τῷ κυάμφ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχέειν τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεύντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι, ἦν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε “ ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἔστι <sup>252</sup> ἡ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας, ἡ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον, οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσιν· νῦν γὰρ δὴ, ἐξ οὗ ἐγέγονοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππλή· ἦν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οἷη τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολλῶν γενέσθαι. κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἶά τέ ἐστι γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω· ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔοντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι· τῶν μὲν κελευόντων συμβαλέειν, τῶν δὲ οὐ [συμβαλέειν <sup>253</sup>]. ἦν μὲν νῦν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαι τινα στάσιν μεγάλην <sup>254</sup> ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασείσειν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα, ὥστε μηδῖσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, οἷοι τε εἶμεν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν τείνει, καὶ ἐκ σέο ἄρτηται· ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλῃ, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία <sup>255</sup>.” Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου

110  
is the cause  
of an imme-

<sup>252</sup> ἐν σοὶ νῦν . . . ἔστι. See note 231 on iii. 85.

<sup>253</sup> [συμβαλέειν]. The MSS vary between συμβαλέειν, συμβάλλειν, and συμβάλλειν, which induces the suspicion that the word has crept in from the margin. It is not necessary; and in fact the real ellipse is not of συμβάλλειν, but of κελευόντων.

<sup>254</sup> ἔλπομαι τινα στάσιν μεγάλην. This is perhaps an allusion to the Alcmaeonids. See note 263 on § 115, below.

<sup>255</sup> τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία. By this circuitous expression the speaker avoids the use of words of ill omen, which in such a moment would be considered fatal.

τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ διατε engagement.  
γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγένετο πρυτανῆς  
τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδουσιν ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὕτι καὶ συμ-  
βολὴν ἐποιεῖτο, πρῶν γὰρ δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανῆς ἐγένετο.

Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκείνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε Ἀθηναῖοι 111  
ὡς συμβαλέοντες· τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγήετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Order of  
Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν battle.  
πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν<sup>256</sup>. ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέ-  
κοντο ὡς ἀριθμούντο<sup>257</sup> αἱ φυλαὶ, ἐχόμεναι ἀλλήλων τελευταῖοι  
δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, Πλαταιεῖς. ἀπὸ ταύτης  
γὰρ σφί τῆς μάχης, θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀνασφόντων καὶ πανηγύριος  
τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Ἀθη-  
ναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι (λέγων) γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλα-  
ταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι,  
ἐγένετο τοῖονδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρα-  
τοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτη  
ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρωτο  
πλήθει. Ὡς δὲ σφί διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγένετο καλὰ, 112

ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρ- The Athen-  
βάρους· ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ the enemy  
ὀκτώ· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέωντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο at speed,  
ὡς δεξόμενοι μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ  
ὀλεθρὴν, ὀρέωντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους,  
οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφί οὔτε τοξευμάτων<sup>258</sup>. ταῦτα μὲν νυν  
οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀθροοὶ προσέμειξαν  
τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου· πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλ-  
λήνων πάντων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο,

<sup>256</sup> τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν. In accordance with this custom EUCIPIDES (Suppl. 656) makes Theseus, the commander of the Athenian army in the battle against the Thebans, occupy the same post:

αὐτὸν τ' ἔνακτα, παῖδα κλειῶν Αἰγέως,  
καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ δεξιὸν τεταγμέ-  
νους  
κέρας, παλαιᾷς Κεκροπίας οἰκήτορας.

The tribe which occupied the right extremity in the battle of Marathon was the

Ἀεπίς.

<sup>257</sup> ὡς ἀριθμούντο, "according as they were numbered," that is, with reference to the turn of their prytanes to preside in the assembly.

<sup>258</sup> οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφί οὔτε τοξευμάτων. The Persians conceived that it would be impossible for them to keep order in the onset under such circumstances; and that having no cavalry or archers to cover them while reforming, they must infallibly be destroyed.

πρώτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθιῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέωντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθιμένους<sup>300</sup>. τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι "Ελλῆσι καὶ τὸ οὖνομα τὸ

113 *Μήδων φόβος ἀκούσαι*<sup>300</sup>. *Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος*  
and after an  
obstinate  
combat con-  
quer and  
pursue the  
Persians to  
their  
ships.  
*ἐγένετο πολλός· καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρ-  
βαροι, τῇ Πέρσῃ τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι*<sup>301</sup> *ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο  
μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαλιαν·  
τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Πλαταιέες, νικῶντες  
δὲ, τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ  
μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα ἀμφοτέρω ἐμάχοντο·  
καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι· φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἴποντο κόπτον-  
τες, ἐς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἵτεον καὶ ἐπελαμ-  
βάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.*

114 *Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος*  
Distinct-  
guished  
conduct of  
*Cullimachus*  
*διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γεγόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν*  
*Σησιλῆως ὁ Θρασύλῳ· τοῦτο δὲ Κυναίγειρος*<sup>302</sup> *ὁ Εὐφορίωνος*

<sup>300</sup> *ἐσθιμένους*. This word, which is of the form of a perfect participle, as from a present tense *ἐσθῆναι*, is used in one other passage (iii. 129). It is peculiar to Herodotus, and no other tense is any where used by him.

<sup>300</sup> *τὸ οὖνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκούσαι*. It seems likely that at the time of Datis's expedition the distinction between the Medes and Persians was little known in European Greece, even if it was in Asiatic. Accordingly *ὁ Μῆδος* was the general name by which the enemy was designated. The Medians were, it can hardly be doubted, the more civilized part of Darius's subjects, and from them the Persians must have learnt their scientific strategies. See the notes 535 on i. 162, and 512 on iv. 200. The statement in the text has been by some considered as contradictory to i. 165 and v. 120 (in which passages Asiatic Hellenes are represented as engaging with Persians), and to i. 169, where their resistance to these is spoken of as creditable to them. But this seems pressing the author too closely. It is very far from certain that the conquest even of Ionia was effected by Median troops; and certainly they would hardly be expected to do garrison duty. They may rather be regarded in the same light as the European regiments in the Anglo-Indian army. And all that Herodotus means to say in the text is that the Athenians at Marathon

were the first Hellenes with whom the prestige of the Median soldiers went for nothing. This was only natural, as they had no experience of them like the Asiatics. But still their prowess made the term *ἄνδρες Μαραθωνομάχοι* proverbial. (ARISTOPHANES, *Nub.* 986.)

<sup>301</sup> *καὶ Σάκαι*. These were probably the marines of the fleet landed upon the occasion. In the great expedition of Xerxes we find this service performed by Sacans (vii. 96), the name by which the Persians designated all Scythians (as Herodotus says)—that is, perhaps, all troops whose armament was similar to the Scythian, in which the bow was the principal weapon. This would be by far the most efficient engine for such a service as that of marines. The English bow-men performed the same duty in the infancy of English naval warfare. See the important part played by *Locksley* in the old ballad of Sir Andrew Barton.

<sup>302</sup> *Κυναίγειρος*. This is the brother of Æschylus the tragic poet. The story of his gallantry was improved upon in later times. JUSTIN (ii. 9) makes him, on losing his right hand, seize hold with his left; and upon this being likewise hewn off, take hold *with his teeth* ("ad postremum morsu navem detinuit"). A similar caricature is observable in the more modern ballad of Chevy Chase (of about the time of James I.) as compared with the

ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νηὸς, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς and *Cynæ-  
πελέκεϊ πίπτει* τούτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί. *gêtus.*  
'Επτα μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι 115  
τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες  
ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίης ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλων  
Σούνιον βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ  
ἄστυ αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων<sup>263</sup> μηχανῆς  
αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι  
ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα, ἐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περι- 116  
έπλων<sup>264</sup> Σούνιον Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθειον  
ἐς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ ἐφθῆσαν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους  
ἦκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπυγμένοι ἐξ Ἑρακλήτου τοῦ ἐν  
Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἑρακλήτῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοςάργει<sup>265</sup>. οἱ δὲ βάρ-  
βαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου, (τούτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ νειὸν  
τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων,) ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νῆας ἀπ-  
έπλων ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην<sup>266</sup>.

original of nearly two hundred years earlier. The latter says:

"For Wetharryngton my harte was wo  
That ever he alayne sholde be;  
For when both his leggis wer hewyn into,  
Yet he knyld and fought on his knee."  
The two last lines became in the new version:

"For when his legges were smitten off,  
He fought upon his stumpses."

For the description of the ἀφλάστα, of which Cynægirus is represented as taking hold, see the article *Aplustre* in the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*. It is not necessary however to infer, with the writer of the article, from this passage, that an unusual direction was given to the extremity of the woodwork, denoted by the word ἀφλάστα. Herodotus seems to include in the term the whole of the after part of the upper works; and Cynægirus, in his account, appears to have been climbing up into the vessel by the stern, which, supposing her riding on a hawse carried out from the bow, would be depressed for the moment that the latter rose with a swell. Justin's notion rests upon the Homeric standard of men's strength and ships' size. An Athenian in 490 B.C. had too much experience of the sea to attempt to hold a vessel of probably at least eighty tons burthen by seizing it

with his hand.

<sup>263</sup> ἐξ Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων. To this evil report ΠΙΝΔΑΡ seems to allude in an Ode (*Pyth.* vii.) composed in honour of a Megacles, probably the son of Hippocrates, and brother of Agariste (mentioned by Herodotus vi. 131). Böckh considers that the Pythian victory commemorated was in the same year with the battle of Marathon. The poet, felicitating Megacles on his success,—which was by no means the first of the kind,—says, νέε δ' εὐπραγία χάρω τι τὸ δ' ἐχρυμαι Φθόνον ἀμειβόμενον τὰ καλὰ ἔργα. Heyne however places the victory in the year 474 B.C. If the attack upon Miltiades mentioned above, § 164, proceeded from the party of Cleisthenes, no doubt the faction of Miltiades would take advantage of the popularity just acquired by their own leader (below, § 132) to damage the influence of the Alcmaeonids if a favourable occasion offered. It can hardly have been any but that party whom Miltiades had in his eye in his speech to the polemarch (§ 109). They seized the first opportunity to return the blow (§ 136).

<sup>264</sup> περιέπλων. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (F), which last in iv. 156, has ἀνέπλων. See the note 409 on that passage.

<sup>265</sup> ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἑρακλήτῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοςάργει. See note 160, a, on v. 63.

<sup>266</sup> οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι . . . ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην,

117 *Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν ἑννεήκοντα καὶ δύο* ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσούτοι. *συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτοῖσι θῶμα γενέσθαι τοιόνδε* Ἀθηναίων ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηνλον τὸν Κουφαγέρεω ἐν τῇ συστάσει μαχομένον τε καὶ ἄνδρα γνωόμενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὁμμάτων στερηθῆναι, οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βλαβέντα· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔοντα τυφλόν. *λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθους ἤκουσα τοιόνδε τινα λόγον* ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν, τὸ δὲ φᾶσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηνλον ἐπυθόμεν λέγειν.

118 *Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος*<sup>207</sup> ἄμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἐν Μικῶνι, εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ· καὶ ἦτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν· εὐρὼν δὲ ἐν Φοινίσσῃ νηὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἴη; πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς Δῆλον<sup>208</sup>, καὶ ἀπῆκατο γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἱ Δῆλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατίθεται<sup>209</sup> τε ἐς τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι Δηλίοις ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Δῆλον τὸ Θηβαίων τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε. τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον Δῆλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλὰ μιν δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δῆλον. Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης ὡς προσέσχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σούσα· βασιλεὺς

119  
Humane  
treatment  
of the Ero-

"and the barbarians; when in their course they had come off Phalerum with the fleet (for this was at that time the port of the Athenians), brought up off this point, and made sail back to Asia." For the precise meaning of the word ἀνακχεῖν see note on vii. 36.

<sup>207</sup> Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος. The account of the proceedings of the expedition on the Attic shore is exactly of such a kind as one might expect to receive from an Athenian attached to Miltiades's party forty or fifty years after they happened. The present anecdote is as obviously de-

rived from Delos. The account of the well at Arderioca again betrays the ἔμπορος, familiar with the commodities which he was accustomed to ship, and giving the account which he had received from the exporter of the way in which they were procured.

<sup>208</sup> ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς Δῆλον. See note 219 on § 97, above.

<sup>209</sup> κατατίθεται. The manuscript S has, immediately after this word, the two, ἐς Δῆλον, omitting those which appear in the interval in all the other MSS. See note 136 on i. 45.

δὲ Δαρείος, πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἐρετρίας, ἐνείχεται trian prisoners by Darina.  
 σφί δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν Ἐρετρίων  
 ἐπεὶ τε δὲ εἶδὲ σφεας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἐωυτὸν καὶ ὑποχειρίους  
 ἐωυτῷ ὄντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ σφεας τῆς Κισσίας  
 χώρας κατοίκησε ἐν σταθμῷ ἐωυτοῦ τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Ἀρδέρικκα <sup>270</sup>, They are  
 ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ δεκάσιους σταδίους ἀπέχοντι, τεσσα- settled at Ardericca, not far from Susa, and near to the pit which gives oil, salt, and asphalt.  
 ραίοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας ἰδέας· καὶ  
 γὰρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἔλαιον ἀρύσσονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ  
 τοιῷδε· ἀντλέεται μὲν κηληνητῶν ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ, ἡμῖσι ἄσκού οἱ  
 προσδέδεται· ὑποτύφας <sup>271</sup> δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐγχέει ἐς  
 δεξαμενὴν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο διαχεόμενον τρέπεται τριφασίας  
 ὁδοῦς· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἄλας πῆγνυνται παραυτίκα, τὸ δὲ  
 ἔλαιον συνάγουσι ἐν ἀγγείοις, τὸ οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι ραδινάκην <sup>272</sup>.  
 ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὀδυρὸν παρεχόμενον βαρέαν. ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς  
 Ἐρετρίας κατοίκησε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος· οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμὸ ἐἶχον  
 τὴν χώραν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν <sup>273</sup>. τὰ  
 μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἐρετρίας ἔσχε οὕτω.

<sup>270</sup> τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Ἀρδέρικκα. Probably this name is a significant one, and given to several places. The village in the text is entirely different from the one mentioned in i. 185. According to STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 361) these Eretrians were settled among the people "formerly called Caraduchi, and in his time Gordyæi," i. e. Kurds.

<sup>271</sup> ὑποτύφας. All the MSS and Gaisford have ὑποτύφας. But the word ὑποκύντω (the reverse of ἀνακύντω) seems especially applicable to the action denoted here and in ii. 136; iii. 130. The machine described in the text is one similar to that commonly employed in drawing water in Italy and the South of France at this day. The pail is attached to a long pole hung at the longest arm of a long lever, the short arm of which is so heavily weighted with stones, that the empty pail remains on a level with the mouth of the well. In order that water may be raised, the drawer lays hold of the pole, first pulling till the lever is horizontal,—which brings the pail to about the level of the water in the well—and then pushing the pole by stooping, he fills it with water. This part of the action is expressed by the word ὑποκύντειν, and it is obviously exactly the same with that of a person sounding

a pool with a staff (κοπτήρ), or dipping down into a chest full of loose coins with a saucer.

RAWLINSON (*Journal of the Geogr. Soc.* ix. p. 92) imagines that the spot described by Herodotus is Kir Ab (the bitumen water) which is about twenty-eight miles north of Digfúl, a point on the great military road into Media, lat. 32° 10', long. 48° 30'. He says that the liquid bitumen is collected at the present day in the way described by Herodotus;—but "the bitumen pits abound" in the locality in question, and the distance is too great for any site which can be assigned to Susa to allow identification with the φρεα in the text, if the writer be regarded as an eyewitness. See note 267, above.

<sup>272</sup> τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον συνάγουσι ἐν ἀγγείοις, τὸ οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι ραδινάκην. Several MSS have, instead of this sentence, τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο ραδινάκην, and two (b, c), τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι ραδινάκην.

<sup>273</sup> οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμὸ ἐἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν. This clause is omitted in one manuscript (F), and it can scarcely be of the time of Herodotus. Hardly a generation had passed from the time of the engagement at Marathon to his emigration to



120 *Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχιλίοι. μετὰ τὴν παυσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλήν καταλαβεῖν οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἰμείροντο ὁμῶς θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθέσαντο· μετὰ δὲ, αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.*

121 *Θῶμα δέ μοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, Ἀλκμαιωνίδας ἂν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσῃσι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροις τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππῆι.*<sup>274</sup> *οὔτινες μᾶλλον, ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίῃ τῷ Φαινίππῳ, Ἰππουλίκῳ δὲ πατρὶ, φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ὄντες. Καλλίης τε γὰρ μῦθος Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ἐτόλμα, ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνέεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ*

122 *ἔχθιστα ἐς αὐτὸν πάντα ἐμηχανᾶτο. Καλλίῳ δὲ τούτου*<sup>275</sup> *ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην ἐστὶ πάντα τινα ἔχειν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλαλεγμένα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦτο δὲ τὰ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἐποίησε, ἵππῳ νικήσας*<sup>276</sup> *τεθρίππῳ δὲ δεύτερος γενόμενος, Πύθια δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερῶθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας πάντας μεγίστησι δαπάνῃσι· τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐωντοῦ θυγατέρας, εἰούσας τρεῖς, οἷός τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐγένοντο γάμον ὥραϊαι, ἔδωκε σφί δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην, ἐκείνησί τε ἔχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι*

123 *ἄνδρα ἐωντῇ ἐκλέξασθαι ἔδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. Καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ὁμοίως, ἢ οὐδὲν ἥσσον τούτου, ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι*<sup>277</sup>.

Italy, and to notice the fact of a population not having forgotten their language in so short an interval would be absurd.

<sup>274</sup> καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππῆι. Of course if the Alcmaeonids contemplated treachery, it would not have been under the idea of receiving Hippias back again; but to put themselves in the position of vassals of the Persian court and sovereigns of Athens through Persian influence. The writer of the paragraph (see note 277, below) quietly assumes the very point at issue.

<sup>275</sup> Καλλίῳ δὲ τούτου, κ.τ.λ. The whole of this section is wanting in the manuscripts M, K, P, F, δ. Gaisford includes it between brackets.

<sup>276</sup> ἵππῳ νικήσας. This was, according to the SCHOLIAST ON ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 284), in the fifty-fourth Olympiad.

<sup>277</sup> ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι. This is doubtless the light in which the Alcmaeonids wished to appear to their countrymen after the establishment of the democracy. See note 165 on v. 66. But the whole account which Herodotus gives of the early part of the tyranny of Pisistratus (see especially i. 61, 62) is quite at variance with this statement. The whole of the discussion (§§ 121—124) appears to me to proceed from a later hand than Herodotus; and to be of the nature of a note, drawn up by some person well acquainted with the family history of the Alcmaeonids. This may have been afterwards incorporated with the text, and perhaps not long after the age of Herodotus. But it would almost seem that PAUSANIAS (iii. 4. 6) must have used a copy of the work in

θῶμα ὦν μοι, καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολὴν, τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι  
 ἀσπίδα οἷτινες ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους<sup>278</sup>, ἐκ  
 μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα.  
 καὶ οὕτω τὰς Ἀθήνας οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῶ μάλ-  
 λον ἢ περ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὥς ἐγὼ κρίνω οἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ ἐξηγρίωσαν<sup>279</sup> τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισιστρατιδῶν Ἰππαρχον  
 ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἔπαυσαν τοὺς λοιποὺς τυραννεύον-  
 τας Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἐλευθέρωσαν, εἰ δὴ οὗτοί γε  
 ἀληθῶς ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπέλσαντες προσημαίνειν Λακεδαι-  
 μονίοισι ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται<sup>280</sup>.  
 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δῆμῳ προεδίδουσαν 124  
 τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὦν ἦσαν σφεων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἔν γε  
 Ἀθηναίοισι ἄνδρες, οὐδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. οὕτω οὐδὲ λόγος  
 αἰρέει, ἀναδεχθῆναι ἐκ γε ἂν τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ.  
 ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν  
 ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν  
 τούτων.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν 125  
 τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι· ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος, καὶ αὐτῆς Μεγακλέος, ἐγέ-  
 νοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμαίων ὁ Μεγακλέος  
 τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ  
 χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνελάμ-  
 βανε προθύμως· καὶ μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ  
 χρηστήρια φοιτούντων ἐωντὸν εὖ ποιεῖν, μεταπέμπεται ἐς Σάρδεις·

Family history of the Alcmaeonids.

which it did not occur. For the corruption of the Pythian priestess by the Alcmaeonids is here assumed as a point beyond dispute (*ἐκ μηχανῆς τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα*), and Pausanias, in reviewing the different causes assigned for the *mania* of Cleomenes, with a distinct reference to this book (§§ 75, seqq.) settles upon his tampering with the Pythian priestess as the real one, on the ground that Cleomenes was undoubtedly the only man who had ever ventured to corrupt an oracle. When Herodotus speaks of the transaction before, it is rather as a scandalous story (v. 63. 66) than as a likely matter, far less as one beyond all question.

<sup>278</sup> ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς

τυράννους. This statement also is quite incompatible with the former account, but consistent with subsequent professions of the Alcmaeonids. See note 165 on v. 65.

<sup>279</sup> ἐξηγρίωσαν. See note 143 on v. 55.

<sup>280</sup> ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται. The reference is to v. 63. But it will be seen that *there* Herodotus relates the matter as the *Athenian* account (*ὥς ἂν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι*), not as his own positive opinion; whereas the writer of *this* passage treats it as an acknowledged fact, so certain as to test other accounts by their consistency with it. The sentiment of approval too contrasts strongly with that expressed in the case of Cleomenes (above, § 84).

ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῷ τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἑωντοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ· ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαίων πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν ἐοῦσαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε· ἐνδὺς κιθῶνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον πολλὸν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνους τοὺς εὔρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἔοντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἥτε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ κατηγέοντο, ἐσπεσῶν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος, πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρεον οἱ κόθορνοι· μετὰ δὲ, τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος, καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξήιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγις τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τεφ οὐκὼς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξόγκωτο. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσήλθε· καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκείνα διδοί, καὶ πρὸς, ἕτερα δωρέεται οὐκ ἐλάσσῃ ἐκείνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκὴ αὕτη μεγάλως· καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμαίων οὗτος οὕτω τεθρικποτροφήσας, Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναίρεται.<sup>221</sup>

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Their wealth greatly increased by their connexion with

Μετὰ δὲ, γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον, Κλεισθένης μιν ὁ Σικυνῶνος τύραννος ἐξήειρε, ὥστε πολλῷ ὀνομαστοτέρην γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἢ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένῃ γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνίμου<sup>222</sup> τοῦ Μύρωνος<sup>223</sup> τοῦ Ἀνδρέως<sup>224</sup> γίνεται θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀγα-

<sup>221</sup> Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναίρεται. The client of ISOCRATES (*De Bigis*, p. 351), himself an Alcmaeonid (see note 165 on v. 65), says that Alcmaeon was the first Athenian citizen who obtained a prize at Olympia with a pair (*εὐνεί*). And that only one Alcmaeonid had been an Olympian victor at the time of the battle of Marathon follows from the expression of PINDAR (*Pyth.* vii. 13): *μία δ' ἐκπρεπὴς Διὶς Ὀλυμπίας*. The word *τεθρικποτροφήσας* must therefore be taken in a general sense. See note 206 on v. 77.

<sup>222</sup> Κλεισθένῃ γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνίμου. The founder of the dynasty at Sicyon was Orthagoras (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. p. 1315; see note 169 on v. 67), and Clisthenes was one of his descendants; but it is not easy to say in exactly what relation he stood to him. If Orthagoras was the *father* of Andreas, it is strange that Herodotus should not have continued the pedigree up to him, supposing him to have followed the same accounts with Aristotle.

<sup>223</sup> τοῦ Μύρωνος. From a notice in ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1316): *μεταβόλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα τυραννίς*, (*ὥστε* ἢ

Σικυνῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθένης,) καὶ εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, (*ὥστε* ἢ ἐν Χαλκίδι ἢ Ἀργιλέοντος,) καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν, (*ὥστε* ἢ τῶν Γέλωνος ἐν Σαρακοῦσαις,) καὶ εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, (*ὥστε* ἢ Χαριλάου ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι, καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι), it is plain that a decided change took place in the constitution of Sicyon between the time of Myron and that of Clisthenes. Both were dynasts, but the form of their power was different. It seems not unlikely that the change consisted in the relative depression of the Dorian agriculturists and the elevation of the Achaean mercantile population. (See note 169 on v. 67.)

<sup>224</sup> τοῦ Ἀνδρέως. This name, which is very rare in subsequent times, appears in the mythical history of the foundation of Orchomenus, where a son of the river Peneus (who formed a settlement, the vicinity of which was afterwards called Ἀνδρηίς γῆ) bears that name. (PAUSANIAS ix. 34, 6.) It seems not unreasonable to suppose from this that the name prevailed among the Orchomenians in later times. Perhaps therefore the An-

ρίστη· ταύτην ἠθέλησε, Ἑλλήνων πάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν ἄριστον, *Cleisthenes of Sicyon.* τούτῳ γυναῖκα προσθεῖναι. Ὀλυμπίων ὧν ἐόντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθρίππῳ ὁ Κλεισθένης, κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅστις Ἑλλήνων ἐωντὸν ἀξιοῖ Κλεισθέneos γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἤκειν ἐς ἐξηκοστήν ἡμέρην ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα, ὡς κυρώσουτος Κλεισθέneos τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πᾶτρη ἐξωγκωμένοι, ἐφοίτεον μνηστήρες τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαιστρην ποιησάμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλῆς **127** ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἱπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ *List of the suitors.* χλιδῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπῖκετο<sup>283</sup>. ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἤκμαζε τούτου τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα· καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος, Ἀμύριος<sup>284</sup> τοῦ σοφοῦ

dreas of the text may have been a wealthy Orchomenian merchant, settled at Sicyon, in the same way in which Demaratus the Corinthian was settled at Tarquinii. It is conceivable that the splendour of Cleisthenes's family may have been due mainly to the wealth acquired by the Orthagorid house through an alliance with this stranger, and this circumstance may account for the pedigree going up to Andreas and no farther. (See note 282, above.) It is to be remarked, that Sicyon was *not* one of the confederate cities which formed the Orchomenian commercial league meeting at Calauria, (see STRABO cited in note on viii. 41, *οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα*), and this, at first sight, may seem to render any alliance between a Sicyonian and an Orchomenian unlikely. But if Andreas was (like Demaratus) a political exile, exactly the course most likely for him to take would be to find refuge with a commercial rival. And here perhaps another clue may be found to the extreme hostility of his descendant Cleisthenes to every thing Argive, about the cause of which Herodotus leaves us entirely in the dark (above, v. 67). Argos succeeded Nauplia as a member of the Calaurian Heptapolis, and in the time of Cleisthenes must have been the most important of the seven confederates.

<sup>283</sup> *ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπῖκετο.* Compare THUCYD. viii. 68: *πλείστα εἰς ἀνὴρ θυράμενος ὠφελεῖν.* XENOPHON, *Anab.* i. 9. 22: *θῶρα πλείστα μὲν, οἰμαι, εἰς γε ἀνὴρ ὧν ἐλάμβανε.* *Æsch. Pers.* 327: *εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον ἐχθροῖς παρασχόν.* Translate: "who reached the highest pitch of luxury

of any individual." ARISTOTLE related that Smindyrides had a robe made of so gorgeous a character, that it attracted more admiration than any other object whatever that was exhibited at the panegyris of the Lacinian Here. The tradition ran that the elder Dionysius, afterwards obtaining possession of this garment, sold it to the Carthaginians for 120 talents. The name of Smindyrides in later times became the peg to hang all stories of inordinate luxury upon. He is made the hero of the well-known narrative of the crumpled rose-leaf by *ÆLIAN.* (*Var. Hist.* ix. 24.) On the occasion of his visit to Sicyon his suite consisted of a thousand persons, employed in catching fish or birds, or in dressing them. (*ATHENÆUS*, vi. p. 273.) *ÆLIAN* converts this into one thousand of each sort. (*Ib.* xii. 24.) One of the most genuine in appearance of the anecdotes of this celebrated Sybarite is that he declared that for the space of twenty years he had never seen the sun either rise or set. (*CHAMÆLEON or THOPHRASTUS, ap. Athen.* l. c.)

<sup>284</sup> *Δάμασος, Ἀμύριος.* This is the reading of Gaisford; but most of the MSS have *Δάμας ὁ Σαμύριος.* The form in the text however appears to be the true one from a proverb which obtained currency (*μαίνεται Ἀμυρίς*), applied to those whose sagacity is great, but who are so much a-head of the world as to be regarded as foolish by it. Amyris recognized the fulfilment of an oracle, "that Sybaris would fall as soon as men should be treated with greater reverence than the gods." A slave having committed some offence took re-

λεγομένου πάϊς· οὔτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλῆς ἦλθον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἴονιου, Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἴονιου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε, Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἑλλήνας ἰσχυρὴ καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρας, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου<sup>257</sup> ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης· ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου, Φεῖδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου πάϊς Λεωκίδης, Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἑλεῖων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπῇ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε<sup>258</sup>. τοῦτου τε δὴ πάϊς, καὶ Ἀμίαντος Λυκούργου, Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζούντος· καὶ Ἀξὴν ἐκ Παλίου πόλιος Λαφάνης, Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε (ὥς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται) τοὺς Διοσκόρους οἰκίοισι<sup>259</sup> καὶ

fuge in a temple, but his master caring nothing for this inflicted summary punishment on him therein. On this he fled to the tomb of his master's father, and this procured the remission of his offence. Amyris observing this, sold his landed property and left the country. (*Proverbia Diogeniana*, iii. 26.) Probably *Siris* was the place where he settled.

<sup>257</sup> Τιτόρμου. Several MSS have Τιτέρμου. The later anecdotes of this giant make him a herdsman. *ÆLIAN* (*Var. Hist.* xii. 22) relates a contest between him and the celebrated Milo, similar in its character to that which the old ballads describe between Robin Hood and Little John. Milo rolls with difficulty an enormous stone; Titormus lifts it and carries it for a distance of eight fathoms. He catches a furious bull by the hoof (compare Τηροκίττος, iv. 35), and on another coming up to assist the first, he seizes it in the same way with his other hand. Milo allows himself to be fairly beaten.

<sup>258</sup> Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα . . . τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπῇ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε. This clause has been considered an interpolation, from the circumstance that it is a chronological impossibility to bring the Phidon, who expelled the Eleans from their presidency at the Olympic games, down to the time of a man whose father entertained the ambassadors of Croesus on the occasion recorded in i. 47 and vi. 125. The time of Phidon is securely ascertained by the fact that the Eleans refused to register the Olympiad in which the intrusion took place. This was the twenty-ninth (*STRABO*, viii. c. 3, p. 173 and 178), a time which also har-

monizes well with the genealogy attributed to Phidon, that makes him tenth from Temenus, and therefore about three centuries later than the time given to the Heraclide invasion. His son therefore could not have been the rival for the hand of Agariste with the father of the Clisthenes who 170 years after the date of Phidon's usurpation was in active public life at Athens. But it seems unwarranted to criticize the features of such a narrative on bare historical grounds. The whole account appears to be derived from the private traditions of one of the great Hellenic families which constituted a commercial aristocracy in the early times, until they at last received their death-blow by the revolution of Clisthenes and the circumstances springing out of the Persian invasion. (See note 176 on v. 68.) A greater objection than any derived from chronological inaccuracy seems to be that the introduction of an Argive suitor is out of keeping with the known antipathies of Clisthenes. (See v. 67.) All the other competitors are of the ancient ante-dorian blood. Without Leocedes too, they are twelve in number.

<sup>259</sup> τοῦ δεξαμένου τοὺς . . . Διοσκόρους οἰκίοισι. A legend of these gods, wandering under the form of men and requesting hospitality, is found elsewhere. At Lacedæmon the house of Phormio was shown, where the Dioscuri were thus received. (*PAUSANIAS*, iii. 16. 3.) The story of Baucis and Philemon is another form of the same legend (*OVIN*, *Metamorph.* viii. 626, *segg.*), in which Jupiter and Mercury take the place of the twins. In this shape

ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους· καὶ Ἡλείος Ὀνομαστός Ἀγαίου οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον. ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπικοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροίσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἴπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου<sup>290</sup>, πλούτῳ καὶ εἶδει προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρετριῆς, ἀνθεύσης τούτον τὸν χρόνον, Λυσανίης· οὗτος δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης μόνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων<sup>291</sup> Διακτοριδῆς Κρανώνιος· ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἀλκων τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστήρες. Ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης 128 πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου μετὰ δὲ, κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειράτο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίης καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, καὶ παιδεύσιός τε καὶ τρόπου καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἰῶν ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συνάπασι, καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιά τε ἐξαγνέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ, τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεσίῃ διεπειράτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατεῖχε χρόνον αὐτοὺς, τούτου πάντα ἐποίεε καὶ ἅμα ἐξεΐνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως. καὶ δὴ κου μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἡρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων ἀπυγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἴπποκλείδης ὁ Τισάνδρου καὶ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην ἐκρίνετο, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἀνέκαθε<sup>292</sup> τοῖσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδῃσι ἦν προσήκων. Ὡς 129 δὲ ἡ κυρὴ ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθέneos, τὸν κρίναι ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἑκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχῃ αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ τοὺς Σικυωνίους πάντας· ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔρω εἶχον ἀμφὶ τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον προΐούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος, κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους<sup>293</sup> ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης, ἐκέλευε οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμέλειαν<sup>294</sup>. πειθομένου

*Hippocides, the most accomplished of the suitors, throws away his own chance. Origin of the proverb οὐ φρον-τις ἴστω-κλίδῃ.*

it was a current belief in Lycaonia in the first century of the Christian era (*Acts* xiv. 12). GRIMM (*Deutsche Mythologie*, xix.) points out the various forms which the same story took in the Scandinavian mythology, and the adaptation of these to several mediæval fictions. The legend was old in the time of Pindar (HYGINUS, *Poet. Astron.* c. 34), who, probably in his Dithyrambs, related a tale based upon it.

<sup>290</sup> Ἴπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου. Both these names come into the pedigree of Miltiades's family (see above, note 84 on § 35), but a Miltiades is interposed be-

tween them.

<sup>291</sup> τῶν Σκοπαδέων. See Perizonius on *ÆLIAN* (Var. *Hist.* xii. 1).

<sup>292</sup> τὰ ἀνέκαθε. Gaisford, with all the MSS but one, has τὸ ἀνέκαθε. But the other phrase seems almost a technical one in Herodotus. See note 166 on v. 62.

<sup>293</sup> κατέχων . . τοὺς ἄλλους. This phrase seems to express the entire superiority of Hippocides to the rest. He "had them in his hands." See note 55 on v. 21.

<sup>294</sup> ἐμμέλειαν. This was the grave measure appropriate to *tragedy*. It seems not impossible that what Clisthenes had

δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέω, ὀρχήσατο· καί κως ἐνωτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο, ὁ δὲ Κλεισθένης ὀρέων ὄλον τὸ πρήγμα ὑπόπτει· μετὰ δὲ, ἐπισχὼν ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης χρόνον, ἐκέλευε τινα τράπεζαν ἐσελεύκαι· ἐσελεύουσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης, πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Δακωνικὰ σχημάτια· μετὰ δὲ, ἄλλα Ἀττικά· τὸ τρίτον δὲ, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε<sup>195</sup>. Κλεισθένης δὲ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου ἀποστρυγέων γαμβρὸν ἃν οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἴπποκλείδεα, διὰ τὴν τε ὀρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδεῖαν, κατεῖχε ἐνωτὸν οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγήναι ἐς αὐτόν· ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονόμησαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε· “ὦ παῖ Τισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὴν τὸν γάμον” ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· “οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ<sup>196</sup>.” ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο οὐνομάζεται. Κλεισθένης δὲ συγὴν ποιησάμενος, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε· “ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστήρες, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, εἰ οἷόν τε εἴη, χαριζομένην ἂν, μήτ' ἓνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων· ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἷά τέ ἐστι μῆς πέρι παρθένου βουλευόντα πᾶσι κατὰ νόον ποιέειν, τοῖσι μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελαινόμενοιςι τοῦδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστῳ δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἵνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι, καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημίας· τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος Μεγακλεί<sup>197</sup> ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμήν Ἀγαρίστην, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων” φαιμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος, ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένει.

130

Agariste is given to Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, and the marriage takes place according to the Athenian rites.

131

Of this Agariste was born Clisthenes, the great reformer of the Athenian polity,

Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων, γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας, ἔχων τὸ οὐνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικωνίου· οὗτός τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλεί, καὶ Ἴπποκράτης.

carried out with regard to the religious worship of Sicyon had something to do with his uneasy feelings on seeing Hippocles commence his performance. He had severed the ritual of Adrastus into two parts, and appropriated the least important—the choruses—to Dionysus; and it would seem that this was the only portion which the devotees of Adrastus could accept. (See v. 67, and note 172.) Hippocles therefore by what he did, even at the first, identified himself in a manner

with that class of Clisthenes's subjects for which he had the greatest dislike.

<sup>195</sup> ἐχειρονόμησε. See note 351 on ii. 121.

<sup>196</sup> οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ. The proper application of the proverb is to persons so light-hearted, or careless, as to let no misfortune affect them even for a minute.

<sup>197</sup> τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος Μεγακλεί. The manuscripts M, P, K, F have merely Μεγακλεί δέ.

ἐκ δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος, Μεγακλῆς τε ἄλλος, καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη, whose niece (also called Agastis) was the mother of Pericles, by Xanthippus, son of Arifhron.  
 ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὔνομα· ἡ συνοικήσασά  
 τε Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος ἐούσα εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ  
 ὕπνῳ· ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίττει Περι-  
 κλέα Ξανθίππῳ.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρώμα γενόμενον, Μιλτιάδης καὶ πρό- 132  
 τερον εὐδοκίμῳ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι τότε μᾶλλον αὖξετο<sup>a</sup> αἰτήσας  
 δὲ νέας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατιὴν τε καὶ χρήματα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,  
 οὐ φράσας σφί ἐπ' ἣν ἐπιστρατεύεται χώραν, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς  
 καταπλουτιεῖν ἣν οἱ ἔπωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώραν τοιαύτην δὴ τινα  
 ἄξειν ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαῦτα,  
 αἴτεε τὰς νέας· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦτοισι ἐπαρθέντες παρέδωκαν.  
 Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατιὴν ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Πάρῳ, 133  
 πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς οἱ Πάριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι στρατευόμενοι  
 τριήρεϊ ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. (τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα  
 λόγου ἦν ἀτὰρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοισι διὰ Λυσα-  
 γόρεα τὸν Τισίω, ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς  
 Ἰδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσῃ<sup>b</sup>.) ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν ἔπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης  
 τῇ στρατιῇ ἐπολιόρκεε Παρίους, κατειλημένους ἐντὸς τεύχεος· καὶ  
 ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἴτεε ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, φὰς, ἣν μὴ οἱ δῶσι, οὐκ  
 ἀπαναστήσειν τὴν στρατιὴν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ σφέας· οἱ δὲ Πάριοι  
 ὅκως μὲν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ ἀργυρίου οὐδὲ διανοεῖντο· οἱ δὲ unsuccess-  
fully.  
 ὅκως διαφυλάξουσιν τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμψυγνῶντο, ἀλλὰ τε ἐπι-

<sup>a</sup> ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. p. 1304) speaks of the effect of the battle of Marathon as having been to raise the influence of the court of Areopagus, and increase the aristocratic character of the Athenian government, while, on the other hand, the feats of the ναυτικοὶ ὄχλος at Salamis democratised it. The inhabitants of the Piræus were, in his time, more democratically inclined than those of the city. (*Ib.* v. p. 1303.)

<sup>b</sup> πρὸς Ἰδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσῃ. A Hydarnes is mentioned in the narrative given below (vii. 136) as having the same command on the coast of Asia Minor, which above (v. 26) is said to have been entrusted to Otanes. But Otanes does not appear to have been superseded until just before the first expedition of Mardonius,—and

then, apparently, by Mardonius absorbing his command and also that of others in the higher powers which he had received. See vi. 43. A year before this Miltiades had left the Chersonese; so that the calumny in question must have taken place at an earlier period. But Otanes was appointed immediately after Darius's return from Scythia, before he left Sardis (v. 26). If therefore the stories belong to the same cycle of accounts, we must suppose Hydarnes about the person of Darius before being appointed to his command, and in this capacity to have been influenced by Lysagoras. A Hydarnes was one of the seven conspirators (iii. 70); but if he is the individual here meant, it is strange that the circumstance should not be mentioned.



134  
The Parian  
account of  
the misfor-  
tune which  
befel him.

φραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἔσκε ἐκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος, τοῦτο ἅμα νυκτὶ ἐξήρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου. Ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὧδε λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναικα, εἶσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, οὐνομα δὲ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκωρον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν ταύτην δὲ ἐλθούσαν ἐς ὄψιν Μιλτιάδω συμβουλευσαί οἱ, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται Πάρον ἐλεῖν, τὰ ἂν αὐτῇ ὑποβῇται ταῦτα ποιεῖεν μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἔοντα τὸ ἔρκος θεσμοφόρου Διμήτρος ὑπερβορέην, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι ὑπερβορόντα δὲ ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τι δὴ ποιήσουντα ἐντὸς, εἴτε κινήσουντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὃ τι δήποτε πρήξοντα πρὸς τῇσι θύρῃσι τε γενέσθαι, καὶ πρόκατε<sup>300</sup> φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης, ὅπισω τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἵεσθαι καταθράσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασίην τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ

135 γόνυ προσπταῖσαι λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδης μὲν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἕξ καὶ εἰκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὥς ἡ ὑποζάκωρος τῶν θεῶν Τιμῶ Μιλτιάδῃ κατηγήσατο<sup>301</sup>, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεσπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίῃ τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρήσονται τὴν ὑποζάκωρον τῶν θεῶν ὥς ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφῆναισαν<sup>302</sup> Μιλτιάδῃ ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα, οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναι οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα· Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίῃ ἔχρησε.

136  
On his re-  
turn to

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρον Μιλτιάδεα ἀπουοστήσαντα ἔσχον ἐν στόμασι οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος<sup>303</sup>. ὃς

<sup>300</sup> πρόκατε. This form of πρόκα is found four times in Herodotus. See note 302 on i. 111.

<sup>301</sup> κατηγήσατο. See note 161 on ii. 49, and that on vii. 183.

<sup>302</sup> ἐκφῆναισαν, "as having exhibited." The difference between the office of the ἐξηγῆτης and the ἱεροφάντης is well shown by this sentence. Timo was supposed to

have "instructed Miltiades what course to pursue" (ἐξηγήσασθαι) in order to capture Paros, but to have "exhibited" (ἐκφῆναι) to him the sacred symbols, which no male might behold. See note on 141 on ii. 49 (with which compare PLATO, *Legg.* xii. § 9).

<sup>303</sup> Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος. See note 263 on § 116, above.

θανάτου υπαγαγὼν<sup>a</sup> ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθη- Athens his  
ναίων ἀπάτης εὐνεκεν Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπε- enemies en-  
λογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ προκειμένου deavour to  
δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίῃ ὑπεραπολογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν ruin him,  
Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρε- and partially  
σιν<sup>303</sup>, ὥς ἐλὼν Λήμνόν τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρ- succeed.  
έδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν  
ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου<sup>a</sup>, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντή-  
κοντα ταλάντοισι, Μιλτιάδης μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε  
τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾷ, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα  
ἐξέτισε ὁ πᾶς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.

Λήμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὧδε ἔσχε<sup>a</sup> Πελασγοί, ἐπεὶ τε 137  
ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὧν δὴ δικαίως Circum-  
εἴτε ἀδίκως (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα) [ὅτι stances un-  
'Εκαταῖος<sup>304</sup> μὲν ὁ Ἠγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων der which  
ἀδίκως· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώραν, τὴν σφισι Miltiades  
αὐτοῖσι<sup>305</sup> ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰμνησὸν εὐύσαν ἔδοσαν οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ obtained  
possession  
of Lemnos.

<sup>a</sup> υπαγαγόν. The MSS vary between this and the simple form. The latter is found without any variation in § 104: ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, and the former in § 82: νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ὑπὸν οἱ ἔχθροί τοις ἐφύρους.

<sup>303</sup> τὴν Λήμνον αἵρεσιν. These words in the accusative case, coupled (as they conceived) with a genitive, τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μ., have caused some discussion among the commentators, which perhaps was aided by the injudicious punctuation. But there is no difficulty at all in the passage if a comma only be placed after αἵρεσιν. Translate: "His friends made a defence for him, in which they both frequently introduced a reference to the battle at Marathon, and spoke of the capture of Lemnos, how that he took Lemnos, and after punishing the Pelasgians, made the island over to the Athenians." Τὴν Λήμνον αἵρεσιν is what has sometimes been called the *accusativus de quo*. The friends of Miltiades did not make that topic the staple of their argument, as they did the battle of Marathon. If they had, Herodotus would have written τῆς Λήμνου αἰρέσεως. But they gave a turn to the fact of his having captured Lemnos, by

representing it as a feat of vengeance for offences committed against the Athenians long before,—ὥς ἐλὼν, κ.τ.λ. See note 315 on § 140, below.

<sup>a</sup> If PLATO may be trusted, his escape was a very narrow one. Μιλτιάδην δὲ τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν πρύτανιν, ἐνέπεσεν ἄν. (*Gorgias*, § 163.)

<sup>304</sup> ὅτι Ἐκαταῖος μὲν, κ.τ.λ. I have included the remainder of this section between brackets, not from any notion of its being spurious, but because it seems undoubtedly to be of the nature of a note, although not improbably from the hand of the author himself.

<sup>305</sup> σφισι αὐτοῖσι. It has been proposed to erase αὐτοῖσι, or to read αὐτοί, referring it to the Athenians. But it is to be observed that here a statement is being copied from Hecataeus's work; and if Hecataeus gave the account as the Pelasgian one, making *them* tell the story (by introducing it with some such phrase as ὥς δὲ Λήμνιοι λέγουσι), σφισιν αὐτοῖσι, "themselves," would be the proper expression to use. The same explanation will account for the use of αὐτοῖς below, i. e. "the Pelasgians."

τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτε ἐληλαμένον ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὖ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι<sup>306</sup> κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἥμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαίνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προῖσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι· κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἑμπεδοκλῆϊ, ἐνθεύτην ὁρμεωμένους ἀδικεῖν τάδε· φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας<sup>307</sup> ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑννεάκρουνον<sup>308</sup>. (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι οἰκέτας) ὅπως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐταί, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίας βιάσθαι σφεας· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφίσι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλευόντας ἐπιχειρήσειν φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ· ἐνωτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνωνας, ὅσῳ παρὲν αὐτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς (ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλευόντας) οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξίεναι· τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας, ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λήμνον<sup>309</sup>. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.] Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λήμνον τότε νεμόμενοι, καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὁρτάς, πεντηκοντέρους στησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρώνι ἀγούσας ὁρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας· ἐνθεύτην δὲ ἀρπάσαντες τουτέων πολλὰς οἴχοντο ἀποπλέοντες· καὶ σφεας ἐς Λήμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον· ὥς δὲ τέκνων αὐταὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν

<sup>306</sup> τὴν πρότερον εἶναι. This expression has caused some difficulty to the commentators from their not remarking that τὴν is the relative pronoun, not the article.

<sup>307</sup> One manuscript (S) omits the words καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, and Schäfer and Bekker not only omit them, but the particle τε which precedes them. But there seems no sufficient reason for this proceeding. No doubt the practice in antiquity was for the women of the family to be ὕδροφόροι. Here however the additional words do not oppose this fact. Translate: "Their daughters with the children used to go after water." That Herodotus considered the daughters as the important feature in

the story is evident from the gender of σφετέρας, and of αὐταὶ two lines below.

<sup>308</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑννεάκρουνον. THUCYDIDES speaks of this spring, which was called *Callirrhoe* originally, as being in the oldest part of the city with the exception of the acropolis (ii. 15). It is to be looked for under the south-eastern part of the hill. It was beautified by the Pisistratids, and from its separation into nine outlets got the name of *Enneacrunus*.

<sup>309</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ Λήμνον. From Lemnos (according to the tradition followed in iv. 145) they expelled the grandchildren of the Argonauts, who thereupon went as suppliants to Taygetum.

Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας· οἱ δὲ οὔτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παισὶ ἤθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοντό τις αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τινός, ἐβοηθέον τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλήλοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παιδῶν οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίειν, καὶ πολλὸν ἐπεκράτεον μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἑωντοῖσι λόγοις ἐδίδοσαν καὶ σφίσι βουλευομένοισι δεινὸν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγωνώσκοιεν σφίσι τε βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν<sup>310</sup> τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πευράτο, τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι; ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοξε σφί κτείνειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δὲ σφῶν καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου<sup>311</sup> καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα θόαντι ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Δήμνια καλέεσθαι. Ἀποκτείνاسι δὲ τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι τοὺς σφετέρους<sup>139</sup> παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, οὔτε γῇ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποῖμναι ὁμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πιεζόμενοι δὲ λιμῷ τε καὶ ἀπαιδίῃ, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον λύσιν τινα αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίοισι δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δικάσωσι· ἡλθόν τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ, καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανίῳ κλίνην στρώσαντες ὥς εἶχον κάλλιστα, καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλήν ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώρην σφίσι παραδιδόναι οὕτω ἔχουσιν οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν “ἐπεὰν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν νηὺς ἐξανύσῃ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, τότε παραδώσομεν” τοῦτο εἶπαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦτο εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον κέεται πολλὸν τῆς Δήμνου. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα· ἔτεσι δὲ κάρτα πολλοῖσι<sup>140</sup>

<sup>310</sup> κουριδιέων γυναικῶν. See note 463 on i. 135.

<sup>311</sup> ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου. It is not difficult to see that Herodotus is here following a popular Attic tradition. The early pride of the children is a feature showing the Athenian origin of the legend. For another tradition relative to the Pelasgian

neighbours of the Athenians, see note 150 on ii. 51. Another origin still may be assigned to the proverb. *Lemnos* was a name of the μεγάλη θεός, and virgins were habitually sacrificed to her. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sud* v. Λήμνος, apparently following Hecataeus.)

ὑστερον τούτων <sup>312</sup>, ὡς ἡ Χερσόνησος ἡ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι <sup>313</sup>, Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος, ἐτῆσιέων ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων νηὶ κατανύσας ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἐς Δῆμον, προηγόρευε ἐξίναί ἐκ τῆς νήσου τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι, ἀναμνήσκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἥλπισαν σφίσι οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελέεσθαι. Ἐφαιστιέες <sup>314</sup> μὲν νυν ἐπείθοντο Μυριναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσόνησον Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἐς δ' αὐτοὶ παρέστησαν οὕτω δὴ τὴν Δῆμον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης <sup>315</sup>.

<sup>312</sup> ἔτεσι κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὑστερον τούτων. The outrage upon the Athenian women was conceived to have taken place in the third generation after the Argonautic expedition. (See the note 309 on § 137.) Miltiades's justification of an act of violence by the plea of a mythical event supposed to have taken place centuries before, is quite in keeping with the feeling of pagan antiquity to its very close. TACITUS makes the Asiatic cities, when pleading for certain privileges before the Roman senate, urge mythical tales of their origin as an argument. The Ætolians too were said to have obtained the privilege of self-government from the Romans, on the ground that their ancestors, alone of all the Greeks, had abstained from joining the expedition against Troy. (STRABO, x. p. 348.) But the mediæval history of England furnishes a perfectly parallel case. "In a dispute which took place during the reign of Edward I. between England and Scotland, the descent of the kings of England from *Brute the Trojan* was solemnly embodied in a document put forth to sustain the rights of the crown of England, as an argument bearing on the case then in discussion, and it passed without attack from the opposing party." (GOSSE, *History of Greece*, i. p. 639.)

<sup>313</sup> ὡς ἡ Χερσόνησος . . ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. This is the form under which Athenian vanity, after the complete establishment of the popular government, was disposed to represent the dynasty of Miltiades. Compare the account (probably from family tradition) which Herodotus gives above, § 39. A precisely similar perversion of historical truth appears in the case of Sigeum. See note 271 on v. 94, and 276 on v. 96.

<sup>314</sup> Ἐφαιστιέες. See note 372 on iv. 145.

<sup>315</sup> οὕτω δὴ τὴν Δῆμον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης. A curious passage is preserved in STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub* v. Ἐφαιστία) which throws remarkable light on this transaction. CHARAX in his *Chronica* related the capture of the Myræans by Miltiades, and added : τῶν δ' Ἐφαιστιέων τύραννος ὃν φοβηθεὶς τὴν δύναμιν ἔφη χαρίζμενος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φίλοις οὐκ ἐμπέδουν τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν, καὶ ἀμαχεὶ παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν. Valcknaer supposes that in the word ὃν exist the relics of Ἑρμῶν (of whom it is related that the expression Ἑρμῶνιος χάρις became a proverb from the circumstance that he βασιλεύων τῶν Πελασγῶν ἐξέστη τῆς χώρας, τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ Δαρῆου τὴν δύναμιν φοβηθεὶς, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἐκὼν διδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν χάριν. ZENOBIUS, *Proverb. Cent.* iii. 85). But it is quite a gratuitous assumption that Hermon was tyrant of Pelasgians in Lemnos. He might have been so of those in Imbros (see v. 26), or those in Scylace or Placie, or several other places in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. But as applied to Miltiades, the matter admits of a very plausible solution. When the revolt against Darius stimulated by Aristagoras broke out, Lemnos was under Persian rule, and Lycaretus, brother of Meandrius, satrap there (v. 27). The Ionians having for the moment command of the seas (v. 103), of course cut off all communication between Lemnos and Imbros and the main, and this gave an excellent opportunity to Miltiades (of which it can hardly be doubted he took advantage) to pounce upon the island from his eyrie in the Chersonese. The Lemnians, having no common interest with

the Ionians, would find no sympathy from the allies, and Miltiades would be enabled to secure his prize as the price of his adhesion to the revolution. When the overwhelming Persian force at last obliged him to take refuge in Athens, the jealousy of the Alcmaeonids would be excited by his presence, and they would endeavour to fix a charge upon him of having played the dynast in the Chersonese (§ 104), a charge which the contrast between Lemnos and the Ionian cities, whose tyrants were expelled (v. 37), would be a most powerful argument to confirm. But his pre-

sence of mind did not fail him. He admitted the fact of his being dynast over the Hephæstians, but pleaded that this *δυναμὶς* (an euphemism for *δυναστεία*) was what clinched (*ἐμπεδοῦν*) the surrender of the Pelasgians. *He* was only the instrument of fulfilling the omen! Lemnos *belonged* to the Athenians! Such a *coup* as this would naturally lead not only to his acquittal, but his immediate election as *στρατηγός*. (See note 238 on § 104.) Hermon was less fortunate or less shrewd.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἙΚΤΗ.

## EXCURSUS ON VI. 102.

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Καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεύτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνισπένδει  
καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἑρετρίας, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγγέστο Ἰππίης ὁ Πειω-  
στράτω.

There are several points connected with the account of the battle of Marathon which are very difficult to explain. COLONEL LEAKE has employed a chapter of the Appendix to his work on *Athens and the Demi of Attica* in the examination of them, but has not, in my opinion, altogether cleared up the subject.

One difficulty, perhaps the greatest of all, arises from the circumstance that although Hippias, who acted as guide to the invading army, is expressly stated to have selected Marathon as the point for debarkation, partly from its adaptation to the employment of cavalry,—an arm in which the Persians were notoriously superior,—no mention of the use of cavalry appears in the account of the engagement. And that, from some cause or other, the invaders were not able to avail themselves of the advantage they possessed in this respect, may be inferred from the proverbial expression *χωρὶς ἱππέως* ("the cavalry are away"), which, according to SUIDAS (*sub v.*), arose from the very fact of their absence at the time of the engagement, and of the advantage which the Athenians derived from the knowledge of that circumstance.

Colonel Leake accounts for this, as well as for some other features in the narrative of Herodotus, by imputing to the Persian commanders an amount of imbecility which nothing but the strongest

direct testimony would warrant. He supposes that on landing their cavalry, and finding that there was "insufficient space for them in the plain of Marathon within the marshes, they were placed in some neighbouring plain, without any means of passing either those barriers or the mountains; and that on the day of action they were not even within sight of it." He also remarks it as a very difficult thing to explain, why the Persians should have remained inactive during the nine complete days which elapsed between the moment when the Athenians arrived in the presence of the enemy and the time of the battle. "It is even difficult to conceive (he says) how it happened that with such numbers as ancient authors have ascribed to them, and straitened for room as they must have been in the plain of Marathon, they did not spread on every side, until they had gradually occupied all the hills around the plain, had ascertained the weakness of their adversaries, and had found the means of surrounding and attacking them on the flanks and rear. But it is clear from Herodotus that no such consequences took place; that the invaders did not even venture to penetrate into the valley of Marathóna, which was open to them; but that they remained irresolute in their maritime position until the Athenians attacked them."

That the Persians expected to fight almost immediately upon their landing seems likely from the part taken by Hippias on that occasion. He himself at once drew up the troops on the debarkation being effected,—and so little did he appear to consider success certain, that he prudently got the ships afloat (probably by carrying a hawse off) as soon as ever they touched the beach (*καταγόμενας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ἔρριψε οὖτως*, § 107). These provisions indicate a cautious temper rather than an irresolute one. Hippias, if he expected to be attacked while the debarkation was going on, took the most judicious measures to defend himself. The bowmen from the ships, they riding in just enough water to float them, could have effectually covered the troops while forming on the beach, and, in the event of their being driven back by the Greeks, would have very much facilitated their re-embarkation. That in fact they did this on the day of the engagement is very likely, from the circumstance, that in spite of the asserted panic-flight of the Persians, the victors succeeded in capturing only seven vessels.

Now, as Herodotus goes into these details of the mode of debark-



ation, it is remarkable that he should say nothing of the landing of the horses,—an extremely difficult operation at all times in the face of an enemy,—and an especially interesting one on this occasion, as the adaptation of the plain for cavalry is explicitly stated to be Hippias's motive for selecting the site he did. I believe the real reason of this omission is, that in fact no horses in any numbers were yet landed. They *had been* debarked at Eretria, as Herodotus mentions (§ 101), little more than a week before, and there, I conceive, they still remained. There was no difficulty found in landing them *there*; for the power of the Eretrians was, at least in their own opinion, so inferior to that of the Persians, that the former had no thoughts of resisting in any other way than by shutting themselves up within their own walls<sup>1</sup> (§ 101).

But now the question occurs, why should not the cavalry have been carried at once to Marathon? They were not so, I conceive, because of the much greater difficulty of landing them in the face of an opposing force such as Hippias's proceeding shows him to have anticipated. His plan apparently was in the first instance to form a *lodgment* on the coast, by means of which he might cover the landing of the cavalry, without fear of an attack during the operation. This preliminary step having been effected, intelligence could easily be sent to Eubœa, and the horses transported from the good quarters in which they had been left in the country of the Hippobotæ, to the barren hills of Attica, exactly at the time when their services would be required. If, instead of maintaining their important position at the temple of Heracles, the Athenians had retreated upon Athens, Hippias would doubtless have done as his father did under similar circumstances forty-seven years before; he would himself have occupied the position evacuated by them. He would then have sent for his cavalry; and on their arrival have moved up the valley and entered the plain of Athens. But the position of the Greeks seems to have been so skilfully selected as to present an almost impregnable barrier to the invaders, so long as there remained resolution to maintain it. The plain of Marathon is enclosed by the heights of

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is to this circumstance the taunt of Themistocles alludes (PLUTARCH. *Themist.* § 11): τοῦ δ' Ἐρετρίως περρωμένου λέγειν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ἦ γὰρ, ἔφη, καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου τίς ἐστι λόγος, οἱ καθάπερ αἱ τευθίδες μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ ἔχετε;"

Diacria and Brilessus, the roots of which extend to the sea, forming respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the bay. Towards the interior the plain branches off into two valleys, flanked and separated from one another by mountains inaccessible to cavalry, and in which the positions become stronger at every step, until they meet in one point at the modern *Stamáta*, near the upper part of the plain of Athens. In the southernmost of these two valleys is a small village, called at the present day *Vraná*, which Colonel Leake, on apparently good grounds, identifies with the site of the ancient Marathon. About a mile nearer the sea this valley debouches into the plain of Marathon, and here Leake has seen reason to fix the site of the Heracleum in the precinct of which the Athenians were encamped. Their right rested upon the hill of *Argalíki* (a part of Brilessus), and their left was protected by Mount *Kotróni*, an insulated hill of no great height, but extremely rugged, which separates the two valleys above mentioned. Thus posted, the army of Miltiades effectually stopped all access to the plain of Athens by the nearest road, which ran through *Vraná* and *Stamáta*. But their position appears to have been taken up not merely with this view, but also for the purpose of defending another means of access to the city. The roots of Brilessus which form the southern boundary of Marathon fall so gradually as to present no very defensible impediment to the communication between the plain of Marathon and the plain of Mesogæa, and Athens might be reached by a road over these, passing through Gargettus and Pallene. (In the view of many this is the road by which Pisistratus marched upon Athens from Marathon.) But a glance at the map shows that while the Athenian force was posted at the Heracleum, no body of troops could move by this road without exposing their *right* flank and rear to them. And although the roots of Brilessus are not so steep as to present an inaccessible barrier, they are at this time, and doubtless were at the time of the engagement, covered with low pine-trees and brushwood; and the road itself, at its debouchment from the plain, not a mile and a half to the south of the Heracleum, passes between the mountains and a marsh. With an army so posted as that of the Athenian general, a few judiciously placed abatis, formed of trees cut down and laid with their heads towards the enemy, might be converted into a quite sufficient obstacle to prevent his march by this road in the presence of an enemy

on the vulnerable flank. And this is perhaps the operation which is obscurely indicated in the account of CORNELIUS NEPOS<sup>2</sup>, and alluded to by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA<sup>3</sup>.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps more a matter of wonder that the Greeks should have assumed the offensive, as they at last did, than that the Persians should not have done so at an earlier period. Both of the proceedings, however, seem to me to admit of an explanation from the fact which Miltiades pressed upon the consideration of the polemarch Callimachus, in order to bring him over to his own view<sup>4</sup>. A strong Pisistratid faction still existed in Attica, and the establishment of a formidable Persian army in a corner of the territory would naturally, so soon as it was generally known, become the signal for these to show themselves in the most useful way possible under such circumstances, viz. by assembling a force to co-operate with the invading army. Now, I have above<sup>5</sup> endeavoured to show that the interests of the Pisistratids were especially strong in that part of Mesogæa which lay on the eastern side of Hymettus, and to explain, from that consideration, the singular account which Herodotus gives of the details of the battle at Pallene, which restored Pisistratus to his throne after his second exile. Hippias, no doubt well recollecting the success of his father's plan of operations adopted on the former occasion, pursues exactly the same course. Content with establishing himself in force on the bay of Marathon, he waits for a demonstration on the part of his friends in Attica of sufficient importance to menace the communication of Miltiades with the city. Had this taken place, and the position which kept him in

<sup>2</sup> Ejus auctoritate impulsī Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerunt, locoque idoneo castra fecerunt: deinde *postero die* sub montis radicibus acie e regione instructā, *novā arte*, vi summā prœlium commiserunt, namque arbores multis locis erant raræ: hoc consilio, ut et montium tegerentur altitudine, et *arborum tractu* equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. (*Miltiades*, § 6.) In the place of *rare*, which has been thought corrupt, Van Staurer proposes to read *strata* or *sata*. But the expression seems to mean "in patches," which gives a sufficient sense; although it does not clear up the nature of the use made of the trees.

<sup>3</sup> ἤγαγε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νύκτωρ δι' ἀνοδίας βαθίσας καὶ πλανήσας τοὺς τηροῦντας αὐτὸν τῶν βαρβάρων . . . καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων προκαταλαβόμενος ἐφύλαττεν, διὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἔχειν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. (*Stromata*, i. § 162.)

<sup>4</sup> ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλλωμεν, ἔλπομαι τίνα στάσει μεγάλῃν ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασείσειν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα, ὥστε μηδίσαι (§ 109).

<sup>5</sup> See note 194 on i. 59; 201 on i. 60; 210, 211 on i. 62.

check been abandoned, the cavalry would at once have been brought from Buboea, and would have destroyed the Athenian army upon overtaking it either in the plain of Athens, or that of Mesogaea.

Herodotus, by the way in which he describes the difference of opinion among the ten generals, namely, that it was a simple question whether they should engage the enemy or not, leaves the reader strangely puzzled to account for the conduct of Miltiades, who, although four of his nine colleagues<sup>6</sup> resigned their command to him, and although he had won over the polemarch to his side by strongly representing the necessity of striking a blow before any internal rottenness should disclose itself, yet delayed to engage until the fifth day after he had the power of doing so. To account for this by supposing that he waited for his own regular turn, in order to prevent the possibility of any rival claim to the credit of a victory which he foresaw would follow, appears to me a notion which could never have arisen before the event. But if the real alternative at issue with the Athenian generals was, not whether they should provoke the invaders to fight or retain their position of defence; but, whether they should persist at any cost in holding their strong position, or fall back on the city<sup>7</sup>, the conduct of Miltiades becomes quite intelligible. We may suppose him each day drawing out his force in front of his lines, and thus stopping all access to the interior by the southern road, as well as by that up the valley. The invaders in their turn forming a longer line by means of their superior numbers, keep him effectually in check (as they conceive), he not being able to move forward to attack them without being outflanked. But the experience of four days convincing him that they, on these grounds, expect nothing less than an attack by him; on the fifth he attempts to strike, and succeeds in striking, a fatal blow, by suddenly extending his line (at the price of weakening his centre), and rapidly attacking the enemy before they have time to make a counter movement. The

<sup>6</sup> Not all, as Mr. Grote assumes. Herodotus says it was those who voted with him for fighting (τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν).

<sup>7</sup> This very question perhaps lies at the bottom of Nepos's statement of the matter. "Inter quos (scil. decem prætores) magna fuit contentio, utrum *manibus* se defenderent, an *obviam irent hostibus* aciesque decernerent." The writer apparently supposes the council of war to be held at Athens, but has no definite notion on the subject of the locality. (*Miltiades*, § 4.)

flower of the invading army—the Persians and Sacans, who were posted in the centre—broke that part of the Athenian line which was opposed to them; but these had a strong position to fall back upon, whereas the wings of the enemy were totally ruined and overwhelmed in the marshes, into which they rushed headlong in the *panic* of the moment<sup>8</sup>.

At this stage of the proceeding Herodotus's description offers another difficulty. According to him the two victorious wings of the Athenians *united*, and, without pursuing that portion of the invading army which had given way, turned at once upon the Persians and Sacans, who had pursued their own centre quite into the interior (*ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν*). However little this expression be strained, we cannot take it to mean less than that the pursuit had extended considerably up one or both of the two narrow valleys which converge at Stamáta; so that when the new attack was made upon them the Persian centre must in a manner have been caught in a trap, with the victorious Athenians and Plateans between them and their ships. To reach these they must in fact have forced their way *through* their new opponents,—a work doubtless of difficulty, but not impossible for highly disciplined troops; especially as their opponents, after all their success against the wings, might think it much more expedient to harass a retreating enemy than to force him to desperation. The whole number of ships captured in the re-embarkation is only seven, little more than the hundredth part of the fleet, and the whole loss of men but 6400,—an utterly inconceivable result, if we are to suppose (what Herodotus's description would imply) at least twenty times that number flying in confusion before a victorious enemy, and re-embarking on a line of coast of not more than two miles in length<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> In the painted portico at Athens the destruction of the invaders in this way formed a prominent feature. They were depicted *φεύγοντες καὶ ἐς τὸ ἕλος ἀποβύπτες ἀλλήλους*. (PAUSANIAS, i. 15. 3.) Here was doubtless the good service rendered to the Athenians by the god Pan, the nature of which is not stated by Herodotus, although he speaks of the reward which was rendered for it (§ 105). But afterwards, when Marathon had become to the Athenians very much what Agincourt became to the English, a discreet silence as to the marshes seems to have been observed; and there is nothing in Herodotus's narrative even to indicate the nature of the locality, although it is so conspicuous as at once to attract the attention of a traveller.

<sup>9</sup> Sir Arthur Wellesley consumed the greater part of three days in landing 13,000 British troops, under the most favourable circumstances, in the Mondego river on August 1—3, 1808. Of the operation he himself says, "The landing is accompanied

The design which is attributed to the Persians of surprising Athens, before the return of the army which had just foiled them in the plain of Marathon, is another feature in the narrative of Herodotus which harmonizes well with the view that the Persians and Sacans retreated in comparatively good order, and for the most part got safe on board their vessels; but it combines very ill with the notion that they had saved themselves in a precipitate flight. Such a scheme could never occur to a commander whose whole force had been routed, and demoralized to the extent which a complete defeat implies.

But although, in my opinion, the description given by Herodotus of this celebrated action cannot possibly be received as an accurate account of its real circumstances, it appears to be a most faithful reflection of the opinions which in his time currently prevailed upon the subject at Athens. It is in all ages the habit of the vulgar to regard great military successes as the result of merely superior prowess; consequently popular tradition rapidly drops all those particulars of a battle which evince strategic genius, and substitutes for them exaggerated accounts of personal bravery. Few Englishmen can endure to acknowledge the share which the Prussians had in the complete victory at Waterloo; although the nature of the ground alone proves conclusively to the eye even of a civilian, that their co-operation must have entered into the original design of the illustrious commander of the British. There can be no wonder therefore if the consummate skill of Miltiades in seizing the only conditions under which victory could be hoped for, soon became a less satisfactory way of accounting for his success, than the principle that one Athenian was a match for ten, twenty, or even sixty Persians; and if the story of the action soon took a corresponding shape<sup>10</sup>.

One other circumstance may be pointed out confirmatory of the above remarks. PAUSANIAS, when he visited the field of Marathon, seems to have been puzzled to account for the circumstance, that

with some difficulties even here, and would be quite impossible if we had not the cor-  
dial assistance of the country, notwithstanding the zeal and abilities of the officers of  
the navy." GURWOOD (*Selections from Dispatches*, No. 233).

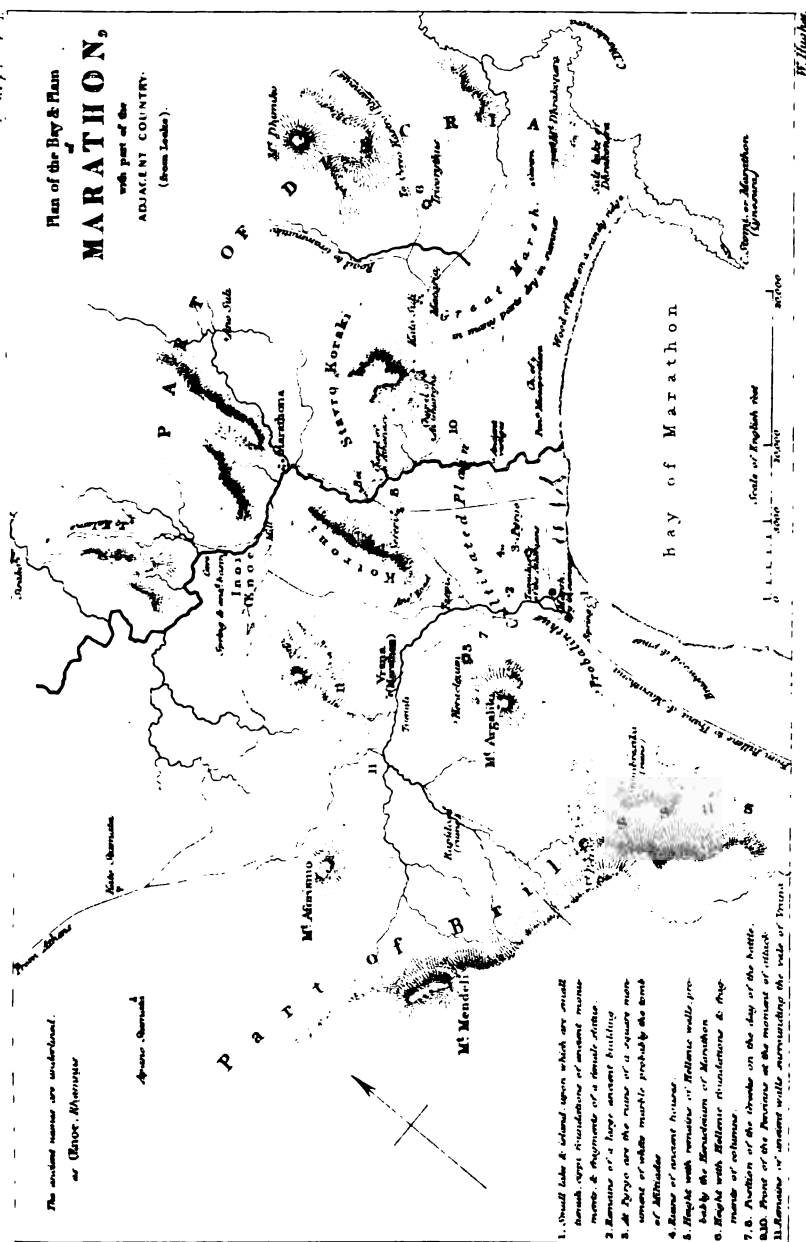
<sup>10</sup> The jealousy which would have been excited by the truer view of the matter may  
be guessed from the story told by PLUTARCH (*Cimon*, § 8). The sentiment of Socharus  
of Decelæa: *ὅταν μόνος ἀγωνισάμενος, ὁ Μιλτιάδης, νικήσῃ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τότε καὶ*  
*τυμᾶσθαι μόνος ἐξίεν*, was doubtless shared by all the ἄνδρες Μαραθωνομάχαι.

although the barrows which respectively covered the Athenians, the Plataeans, and the slaves who fell in the action, were conspicuous objects, there was no indication of where the Persians were buried. That the corpses were covered with earth he makes no doubt: common humanity would prevent their being left exposed. The solution of the difficulty with which he contents himself at last is, that they were buried here and there as they fell<sup>11</sup>. But, as a mere question of labour, it is obvious that the digging a single pit requires far less time than a multitude of separate graves. The fact apparently is, that the loss of the Persians consisted almost entirely<sup>12</sup> of the fugitives who perished in the marshes, for whom therefore no grave was requisite.

<sup>11</sup> i. 32. 5.

<sup>12</sup> This is, in fact, stated by PAUSANIAS as a current belief (i. 32. 7).

Plan of the Bay & Plain  
of  
**MARATHON,**  
with part of the  
ADJACENT COUNTRY.  
(From Leake).



The ancient names are underlined.  
or *Chios, Rhodope*

1. Small lake & island upon which are small  
remains, & fragments of ancient ruins.
2. Remains of a large ancient building.
3. At *Pnyx* are the ruins of a square mon-  
ument of white marble, probably the tomb  
of *Miltiades*.
4. Remains of ancient houses.
5. High, with remains of *Hellenic* walls, pro-  
bably the *Marathon* of *Marathon*.
6. High, with *Hellenic* foundations & fragments of columns.
- 7, 8. Portion of the temple on the day of the battle.
- 9, 10. Port of the *Acropolis* at the mouth of the lake.
11. Remains of ancient walls surrounding the vale of *Triclia*.





# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἙΒΔΟΜΗ.

### ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.

ἘΠΕΙ δὲ ἀγγελή<sup>1</sup> ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι 1  
γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν The news  
μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον<sup>2</sup> τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις of the battle  
ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίηε<sup>3</sup> καὶ μᾶλλον irritates Da-  
ῶρμητο στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγ- rius, and he  
γέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλεις, ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιὴν, orders pre-  
πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσειν ἑκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρεῖχον, καὶ νέας parations to  
τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα· τούτων δὲ περιωγγελομένων, be made for  
ἡ Ἀσίῃ ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγόμενων τε τῶν ἀρίστων a fresh at-  
ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων<sup>4</sup>, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. tempt.  
These last  
for three  
years, and  
in the fourth  
Egypt re-  
volta.

<sup>1</sup> ἀγγελή. Gaisford, with several MSS, has ἡ ἀγγελή. But the use of the words τὸν Ὑστάσπεος in the next line, as well as the statement of Darius's irritation at the invasion of Sardis in such general terms, seem to indicate that here we have the beginning of what, in its first draft at any rate, was an independent history. And the manuscripts S, F, c, and d all omit the article. In fact the whole of the work of Herodotus up to this point may almost be regarded as a mere introduction for the more complete understanding of what follows. See note on § 173, below.

<sup>2</sup> κεχαραγμένον. HESYCHIUS explains this word by ὀργισμένος. EURIPIDES (*Med.* 156) has κείνῳ τότε μὴ χαράσσειν.

The idea seems to be that of a person on whom a strong impression has been made which cannot easily be got rid of. Hence in philosophical language the word *χαρά-της* is used for that which defines the *εἶδος*.

<sup>3</sup> πολλῶ δεινότερα ἐποίηε, "came to take it much worse." The difference between *δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθαι* and *δεινὸν ποιεῖν* is that between a man who at once conceives a feeling of irritation, and one who, by brooding over the matter of wrong, aggravates and exaggerates the instinctive resentment.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν ἀρίστων ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων, "the choicest troops, as it was against Hellas that they were to act."

2  
The question of the next heir to the empire is discussed at court,

3  
and by the shrewdness of Demaratus, and the influence of Atossa, set-

τετάρτῃ δὲ ἔτει<sup>5</sup> Αἰγύπτιοι, ὑπὸ Καμβύσῃ δουλωθέντες, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι. Στελλομένον δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης· ὥς δεῖ μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον<sup>6</sup>, οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖω καὶ πρότερον ἢ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες, ἐκ τῆς προτέρης γυναικὸς Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες· τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρταβαζάνης<sup>7</sup>, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης· ἔοντες δὲ μητρός οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἐστασίαζον· ὁ μὲν Ἀρταβαζάνης, κατότι πρεσβυτάτος τε εἶη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενα εἶη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβυτάτον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν Ξέρξης δὲ, ὥς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἶη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς καὶ ὅτι Κύρος εἶη ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τὴν ἐλευθερίην. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου καὶ γνώμῃν, ἐτίγχανε κατὰ τῶντ' οὗτοι καὶ Δημάργητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς<sup>8</sup> ἐς Σοῦσα, ἔστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληΐης καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἑωυτῷ<sup>9</sup> ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος· οὗτος ὠνήρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὥς ἡ φάτις

<sup>5</sup> τετάρτῃ δὲ ἔτει. CLINTON (*F. H. a.* 486) makes this the fourth year, *not* reckoning the one in which the battle of Marathon took place; but it does not seem necessary to suppose this from what Herodotus says, and such a sense is contrary to the ordinary usage of the writer. In another passage, where he wishes to state that years were *completed*, he adds the word *πλήρης* (§ 20, below). The battle of Marathon took place in the month of September, 490 B.C., and if we suppose the revolt of Egypt to have taken place during the time of the inundation—which would be the most favourable opportunity for a rebellion—in B.C. 487, the intelligence would probably not arrive at the head-quarters of the army in Asia Minor till after the expiration of the season for military operations in the same year. This arrangement of events seems more consistent with Herodotus's expressions than the equally hypothetical one of Clinton, who supposes the revolt to have taken place a year later; and it will be seen below (see note in § 7) to aid in reconciling the statements of Herodo-

tus with that of THUCYDIDES (i. 18), who puts the great expedition against Hellas in the *tenth* year after the battle of Marathon.

<sup>6</sup> κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον. In accordance with this custom Cyrus is represented as naming Cambyses as his successor, previously to his expedition against the Massagetae (i. 208).

<sup>7</sup> Ἀρταβαζάνης. PLUTARCH (*De Fraternali Amore*, § 18) gives different particulars of the disputed succession. According to him Darius died without determining the matter, and Xerxes, in the absence of Ariamenes (whom, and not Artabazanes, he makes the eldest son), assumed the sovereignty. The two brothers referred their claims to the decision of their uncle Artabanus, and continued perfect friends. It is apparently the account of Plutarch to which JULIAN refers (*Orat.* i. p. 33), and certainly JUSTIN (ii. 10) draws from the same source.

<sup>8</sup> ἐτίγχανε κατὰ τῶντ' . . ἀναβεβηκός. See vi. 70, above.

<sup>9</sup> φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἑωυτῷ. See vi. 70.

μιν ἔχει <sup>10</sup>, Ξέρξη συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι, ὥς <sup>tled in favour of Xerxes.</sup>  
 αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρεῖφ ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων  
 κράτος· Ἀρταβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι ἰδιώτῃ ἔοντι Δαρεῖφ <sup>11</sup>. οὐκων οὐτ'  
 οἰκὸς εἶη οὔτε δίκαιον ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑωυτοῦ· ἐπεί  
 γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος, οὕτω νομιζέσθαι,  
 ἦν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφένω βασιλεύσαι·  
 ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὑψίγονος ἐπυγένηται, τοῦ ἐπυγενομένου τὴν ἐκδεξιν  
 τῆς βασιλῆθς γίνεσθαι. χρῆσαμένου δὲ Ξέρξῃ τῇ Δημαρήτου  
 ὑποθήκῃ, γνοὺς ὁ Δαρεῖος <sup>12</sup> ὡς λέγοι δίκαια, βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε.  
 δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεύσαι ἂν Ξέρξης·  
 ἡ γὰρ Ἀτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.

Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρεῖος Ξέρξῃ, ὄρμητο στρα- <sup>4</sup>  
 τεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ  
 ὑστέρῳ ἔτει <sup>13</sup> παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεκε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον βασι-  
 λεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα <sup>14</sup>, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ  
 ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμω-  
 ρήσασθαι· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου, ἡ βασιλῆτῃ ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν  
 παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξῃ.

Ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν <sup>5</sup>  
 κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγύπτου ἐποίεετο στρατιῆς  
 ἄγερσιν παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων  
 Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύῃ <sup>15</sup>, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ  
<sup>Xerxes at first was not desirous to invade Hellas, but was urged to it</sup>

<sup>10</sup> ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει. So viii. 94: τοὺτους μὲν τοιαύτῃ φάτις ἔχει. In ix. 84 the expression is varied: ἔχει δὲ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσιοφάνης.

<sup>11</sup> ἔτι ἰδιώτῃ ἔοντι Δαρεῖφ. It appears from iii. 70 that at the time of the conspiracy against the Magians, Darius's father was still alive.

<sup>12</sup> γνοὺς ὁ Δαρεῖος. Another account made the matter settled after Darius's death. See note 7, above.

<sup>13</sup> τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει. This would probably be in the early spring of 486 B.C., not in 485 B.C., as CLINTON puts it. See note 5, above.

<sup>14</sup> τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα. This is the reading of the great majority of the MSS. Gaisford adopts the variation of two, which put the word ἔτεα after τριήκοντα.

At the time of Cyrus's death Darius is represented as being about twenty years

old (i. 209). The reign of Cambyses occupies seven years and five months (iii. 66), and the usurpation of the Magians seven months more (iii. 67, 8). Assuming, therefore, the identity of the sources from which these accounts proceed, Darius was in them considered to be sixty-four years old at the time of his death. See however note 308 on ii. 110. CTESIAS makes Darius reign thirty-one years, and die at the age of seventy-two.

<sup>15</sup> Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύῃ. It seems remarkable at first sight that a member of Gobryas's family, which had contested the succession with Xerxes, should be of all Persians the highest in his confidence. But it is not impossible that Artazostra, the wife of Mardonius (vi. 43), was the daughter of Atossa, and if so, his connexion with Xerxes would be a closer one than with Artabazanes. It is also probable that the daughter of Gobryas, whom Da-

by Mardonius,

ἀδελφεῆς πάϊς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων "δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ ἤδη κακὰ Πέρσας, μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐποίησαν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τάπερ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἰγυπτου τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτῃ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι." οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦ δὲ λόγου<sup>16</sup> παρενθήκην ποιέεσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὲς χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα, ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρη, βασιλείῃ τε μούνη θνητῶν  
6 ἀξίη ἐκτίσθαι. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε<sup>17</sup>, οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς  
the *Alenades* of Thessaly, and the *Pisistratids*, with the aid of the prophet  
ἔων καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι· χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό<sup>18</sup> τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε Ξέρξεα, ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα· συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχα γενόμενα ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ξέρξεα· τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρὰ τῶν Ἀλεαδῶν<sup>19</sup> ἀπυγμένοι ἄγγελοι

rius married when a private individual, was not by the same mother as Mardonius. She had borne three children to Darius before he became king, whereas Mardonius was a young man just married twenty-six years afterwards (vi. 43). It is not likely therefore that there was less than eighteen or twenty years' difference between their ages, which in the east would be almost conclusive against their having the same mother. But above all it would seem (see notes 106 on vi. 43, and 213 on vi. 94) that Mardonius and Artaphernes represented different schools of policy, and that the late unsuccessful attempt at Marathon issued in a restoration of Mardonius's influence,—which had been damaged by his own partial, though not complete, failure in Thrace (vi. 46). It will be observed that the plan of both his campaigns contemplated the extension of operations along the line of posts established by Megabarus (see note 111 on vi. 44), whereas Datis and Artaphernes followed out the sketch of Aristagoras (see note 226 on vi. 99).

<sup>16</sup> τοῦ δὲ λόγου. The MSS vary between this reading, τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦτε δὲ τοῦ λόγου, and τοῦτε τοῦ λόγου, which last is adopted by Gaisford.

<sup>17</sup> ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Gaisford, with several MSS, has ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε.

<sup>18</sup> χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατο. ÆSCHYLUS makes Atossa, the mother of Xerxes, represent her son as having been influenced

by the solicitations of evil advisers to make war upon Hellas:

ταῦτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκειται  
θοῦριος Ξέρξης· λέγουσι δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοισ  
πλοῦτον ἐκτήσω ξὺν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀναδρίας ὅπο  
ἐνθον αἰχμάζειν, πατῶν δ' ἄλβον οὐδὲν αἰδάνειν.  
τοιαῶν δ' ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐνεῖδη πολλάκις κλύων κακῶν,  
τήνδ' ἐβούλευσεν κέλευθον καὶ στρατεύμ' ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα. (Pers. 753—8.)

Ctesias couples an *Artabanus* with Mardonius as the principal agents in this unfortunate policy (cp. *Photium*, p. 38). But even if this is the same name as Artabanus, it is not intended for the uncle of Xerxes, whom Herodotus represents as taking an entirely contrary view of the matter, but for a son of one Artasyras, by whose aid the Magian succeeded to the throne, and by whose treachery Darius and the other conspirators were subsequently assisted.

<sup>19</sup> παρὰ τῶν Ἀλεαδῶν. The *Alenades* were a distinguished house at Larissa in Thessaly; and it is a boast of Gorgias that he was the instructor of some of its principal members. (PLATO, *Menon*, § 1.) They were probably anxious to occupy the same position in Thessaly which Histieus had done at Miletus. Philip of Macedonia

ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα, πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι, ἐπὶ τὴν *Ονομασί-  
ῃς.* Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὔτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλῆς βασιλεῖς<sup>20</sup>.  
τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν  
λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι<sup>21</sup> καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐτι  
πλέον προσορέγοντό οἱ<sup>22</sup>, ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον,  
χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου. ἀναβε-  
βήκεσαν γὰρ τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι· ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ  
Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπ'  
αὐτοφῶρφ ἄλους ὑπὸ Δάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποικῶν ἐς τὰ Μου-  
σαίου<sup>23</sup> χρησμὸν, ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνου ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανίζοιτο  
κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης<sup>24</sup>. διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰππάρχος, πρότερον  
χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβάς, ὅπως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς  
ὄψιν τὴν βασιλεῖος, λεγόντων τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ  
σεμνοὺς λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα  
φέρων τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν· ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα

subsequently made use of one of them, by name Simus, for furthering his plans. (*HARPOCRATION*, v. *τετραρχία*.) Those who came to Susa appear to have been three in number (ix. 58), and to have put themselves forward as the representatives of the whole of their countrymen (vii. 130). Their proceeding was attributed by CRITIAS to their excessive luxury and taste for expense, which made the habits of the Persian court an object of desire to them,—and probably rendered supplies from thence necessary (*ap. Athenæum*, xii. p. 527).

<sup>20</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὔτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλῆς βασιλεῖς. These words exist in all the MSS, but from a comparison of vii. 130 it seems not unlikely that they are a marginal note which has crept into the text.

<sup>21</sup> τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι. It seems far from unlikely that the Thessalian cavalry which assisted the Pisistratids against the Lacedæmonian interference related above (v. 63, 64), was a force consisting of clansmen of the Aleuadæ. Compare the relations into which Pisistratus entered with Lygdamis (note 214 on i. 64). The names of the exiles (who were three in number) are given below (ix. 58). Gorgias the rhetorician boasted that among his pupils at Larissa he had Ἀλευαδῶν τοὺς πρῶτους (PLATO, *Μένων*. § 1), and the same family had the reputation of having secured the

success of Philip of Macedonia in their own country. (*DEMOSTHENES*, *ap. Harpocration*. v. *τετραρχία*.)

<sup>22</sup> προσορέγοντό οἱ, "plied him." This is the interpretation of Schweighäuser, and it seems a probable one, although there is no confirmation of it to be found elsewhere. Schweighäuser considers the expression *προσεφέρετο* to imply the same kind of solicitation, only pursued with less ardour.

<sup>23</sup> ἐμποικῶν ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου. Onomacritus had also the reputation of interpolating the line: *εἰδῶλον αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν*, after xi. 601 of the *Odyssey*. (See POMPON on Eurip. *Orest.* 5.) This interpolation, by whomsoever effected, was obviously imagined for the purpose of reconciling the notice of Hercules in Hades with the received tradition which regarded him as one of the tenants of Olympus. See note 339 on ii. 120. It is the more curious as the whole passage, xi. 562—626, is obviously much more recent than the context. For the importance attached to the possession of oracles, see note 238 on v. 90.

<sup>24</sup> κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. In subsequent writers the accusative case would be more usual; but the genitive appears in a similar case, below, § 235: *κέρδος μέγον εἶναι Ἰππάρχησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδύκναι ἢ ὑπερέχειν*.

ἐκλεγόμενος, ἔλεγε τὸν τε Ἑλλήσποντον, ὡς ζευχθῆναι χρεὸν εἴη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Πέρσῃ, τὴν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμοδέων προσεφέρετο, καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

7 In the year after his father's death he reduces Egypt, and makes his brother Achæmenes lord-lieu-

8 tenant. He then convokes an assembly of the Per-

7 Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῃ μὲν ἔτει<sup>25</sup> μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου, πρῶτα στρατηγὴν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τοὺτους μὲν νυν καταστρεφάμενος, καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει, ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεια<sup>26</sup> μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ<sup>27</sup> μετέπειτα<sup>28</sup> ἐφόνουσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμμίχου, ἀνὴρ Λίβυς. Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἄλωσιν, ὡς ἔμελλε εἰς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι<sup>29</sup> τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπέκλητον<sup>30</sup> Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποίετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν

<sup>25</sup> δευτέρῃ ἔτει, "in the second year." Much difficulty will follow if we suppose this "second year" to begin twelve months after the death of Darius; for then it will be necessary to bring the commencement of the movements of the grand army of Xerxes (§ 20, below) into the *eleventh* year after the battle of Marathon, reckoning both extremes. But I apprehend that the expedition against Egypt really took place in "the second year" of the reign of Xerxes, which would be regarded as commencing on the first of Thoth preceding the actual decease of his father. Hales (*quoted by Clinton, Appendix to Vol. li. p. 247*) gives the rule that appears to have prevailed in the Astronomical Canon, which reckoned from the epoch of Nabonassar, and which probably represents the practice of the Persian court. It is "that each king's reign begins at the *Thoth* (or Egyptian new year's day) before his accession, and all the odd months of his last year are included in the first year of his successor." Now if we suppose (consistently with the notes 5 and 13 on §§ 1. 4) that Darius died in the spring of 486 B.C., the reign of Xerxes would be reckoned from the preceding Thoth, i.e. from the twenty-second of December, 487 B.C. His second year then would commence in the same month of 486; and if Egypt was rapidly conquered, its subjugation would doubtless be completed before the commencement of the inundation in 485 B.C. Four *full* years

from this time (§ 20) would bring it to the middle of the season for military operations in 481, leaving time for the assembling of the grand army in the neighbourhood of Sardis before the winter set in. This arrangement brings Herodotus into perfect harmony with the statement of Thucydides: *δεκάτῃ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν [τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην] αὖθις ὁ βάρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἦλθε* (i. 18), and involves nothing arbitrary except the supposition that the *death* of Darius was regarded by Herodotus as synchronizing with the *conventional accession* of Xerxes. There is no occasion either to take Thucydides to mean ten complete years, as Clinton does, or to change *δεκάτῃ* into *ἐνδεκάτῃ* in his text, as others have proposed. The difficulty has arisen from the tacit assumption that Herodotus reckons, as a modern would do, from a *fixed epoch*, instead of simply referring one event to another before it, as a logographer naturally would.

<sup>26</sup> Ἀχαιμένεια. See note on vii. 97.

<sup>27</sup> χρόνῳ μετέπειτα. About the year 460 B.C. See the notes 39 and 40 on iii. 12.

<sup>28</sup> εἰς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι. See note 434 on i. 126.

<sup>29</sup> σύλλογον ἐπέκλητον. The epithet seems to indicate that the members of the council were specially cited, as might be expected if they were only the chief of the nobles of the empire.

πᾶσι εἶπη τὰ θέλει· ὥς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε <sup>20</sup>. sian nota-  
bles.  
His speech,  
 “ ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ’ αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν  
 τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνο-  
 μαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμὰ κω ἡτρεμήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ τε <sup>21</sup> παρ-  
 ἐλάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων Κύρου κατελόντος  
 Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεὸς τε οὕτω ἄγει <sup>22</sup>, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ  
 ἐπέκουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μὲν νυν Κύρος τε καὶ  
 Καμβύσης πατὴρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτῆ-  
 σαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε  
 παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον, τοῦτο ἐφρόντιζον, ὅπως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν  
 πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε, μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτῆσομαι  
 δυνάμιν Πέρσῃσι. φροντίζων δὲ εὕρισκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος ἡμῖν τε  
 προσγιγνώμενον, χώραν τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτῆμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ  
 φλαυροτέρην, παμφορωτέρην τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν  
 γινομένην· διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοεὸν πρήσσειν  
 ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν. μέλλω, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἐλᾶν στρα-  
 τὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσο-  
 μαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν. ὥρᾳτε  
 μὲν νυν καὶ Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τού-  
 τους· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρῆσασθαι·  
 ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον παύ-  
 σομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω <sup>23</sup> τε καὶ πυρώσω <sup>24</sup> τὰς Ἀθήνας· οἳ γε ἐμὲ καὶ  
 πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῖντες. πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδεις  
 ἐλθόντες ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ, (τῷ Μιλησίῳ, δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ,) ἀπι-  
 κόμενοι ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσέα καὶ τὰ ἱρά <sup>25</sup>. δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἶα

<sup>20</sup> ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. The whole of the following speech is quoted by DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS in the treatise in which he compares the relative merits of Herodotus and Thucydides, as an example of the medium between the severe and the florid styles. For such a purpose it was natural that he should, as he does, convert it into the common dialect of his time. There are also some other slight variations.

<sup>21</sup> ἐπεὶ τε. DIONYSIUS has ἐξ οὗ.

<sup>22</sup> ἄγει. DIONYSIUS has ἐνάγει.

<sup>23</sup> οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω. See note 323 on v. 118.

<sup>24</sup> πυρώσω. The use of this word by Herodotus (here and in viii. 102) in the

place of the more usual πρήσω, is remarked by EUSTATHIUS, who observes that SOPHOCLES also has done the same thing: ἀμφικίονας ναοὺς πυρώσων ἤλθεν. (Antig. 290.)

<sup>25</sup> τὰ τε ἄλσέα καὶ τὰ ἱρά. The simplicity of the Ormuzd worship must have been out of fashion at the Medo-Persian court, if Xerxes really took an interest in vindicating the sanctity of the Sardinian goddess *Cybele*, for whose nature see note on v. 102. This indeed is only what was to be expected from the policy of Darius as represented by Herodotus. (See *Excursus* on iii. 74, pp. 434, 5.) At the same time, the whole speech is obviously of Hellenic manufacture.



ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δαίτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης<sup>36</sup> ἐστρατήγεον, τὰ ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες· τούτων μέντοι εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι<sup>37</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεῦσθαι ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνεύρισκω λογιζόμενος, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τοῖτοισι πλησιοχώρους καταστρεφόμεθα, οἱ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώραν γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμouρέουσιν οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ὁ ἥλιος ὁμouρον εἶσεν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφεας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώραν θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν οὔτε τινα πόλιν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι τὸ ἡμῖν οἷον τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαριρημένων οὕτω οἳ τε ἡμῖν αἴτιοι ἔξουσιν δούλιον ζυγόν, οἳ τε ἀναίτιοι· ὑμεῖς δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποικέοντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὶ ὑμῖν σημήνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινα ὑμέων χρήσει παρῆναι· ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἤκη παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου<sup>38</sup>. ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτά ἐστι οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρήγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι." ταῦτα εἶπας ἐπαύετο.

in which he announces his purpose to conquer Hellas, and desires their zealous cooperation.

9 Mardonius applauds his views.

Μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· "ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ μόνον εἰς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ὃς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπῖκεο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν, ἔοντας ἀναξίους· καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρήγμα, εἰ Σάκας<sup>39</sup> μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς<sup>40</sup> καὶ Αἰθιοπίας<sup>41</sup> τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ

<sup>36</sup> Ἀρταφέρνης. The manuscripts K, V, F have Ἀρταφέρνης.

<sup>37</sup> ἀνάρτημαι. This word seems used in a sort of technical sense, to express the bounden duty of a liege lord to avenge his vassals. (See notes 313 and 315 on i. 90.)

<sup>38</sup> ἐν ἡμετέρου. See note 123 on i. 36. DIONYSIUS quotes this passage: δώσω αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἥδη τιμιωτάτην ἢ νομίζεται ἐν ἡμετέρῃ, which Valcknaer considers to be a corruption from δωρεὰν ἢ δὴ τιμιωτάτη νομίζεται ἐν ἡμετέρῃ.

<sup>39</sup> Σάκας. No victory of the Persians over the Scythians is to be found mentioned in Herodotus; and even court flat-

tery would hardly venture upon such a description of the unhappy campaign related in the Fourth Book. But here doubtless is a trace of another and totally different tradition from that mainly followed by Herodotus, one in accordance with the Behistun Inscription. See note 2 on iv. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Ἰνδοὺς. These are said to have been subdued by Darius, by taking advantage of the information he obtained from Scylax of Caryanda (iv. 44). But his power must have been very limited indeed. See note 293 on iii. 101.

<sup>41</sup> Αἰθιοπίας. It is not necessary to sup-

καὶ μεγάλα, ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεφάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, "Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης, οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα· τί δείσαντες; κοίην πλήθους συστροφὴν, κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην<sup>43</sup>, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν εἶδον ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεφάμενοι τούτους, οἳ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι, "Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολῆες καὶ Δωριεὲς καλέονται. ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους, ὑπὸ πατρός τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεὶς· καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι, καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι, οὐδεὶς ἀντιώθη ἐς μάχην. καίτοι γε ἐώθασι "Ἕλληνες, ὥς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἴστασθαι, ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ<sup>44</sup> ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προεῖπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται· ὥστε σὺν κακῇ μεγάλῃ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσωμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχὴν, ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται· τοὺς χρεῖν, εἶντας ὁμογλώσσους, κήρυξί τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς<sup>45</sup>, καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχησιν· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρεῖν τῇ ἐκάτεροι εἰσι δυσχειρωτότατοι, καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν τρόπον τοῖνον οὐ χρηστῷ "Ἕλληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τοῦτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι, σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τις<sup>46</sup>, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προσφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλήθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας<sup>47</sup>; ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος<sup>48</sup> ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐγὼ γε ψευσθῆην γνώμη, καὶ

pose that the miscarriage of Cambyses (iii. 25, 26) was represented at court as a conquest. It will be remembered that the term Αἰθίοψ denoted an Asiatic black as well as an African. (See §§ 69, 70, below.) Besides, a portion of the African Ethiopians submitted (iii. 97).

<sup>43</sup> ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην. See note 268 on i. 77.

<sup>44</sup> ἐπεὶ γὰρ. The manuscripts S, V omit the latter word.

<sup>45</sup> καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς, "to quash their differences." Compare iii. 128: κατέλαβε ἐρίοντας, and see note 130 on i. 45, and note 55 on v. 21.

<sup>46</sup> σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τις. The pronoun

σοὶ is emphatic, and opposed to ἐμέο which has just preceded. "When I marched as far as Macedonia, the Greeks never came to a question of meeting me in fair fight, and when it comes to you (δὴ), Sire, is any one likely to meet you with offer of battle?" See the note 424 on iii. 155.

<sup>47</sup> πλήθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας. The force of the articles is to be observed. Mardonius speaks as to persons cognizant of the available resources of the empire, "the Asiatic levies and the whole of the navy."

<sup>48</sup> θράσεος. The manuscripts S, V have θάρσεος.

ἐκείνοι ἐπαρθέντες ἀβουλήν ἔλθοιεν ἡμῶν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὥς εἶμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολεμήϊα. ἔστω δ' ὢν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γινεσθαι." Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλέξας τὴν Ξέρξῳ γνώμην<sup>48</sup>, ἐπέπαυτο.

## 10

Artabanus takes the other side of the question.

Σιωπῶντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πῖσυνος ἐὼν<sup>49</sup>, ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθαισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλοισι, οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρήσθαι· λεχθαισέων δέ, ἔστι· ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκουμεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρήψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκουμεν τὸν ἀμείνω. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, Δαρεῖω, ἡγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμῶτι γῆς ἄστὶ νέμοντας· ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι, ἐμοὶ τε οὐκ ἐπέθετο στρατευσάμενός τε πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπήλθε· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας<sup>50</sup> ἢ Σκύθας· οἱ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἄριστοι<sup>51</sup> καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινὸν, ἐμέ σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν· ζεύξας φῆς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐλὼν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνευκε ἦτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ κατὰ

<sup>48</sup> τοσαῦτα ἐπιλέξας τὴν Ξέρξῳ γνώμην, "after so far smoothing down [the objections to] the opinion of Xerxes." The metaphor seems to be taken from the act of a carpenter, who smooths a piece of wood so that no knot or obstacle causing friction can be found. The Latin proverb, "nodum in scirpo querere," rests on a similar idea. The simple form *lealno* is used below (viii. 142).

<sup>49</sup> τῷ δὴ καὶ πῖσυνος ἐὼν. The weight of Artabanus at the Persian court appears, independently of his relationship to the sovereign, from the advice which he ventures to give to Darius (iv. 83) when meditating his expedition against the Scythians. The traditions followed by Ctesias, (or whoever is the authority for Plutarch's story quoted in the note 7 on § 2, above,) seem to represent him in the same light with those adopted by Herodotus, as en-

joying a high repute for wisdom and moderation.

<sup>50</sup> πολλὸν ἀμείνονας. S and V have πολλὸν ἔτι ἀμείνονας.

<sup>51</sup> κατὰ θάλασσαν ἄριστοι. The anachronism of attributing power at sea to the Athenians of this time shows the origin of the speech here put into the mouth of Artabanus. His brother Artaphernes is made to take a very different and a juster view of the matter. (See note 193 on v. 73.) The encomium passed upon the Greeks, especially the Athenians, towards the end of the speech, as also the common places of ethical philosophy which appear in it, would lead one to refer it to the same class of compositions as the address of Solon to Croesus (i. 32, 33), and the political discussions (iii. 80—82). See notes 118 on i. 32, and 221 on iii. 80.

θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἥ καὶ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι· πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιὴν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφέρνηϊ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν μούνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν. οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε<sup>52</sup>. ἀλλ' ἦν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι, καὶ νικῆσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δὴ, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμὴ σοφίῃ οἰκῆτῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἷόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε<sup>53</sup> καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηϊκίον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας, τότε παντοίοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λύσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπιτέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἴστρον καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτρου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲ ἡντιώθη<sup>54</sup>, διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα· καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκούσαι δεῶν, ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέως πρήγματα γεγενησθαι. σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι, μηδεμῆς ἀνάγκης εἶσους· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθειν νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὐτὶς τε, ὅταν τοι δοκέῃ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ, προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα· τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλευέσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω ἔον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν εὖ, ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχροῦς, εἰ οἱ ἡ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο, εὖρημα εὖρηκε· ἦσσαν δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται. ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι<sup>55</sup>, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν μιν κνίξει; ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα; φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολουεῖν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλλῃ, ἡ βροντὴν, δι' ὧν

<sup>52</sup> οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε, "still success did not attend them in both arms," i. e. by land and sea. Artabanus goes on to show what peril would follow if this should be the case; and it is to be remarked that he imagines by way of argument a scheme which was subsequently proposed. (See viii. 108.)

<sup>53</sup> ὀλίγου ἐδέησε, "wanted little." Translate: "what a calamity all but be-

fel us."

<sup>54</sup> ἡντιώθη. The manuscripts M, F, K, P have ἡναντιώθη, which Schweighäuser considers to be a mixture of the two readings ἀντιώθη and ἡντιώθη.

<sup>55</sup> φαντάζεσθαι. This word is used in a similar sense by EURIPIDES (*Phaeniss.* 93): μή τις πολυτῶν ἐν τρίβῃ φαντάζεται.

ἐφθάρησαν<sup>56</sup> ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἐξ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν<sup>57</sup>. ἐπειχθῆναι μὲν νυν πᾶν πρήγμα τῖκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ παραντῖκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν. σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβουλευῶ· σὺ δὲ, ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἔόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν· Ἑλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων, ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μὴ νυν οὕτω γένηται· διαβολὴ γάρ ἐστι δεινότατον ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσι οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἰς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικεῖ οὐ παρέοντος κατηγορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικεῖται, διαβληθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἐτέρου κακὸς εἶναι<sup>58</sup>. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω· ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτεις αὐτοὺς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσῃν τινα βούλει· καὶ ἦν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνειν βασιλεῖ τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγὼ· ἦν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων σὺν δὲ σφί καὶ σὺ, ἦν ἀπονοστήσης· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνην οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαι τινα φημι τῶν αὐτοῦ τῆδε ὑπολειπομένων, Μαρδόνιον μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασμένον Πέρσας ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεῖμενον, ἥ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδὸν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἴους ἄνδρας ἀναγκάσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα.”

## 11

Great anger of Xerxes at the counsel of Artabanus.

Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε· Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· “Ἀρτάβανε, πατὴρ εἰς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ῥύσεται μηδένα ἀξίον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων καὶ τοι

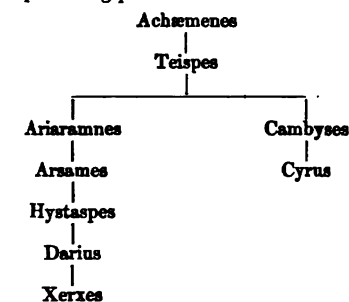
<sup>56</sup> ἐφθάρησαν. Some MSS have ἐσφάλησαν.

<sup>57</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἐξ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν. The MSS vary between this reading, οὐ γὰρ ἐξ φρονέειν ὁ θεὸς μέγα ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν, and οὐ γὰρ ἐξ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἑωυτόν.

<sup>58</sup> ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν . . . κακὸς εἶναι. In one manuscript (P) the place of these words are supplied by the sentence ὁ δὲ διαβαλλόμενος αὐτὸν διπλῶς ἀδικεῖται· διαβληθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀκούσαντος καὶ πεισθέντος εἶναι κακός.

ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθημι ἐόντι κακῷ τε καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἐμοί γε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο ὅσαπερ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω· μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος, τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω, τοῦ Τείσπεος, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσσω, τοῦ Τείσπεος, τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονὼς<sup>50</sup>, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους· εὖ ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι<sup>51</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων οἱ Σάρδεις τε ἐνέπηρσαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὐκὼν ἐξαναχωρεῖν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς<sup>52</sup> ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποικεῖν ἢ παθεῖν προκέεται ἄγων ἵνα ἡ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήσι, ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσησι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστὶ· καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρεῖν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι<sup>53</sup> τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δούλος<sup>54</sup>, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω, ὥς καὶ ἐς τὸδε αὐτοὶ τε ὠνθρωποὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεφάμενου καλέονται.”

<sup>50</sup> μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος . . . τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονὼς. The decyphering of the arrow-headed character by Major Rawlinson has rendered possible the complete explanation of this genealogy. See the *Excursus* on iii. 74, pp. 427—9. The corrected genealogy will run thus, representing pure Persian traditions:



The left hand column represents the *lineal* descent of the Achæmenids, *who were kings of Persia*; while the right hand column *connects* Xerxes's claim to be the king of Media in right of his mother Atossa with this *Achæmenid pedigree*.

Teispes is repeated by the error of putting the two branches one after the other instead of side by side.

<sup>51</sup> ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, “that if we shall keep the peace, yet will not they.” This use of ἀλλὰ after a hypothetical proposition is found throughout Greek literature from the Homeric poems downwards. From the nature of the case it is appropriate to oratory, and in the later writers alone is it used otherwise than in a speech.

<sup>52</sup> οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς. The manuscripts S and V have οὐδετέροις ἰκανῶς, and one other δυνατὰ for δυνατῶς. P and V have also προσκεῖται in the place of προκέεται.

<sup>53</sup> τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι. This ironical expression appears to be directed against the words of Artabanus: τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἐνεστι δεινὸν, ἐμὲ σοὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν.

<sup>54</sup> ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δούλος. These words indicate that in the mind of the authority followed here by Herodotus, Xerxes was regarded as the *lineal* descendant of the Assyrian dynasties, as in no other way could Pelops possibly be described as the vassal of his ancestors.

- 12 *Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο· μετὰ δὲ, εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο*  
*καὶ Ξέρξης ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἄρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοῦς,*  
*πάγχυ εὐρισκὲ οἱ οὐ πρήγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα·*  
*δεδογμένων δὲ οἱ αὐτὶς τούτων, κατύπνωσε· καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ*  
*εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων·<sup>64</sup> ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης*  
*ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐεϊδέα εἰπεῖν “μετὰ δὴ βου-*  
*λεύεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στρατεύμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προεῖπας*  
*ἀλλῶν Πέρσας στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιεῖς εὖ,*  
*οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ’, ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβου-*  
*λεύσας ποιεῖν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν.” Τὸν μὲν, ταῦτα εἰπαντα,*  
*ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτᾶσθαι· ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμφάσης, ὄνειρου μὲν*  
*τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποίετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσσας τοὺς καὶ*  
*πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην*  
*μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλευόμεαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ*  
*ἐμεινωτοῦ πρῶτα οὐ κω ἀνήκω<sup>65</sup>, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεύμενοι κείνα*  
*ποιεῖν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται· ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς*  
*Ἄρταβάνου γνώμης, παραντίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέξεσε, ὥστε*  
*ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρίψαι<sup>66</sup> ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεόν νῦν*  
*μέντοι συγγνοῦς, χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ ὡς ὦν μεταδε-*  
*δογμένον<sup>67</sup> μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοί ἐστε.”*  
 14 *Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνηον νυκτὸς*  
*δὲ γενομένης, αὐτὶς τῶντ’ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε*  
*ἐπιστάν· “ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνειαι ἐν Πέρσῃσι τε ἀπειπά-*  
*μενος τὴν στρατηλασίην, καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιεύμενος*  
*λόγῳ, ὡς παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας· εὖ νυν τὸδ’ ἴσθι, ἥνπερ μὴ αὐτίκα*  
*στρατηλατέης, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχῆσιν ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ*  
*πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ*

In the night  
after the  
council has  
been held  
Xerxes has  
a vision,

and the  
next day  
he changes  
his mind.

The next  
night the  
same vi-  
sion re-  
appears to  
him with  
threats.

<sup>64</sup> ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων. See note 338 on i. 95.

<sup>65</sup> φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεινωτοῦ πρῶτα οὐ κω ἀνήκω. These words seem to be intended as an ostentatious display of modesty on the part of the monarch. He pleads that he has not yet arrived at the complete maturity of his judgment: “I am not yet come to the perfection of my own mental powers.” Consciousness of this makes him ask advice, and, on the other hand, those who give him advice other than his own judgment suggests (κείνα), never leave him alone to think. Hence, he argues,

the Persians should excuse him for “turning short off in his resolutions” (ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλευόμεαι). In a court where the infallibility of the sovereign was an axiom, the alteration of a decree became a serious matter, and Xerxes seems spontaneously to have hit on the useful theory of advisers, who should be responsible for his mistakes.

<sup>66</sup> ἀπορρίψαι. See note 366 on iv. 142.

<sup>67</sup> μεταδεδογμένον. The MSS vary between this reading, μεταδεδογμένων, μεταδεδογμένου, and μεταδεδογμένην.

τάχος ἔσαι." Ξέρξης μὲν, περιδεὴς γενόμενος <sup>68</sup> τῇ ὄψει, ἀνά τε 15  
 ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον <sup>69</sup> He sends  
 καλέοντα· ἀπικομένην δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε· "Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ for Arta-  
 τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἔσωφρόνεον, εἶπας ἐς σέ μάταια ἔπεα χρη- banus, and  
 στῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλῆς· μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, advises with  
 ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἔοντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο". οὐκων him.  
 δυνατός τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν βουλόμενος· τετραμμένη γὰρ δὴ  
 καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφουτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι, οὐδαμῶς  
 συνέπαινον ἔον ποιεῖν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλήσαν οἴχεται  
 εἰ ὦν θεὸς ἐστὶ ὁ ἐπιπέμπων, καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστὶ γενέσθαι  
 στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τὸντὸ τοῦτο  
 ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον <sup>71</sup>. εὗρισκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινώ-  
 μενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἐνδύς, μετὰ  
 τοῦτο ἵζωιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ  
 κατυπνώσειας." Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ 16  
 τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος οἶα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν  
 βασιλῆϊον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι <sup>72</sup>, τέλος ὡς ἡναγκάζεται, εἶπας τάδε  
 ἔποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον· "ἴσον ἐκείνο, ὃ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ κέκρι-  
 ται, φρονεῖν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τὰ  
 σὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω περιήκοντα <sup>73</sup>, ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίας σφάλ-

<sup>68</sup> γενόμενος. So Gaisford prints, on the authority of S, V, A, B. But M, P, K, F have ἐγένετο,—alternative readings which can scarcely have been derived the one from the other. F also omits καὶ before πέμπει.

<sup>69</sup> ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον. S, V, A, B omit the preposition ἐπὶ.

<sup>70</sup> ὑπεθήκαο. S and V have ὑπέθηκας.

<sup>71</sup> καὶ σοὶ τὸντὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. The force of the word ἐντελλόμενον, no less than that of ἐπιπτήσεται, is to be extended to the dative καὶ σοὶ. Translate: "This same dream will be wafted to you too with commands for you no less than for me."

<sup>72</sup> οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι. In later times it was a received opinion that the sitting on the seat of the king, even involuntarily, brought the penalty of death with it. In Alexander's expedition into Sogdiana, a Macedonian soldier, benumbed by the cold, staggered in a nearly insensible state up to the king's quarters. Alexander placed him on his own couch, and caused his limbs

to be fomented until the circulation was restored. On recovering his senses, the man discovered where he was lying, and started up in a fright, upon which Alexander took the opportunity to observe to him how much better it was to live under the Macedonian monarchy than the Persian, as the same thing which would have brought death in the one case saved life in the other. (QUINTUS CURTIUS, viii. 4. 17.) But although no doubt the act, if wantonly committed, would always have been considered a gross outrage, and as such perhaps punished with death, there seems no trace in Herodotus of such a superstitious rule as that which is implied in Curtius's story. At the same time, since the accidental occurrence of such an indecency would doubtless have been regarded as an omen (see iii. 30, above), mere blind fear might very well have led to the adoption of the sternest rule by way of precaution.

<sup>73</sup> περιήκοντα. See note 198 on vi. 86.



λουσιν· κατά περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν πνεύματά φασι ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα, οὐ περιορᾶν φύσει τῇ ἐωυτῆς χρῆσθαι. ἐμέ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεὺ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λίπη, ὅσον, γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσησι,—τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐξανούσης τῆς δὲ καταπανούσης, καὶ λεγούσης ὥς κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι διζῆσθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος,— τοιοιutéων προκειμενέων γνωμέων, ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέραν<sup>74</sup> σεωυτῶ τε καὶ Πέρσησι ἀναίρεο· ὦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φῆς τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ' Ἑλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τιως πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐώντά<sup>75</sup> σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτά ἐστι, ὦ παῖ, θεία· ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι· οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεὺ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἑὼν πεπλανησθαι αὐται μάλιστα ἐώθασι αἱ ὄψιες τῶν ὀνειράτων, τά τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἶχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας· εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἔστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτο οἶον ἐγὼ διαίρῃω, ἀλλὰ τι τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸς<sup>76</sup> συλλαβὼν εἰρηκας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὥς καὶ σοὶ διακελευόμενον φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθήτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν<sup>77</sup>. οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ· εἴπερ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐθιείης ἀνήκει τοῦτό, ὃ τι δὴ κοτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει ἐμέ ὁρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθήτῃ τεκμαιρόμενον· εἰ δὲ ἐμέ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται, οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἦν τὴν

<sup>74</sup> σφαλερωτέραν. This is the reading of the majority of MSS, and is adopted by Gaisford. But S, V, and K have the superlative σφαλερωτάτην, which is certainly more likely to have been wilfully altered by copyists into the comparative than the converse.

<sup>75</sup> ἐώντα. So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS, the others having ἐώντος, which of course would require to be referred to the word θεοῦ. But although no doubt ὄνειρος and ὄνειρον are equally legitimate forms, it seems very unlikely that in the same anecdote in which the latter has been repeatedly used, the former should in a single instance be substituted for it. Yet it is perhaps even less probable that a transcriber finding ἐώντος should have wilfully violated the

course of precedent by changing it into ἐώντα.

<sup>76</sup> αὐτός. So S. Gaisford and the other MSS have αὐτό. But the emphatic word αὐτός seems more appropriate, considering the dignity of the person addressed; and in the oldest uncial MSS the final Σ would very likely be omitted before the same letter beginning the following word. See note 25 on i. 5. Translate: "Thou thyself in what thou saidst didst take in every thing. For let it appear now with orders for me too as it did to thee." The allusion is to the words above: ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τῶντ' οὗτο ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον (§ 15, above).

<sup>77</sup> ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν. See the note 300 on iv. 118.

ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἦν τὴν σὴν, σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ, τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἐστὶ· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι· εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδοκῆται γίνεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ οἶά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνωσάει, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων, φανήτω καὶ ἐμοὶ μέχρι δὲ τούτου, τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρῆσθαι." Τοσαῦτα εἶπας Ἀρτάβανος ἐλπίζων Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξιν λέγοντα οὐδὲν, ἐποίησε τὸ κελευόμενον ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξῃ ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον, ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον ἐποιέετο, ἡλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τῷντ' ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξῃ ἐφοίτα· ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου, εἶπε τάδε· "ἄρα σὺ δὴ κείνος εἰς ὃ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα, οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραντίκα νῦν καταπροῖξαι" ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι· Ξέρξῃ δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθείεν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται." Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον<sup>75</sup> ἀπειλέειν, καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοις ἐκκαλεῖν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ ὅς, ἀμβώσας μέγα, ἀναθρόσκει, καὶ παρίζομενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δεύτερά οἱ λέγει τάδε· "ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἷα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν<sup>80</sup>, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμῆειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσῃ, συστρατεύομενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας· ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα, γνώμην εἶχον, ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίῃ τις γίνεται ὁρμῇ, καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς εἰκε, φθορῇ τις καταλαμβάνει θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι· σὺ δὲ σήμνηνον μὲν Πέρσης τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρῆσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοις προειρημένοις ἐς τὴν παρὰ σκευὴν· ποίεε δὲ οὕτω, ὅκως,

17

The same vision appeared to Artabanus,

18

and, influenced by it, Artabanus yields to the proposal to invade Hellas.

<sup>75</sup> καταπροῖξαι. See note 106 on iii. 36.

<sup>76</sup> τὸ ὄνειρον. The MSS are divided between this reading and τὸν ὄνειρον. See note 75 on § 16, above.

<sup>80</sup> τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν. It is an error to suppose that these words are used in a different sense here from v. 19. In both cases they mean "to follow the dictates of one's age." Xerxes being a young

man, his natural impulses were to adventurous action; Amyntas (v. 19) being aged, his were to retire from a banquet which was becoming indecent and boisterous. The note of Baehr on this passage is an example of a very common mistake in commentators, to attribute to actual phrases a meaning in themselves, which only follows inferentially from the circumstances in which they are used.

τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος, τῶν σὼν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν." τούτων λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαρθέντες τῇ ὄψει, ὥς ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο <sup>11</sup> ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μόνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερός ἦν.

19

Xerxes afterwards has a third vision which raises his spirits.

Ἰρμημένῳ δὲ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατίειν, μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτῃ ὄψει ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ μάγοι ἔκριναν <sup>12</sup> ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν, δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἥδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίᾳς θαλλῶ <sup>13</sup>. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν μετὰ δὲ, ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρινάντων δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἀπελάσας, εἶχε προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι <sup>14</sup>, θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγερσιν <sup>15</sup> ποιεῖται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἡλείρου. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος, ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔταε πλήρεια παραρτέετο στρατιὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ· πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ <sup>16</sup> ἐστρατηλάτее χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος <sup>17</sup>. στόλων γὰρ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, πολλῶ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο·

20

The preparations for the invasion of Hellas took

<sup>11</sup> ὑπερετίθετο. S and V have ὑπετίθεε. But the latter word seems quite out of place here. See notes 378, 379 on i. 108.

<sup>12</sup> οἱ μάγοι ἔκριναν. The Magi appear from this passage to stand in the same position as at the court of Astyages, their influence having entirely recovered from the effects of the revolution by which Darius was raised to the throne. See *Excursus* ii. on Book iii. p. 435.

<sup>13</sup> ἐλαίης θαλλῶ. This feature in the story would lead one to look for its origin in some locality where a crown of olive leaves would be a symbol of superiority. It can therefore scarcely be a native Persian legend, and may very well be an Athenian.

<sup>14</sup> ἐπὶ ταῖσι εἰρημένοισι, "on the faith of the promise which had been given," i.e. that the satrap who brought his contingent in the best order into the field should receive the presents which were deemed the most honourable. (See § 8, above.)

<sup>15</sup> ἐπάγερσιν, "an extraordinary levy." The ordinary contingent sufficed for the conquest of Egypt (ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐποιέετο τῆς στρατῆς ἀγερσιν, § 5, above), but additional troops were called out for the

expedition against Athens. It is no objection to this interpretation that the simple form is used below (§ 48), for there the force of the ἐπὶ is supplied by the epithet ἄλλον coupled with στρατοῦ.

<sup>16</sup> πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτее, "in the course of the fifth year he put the army in motion." The word ἀνομένῳ has been by some commentators explained as meaning "ending," and by others "commencing," according as the one or the other meaning squared best with their chronological arrangements. But it really seems to mean neither the one nor the other, but simply "advancing." This is the sense of ἦνετο τὸ ἔργον, an expression used in i. 189 and viii. 71. For an attempt to explain the difficulties in the chronology of the events related as occurring subsequently to the battle of Marathon, see notes 5 on § 1, and 25 on § 7, above.

<sup>17</sup> χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος, "with an enormous force of troops." The word πλήθος nearly corresponds with the French 'monde,' which also is sometimes employed to mean the aggregate of rank and file under the command of the general.

ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδὲν <sup>up four full years after the reduction of Egypt.</sup> φαίνεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικὸν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἐμβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρεφάμενοι ἐνέμοντο· τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρείος ἐτιμωρέετο<sup>22</sup>. μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρειδέων ἐς Ἴλιον, μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενον<sup>23</sup>. οἱ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον, τοὺς τε Θρήϊκας κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἤλασαν. Αὗται αἱ πᾶσαι, καὶ οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι<sup>24</sup> πρὸς ταύτησι γενόμεναι στρατηλασίαι, μῆς τῆσδε οὐκ ἄξιαί. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι· τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῖτά τε καὶ νέας.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς προσπαισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων <sup>22</sup> περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα ἐς τὸν Ἄθων ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὥρμεον τριήρεις<sup>25</sup>. <sup>Canal dug through the isthmus connecting</sup>

<sup>22</sup> τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρείος ἐτιμωρέετο. See i. 103—106, and iv. 4.

<sup>23</sup> τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενον. This expedition does not enter into the chain of events which are connected with one another by the author in the opening of his work (i. 1—4). And the reason of this seems to be, that it belonged to a different mythical cycle from that which he is there following. It is a tradition posterior to the time of CALLINUS, the elegiac poet of Ephesus. (STRABO, cited in note 332 on ii. 118.) The *Teucri* here mentioned are that race of which the Gergithians subjugated by Hymæas were the last relics. But although called the 'ancient Teucrians' (v. 122), and very probably an ancient race, the name was certainly more recent than the *Iliad*. See note 332 on ii. 118.

<sup>24</sup> οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι. The word οὐδὲ appears to be introduced here with the same object as οὐ in § 16, above: φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν. See note 300 on iv. 118.

<sup>25</sup> ἐν Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὥρμεον

τριήρεις. *Eleus*, which was at the extreme point of the Chersonese, was excellently situated as a look-out for all vessels from whatever quarter, proposing to enter the Hellespont. The Persian commander in the Chersonese appears to have possessed a semi-naval character. His title was *στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσιῶν ἀνδρῶν* (v. 25); and his jurisdiction appears to have extended over the neighbouring islands. We may perhaps suppose *Eleus* the head-quarters of the fleet under his command, with which he would control Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Thasos, and the maritime towns on the Thracian main. In this sense, therefore, *Eleus* may be said to be the point from which the engineering operations were carried on at the isthmus of Athos. The labourers employed in them would probably be relieved from thence, and also supplied with meal from the corn produced in Pontus, shipped in transports. The head-quarters of the commandant, however, would doubtless be *Seelos*, the strongest position in the Chersonese (ix. 116), and the point where the communication be-

Athos with  
the main.

ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὀρμεώμενοι, ὥρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων<sup>22</sup> παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων. ὥρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Βουβάρης<sup>23</sup> δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου<sup>24</sup>, καὶ Ἀρταχαΐης ὁ Ἀρταίου<sup>25</sup>, ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, ἐπεστάτεον τοῦ ἔργου. ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστόν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδὲς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δώδεκα σταδίων πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλάς<sup>26</sup> οἰκεται· αἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Σάνης ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἰκημένοι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτῶν ὥρμητο ποιεῖν, εἰς αἶδε Δίον, Ὀλόφυξος, Ἀκράθων<sup>27</sup>, Θύσσοι, Κλεωναί· πόλις μὲν αἰτται, αἱ τὸν Ἄθων νέμονται. Ὡρυσσον δὲ ὧδε δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο βαθεῖα ἡ διώρυξ, οἱ μὲν, κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες, ὥρυσσον ἔτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χεῖν ἄλλοισι κατ' ὑπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι, ἑτέροισι, ἔως

23

Method of  
conducting  
the exca-  
vation.

tween Europe and Asia, which it was of vital importance to the Persians to maintain, could be most securely preserved. Elæus is the scene of a transaction related by Herodotus elsewhere (ix. 116) on the authority of Chersonesitan informants (ix. 120).

<sup>22</sup> ὑπὸ μαστίγων. The practice of the Persian petty-officers to inflict summary corporal punishment, like the centurions in the Roman army and the boatswains in the English navy, seems to have struck the Greeks forcibly, judging by the way in which it is repeatedly noticed, e.g. §§ 56, 103, below. Larcher remarks, with the simplicity of a closet critic, that "a soldier thus treated must have been insensible to honour." It is strange that the instance of Marius, who "nodosam frangebant verbera vitæ, cum tardus pigrâ muniret castra dolabrâ," did not occur to his mind to disabuse him of such a pedantic notion.

<sup>23</sup> Βουβάρης. This individual is probably the same who is mentioned in v. 21.

<sup>24</sup> Μεγαβάζου. One MS has Μεγαβύζου.

<sup>25</sup> Ἀρταίου. S and V have Ἀρταχαίου.

<sup>26</sup> Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλάς. Sane was a

colony from Andros (THUCYDIDES, iv. 109), and appears to have contained a purely Hellenic population. The other towns are enumerated by Thucydides (who calls one *Acraethoi*), and described as containing a mixed population, speaking two languages. Sane was so near to Acanthus, that it would seem from the treaty made in the middle of the Peloponnesian war, it must have been placed by that town in the position of a dependency, and its citizens removed thither, as those of Alba were by Tullus to Rome. One provision is: *Μηκυβερναίους καὶ Σαναίους καὶ Σιργαίους οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς αὐτῶν, καθάπερ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι* (THUCYDIDES, v. 18.) In subsequent times its importance seems to have outgrown that of Acanthus; for STRABO (vii. *Fragm.* 15) obviously assigns that name to the locality occupied by Sane.

<sup>27</sup> Ἀκράθων. The MSS vary between Ἀκρόθων and Ἀκρόθων, and Gaisford adopts the former. But I have not hesitated to change the reading on the authority of THUCYDIDES (iv. 109). The *Acraethoi* are the inhabitants of the high peak of Athos, in which there are now so many monasteries.

ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεον τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι, πλὴν Φοινίκων, καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρέιχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένον, ἐμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε<sup>98</sup>, ὄρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιεῖντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον ἔδει αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι· προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου, συνήγον αἰεὶ κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐξισούτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορὴ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῆτος δὲ σφισι πολλὰς ἐφοῖτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀληλεσμένους. Ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν<sup>99</sup>, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκα αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὼν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ, εὖρος ὡς δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρεμέναις. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοις, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐπόλεε· παρασκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὄπλα<sup>100</sup> ἐς 25

<sup>98</sup> ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, "as much as fell to their shares." See note 370 on i. 106.

<sup>99</sup> ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν. This notion of Herodotus, that no permanent object was in view in the construction of a ship canal, was doubtless shared by many; and perhaps was partly the cause of the scepticism which many of the ancients felt as to the operation having been really effected, so that 'verificatus Athos' came to be reckoned with 'epota flumina Medo prandente' among the proverbial fictions of Greek historical writing. (JUVENAL, *Sat.* x. 178.) But the canal was traced by CARLYLE (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 224) throughout the whole of its extent. "It is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across. It has been much filled up with mud and rushes. Its bottom is in many places very little above the level of the sea; in some parts of it corn is sown, in others there are pools of water." And if it be regarded as a part of the system of arrange-

ments for the permanent occupation of the country, by facilitating the access of a fleet which might be required to carry stores for a land army whenever occasion demanded, it ceases to excite wonder. As for the amount of labour, it cannot have been any thing like so great as must have been expended on the great earth-works in Mesopotamia. But when the whole of the chain of military posts (with the exception of Doriscus) fell before the arms of the Greeks, the scope of the canal ceased to appear, and it came to be represented as due simply to the ostentatious spirit of the invader. Subsequent writers did not fail to improve upon this idea. PLUTARCH gives a letter written by Xerxes to Mount Athos, menacing it with his vengeance for opposition to his will. (*De cohibendâ irâ*, p. 455.)

<sup>100</sup> ὄπλα, "tackle." The word is applicable to all instruments used in working a vessel, and not confined to the ropes, although in this particular instance the ropes would be the most important por-

24  
Motives which induced Xerxes to attempt the work.

Preparation  
of stores for  
the expedi-  
tion.

τὰς γεφύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολλίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν<sup>a</sup>, ἵνα μὴ λιμῆνεια ἢ στρατιῇ, μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους, καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε ἵνα ἐπιτηδεύατον εἴη, ἄλλον ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντας ὀλκάσι τε καὶ πορθμητοῖσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὦν πλείστον ἐς Λευκὴν Ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηίκης ἀγίνεον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περυνθίων, οἱ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον<sup>101</sup>, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἱ δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίην διατεταγμένοι.

26

March of  
the army  
from *Critalla*, the  
point of rendezvous.  
They cross  
the *Halys*,  
and reach  
*Celæna*,  
where are  
the foun-  
tains of the  
*Mæander*  
and the

Ἐν τῷ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδις, ἐκ Κριτάλλων<sup>102</sup> ὁρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπείρου μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. δς μὲν νυν τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκείμενα<sup>103</sup> παρὰ βασιλέος ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς κρίσιν τούτου πέρι ἐλθόντας οἶδα· οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ<sup>104</sup>, δι' αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι παρεγένοντο ἐς Κελαινάς<sup>105</sup>. ἵνα

tion. In THEOCRITUS (xiii. 52) the order *κουφότερα ποιεῖσθαι ὄπλα* would imply the laying in the oars and, as English sailors express it, "making all snug," to prepare for the coming breeze indicated by the falling star.

<sup>a</sup> καταβάλλειν σιτία, "to form magazines of provision."

<sup>101</sup> ἐς Δορίσκον. See note 289 on v. 98. The site is described below, § 59. It will be observed that the places named here form a chain of posts along the line of march into Hellas. *Eion* and *Doriscus*, besides their accessibility from the sea, of which the Persians had the command, secured the passage over the Strymon and the Hebrus respectively. That the greatest quantity of stores should be laid up at Leuce Acte was likely from the circumstance that the supplies came chiefly from Pontus (above, § 23). What the particular points for magazines in Macedonia were, Herodotus does not say. His informant was perhaps a Hellespontine Greek, more familiar with his own neighbourhood than with the coast west of the Strymon. He also knew no particulars

which happened on the march until *Celænæ* was reached.

<sup>102</sup> ἐκ Κριτάλλων. *Critalla* was the frontier town of Cappadocia. See notes 243 on i. 72, and 130 on v. 52.

<sup>103</sup> τὰ προκείμενα. See above, § 8.

<sup>104</sup> ἐπεὶ τε διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ. The passage of the river here seems undoubtedly to be at the same place which Herodotus speaks of in v. 52. See the note 129 on that passage, and also 243 on i. 72.

<sup>105</sup> ἐς Κελαινάς. The population of this city were removed by Antiochus Soter to *Apamea*, which he built in honour of his mother *Apame*, and which became, next to Ephesus, the most important commercial town of Asia. (STRABO, xii. c. 8, p. 73.) From this circumstance it may be presumed that the same character had attached to *Celænæ*, which quite accords with its being the locality in which an individual like *Pythius* was established. See note 111, below. *Apamea* was situated at the source of the river *Marsyas*, which was no doubt the same as that which Herodotus calls *Cataract*, for the

πηγαί ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ<sup>106</sup>, καὶ ἐτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσ- *Cataract,*  
 σονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὖνομα τυγχάνει ἐὼν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ *which*  
 αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων ἀνατέλλων, ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον *bursts out*  
 ἐκδιδού· ἐν τῇ<sup>107</sup> καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σίληνου Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει *in the*  
 ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκ *agora.*  
 δαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ὑποκατήμενος Πύθιος *There too is*  
 ὁ Ἄττος<sup>108</sup>, ἀνὴρ Λυδός, ἐξείλισε τὴν βασιλέως στρατιὴν πᾶσαν *the Skin of*  
 ξεινίοισι μεγίστοισι καὶ αὐτὸν Ἑέρξεα, χρήματά τε ἐπαγγέλλετο *Marsyas.*  
 βουλόμενος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρέχειν ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα *27*  
 Πυθίου, εἶρετο Ἑέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρόντας, τίς τε ἐὼν ἀνδρῶν *Anecdote of*  
 Πύθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα κεκτημένος ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα; οἱ *Pythius the*  
 δὲ εἶπαν “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὗτός ἐστι ὃς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον *Lydian and*  
 ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῃ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῃ<sup>109</sup>. ὃς καὶ *his enor-*  
 νῦν ἐστι πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, μετὰ σέ.” *mous*  
 Θωμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον Ἑέρξης, αὐτὸς δεῦτερα εἶρετο *wealth.*  
 Πύθιον ὁκόσα οἱ εἶη χρήματα; ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε σε *28*  
 ἀποκρίψω οὔτε σκίψομαι τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν ἐμεινωτοῦ<sup>110</sup> οὐσίην,  
 ἀλλ’ ἐπιστάμενός τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα σε  
 ἐπυθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενός  
 τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα, ἐξέμαθον, καὶ εὖρον λογιζό-

current belief was that both the Marsyas and the Mæander rose from the same tarn, which was above the hill on which Celenas had stood. (STRABO, p. 74.) This tarn abounded in the reeds from which the musical pipes were made,—a circumstance which doubtless determined the assignment of this locality to the contest of Marsyas with Apollo.

<sup>106</sup> Ἰνα πηγαί ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ. In the time of XENOPHON the stream issued from a court in the palace of the younger Cyrus, which had been built there, surrounded with a park of wild animals preserved for the purposes of the chase. Probably this residence did not exist in the time of Herodotus, as he takes no notice of it, although the tradition ran that it was built by Xerxes on his retreat out of Europe after the defeat at Salamis. (*Anabasis*, i. 2. 9.)

<sup>107</sup> ἐν τῇ. One manuscript (*δ*) has ἐν φ. In the time of XENOPHON the skin was suspended in the grotto from whence the stream called Marsyas issued, and the

place where it joined the Mæander was fixed as the site of the slaying. (*Anabasis*, i. 2. 8.)

<sup>108</sup> Ἄττος. The manuscripts P, K, F, *δ* have Ἀτρίος.

<sup>109</sup> τῇ πλατανίστῃ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῃ. The article is to be observed: “the well-known golden plane,” &c. Pythius had doubtless both received benefits from Darius and rendered services to him (see note 111, below), and the superiority of Greek artists gave him an opportunity of making a present which for its beauty astonished the Medo-Persian courtiers. The trait of Xerxes knowing nothing of the man’s name, but being familiar with his magnificent present, is beautifully characteristic of courtly selfishness.

<sup>110</sup> ἐμεινωτοῦ. The majority of MSS have ἐμεινωτοῦ, which Gaisford retains. But ἐμεινωτοῦ exists in K, and it is perhaps more likely to have been altered into the usual form than the converse. In iv. 97 the great majority of the MSS have ἐμεινωτοῦ, and only two ἐμεινωτοῦ.



29 μένος, ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας εἰσάσας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεικῶν<sup>111</sup>, ἐπιδεούσας ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων. καὶ τοῦτοισί σε ἐγὼ δωρέομαι· αὐτῷ δ' ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπεδίων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος." Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε· Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, εἶπε "ξείνε Λυδὲ, ἐγὼ ἐπεὶ τε ἐξήλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώραν, οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμιξα ἐς τότε, ὅστις ἠθέλησε ξείνια προθεῖναι στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστὰς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σεῦ σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξείνισας μεγάλως στρατὸν τὸν ἐμόν, καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεαι. σοὶ ὦν ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ξείνόν τέ σε ποιεύμαι ἐμόν<sup>112</sup> καὶ

<sup>111</sup> τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεικῶν. If the *Daric* be reckoned at 17. 1s. 10-44d., which would be its value if compared with our own sovereigns with reference to the amount of pure gold in each, this sum would be enormous, and make the wealth of Pythius such as to throw into the shade not only the fortunes of European Greece, but even those of the modern millionnaires of England. But it seems clear from the excess of gold over silver, that this is too great an estimate of its current value in Phrygia at the time of Xerxes's invasion. Independently of the Lydian gold from the Tmolus, a great deal would come in from central Asia, where it has always been abundant in comparison of silver. (See the note 280 on iii. 95.) In the time of XENOPHON (*Anabasis*, i. 7. 18), when there had been a vast efflux of gold from Asia into Europe, the *daric* was still reckoned as equivalent to only twenty silver *drachms*, or 300 *darics* to one *talent*. This would give about 16s. 3d. for the value of the *daric*. Taking it at this sum, the property of Pythius would still amount to £3,400,000 in gold (after Xerxes had made it up to a round number), and £510,000 in silver. The wealth of Callias, the richest of Athenian citizens in the most flourishing times of the commonwealth, was assessed at 200 talents, or £51,000. (LYSIAS, xix. p. 649, *Reiske*.) The only way in which this enormous accumulation in the hands of a private individual in those days becomes conceivable, is by supposing that Pythius had farmed the revenues, and probably on very favourable terms, upon the constitution of Darius's system of satrapies. In carrying

out those arrangements the assistance of the experienced Lydian financiers would be one of the greatest necessities; and the same class of persons would, almost alone, be able to turn to their own advantage the troubles which ever since the destruction of the Lydian dynasty had prevailed in Asia. The whole matter becomes explicable if Pythius is regarded in the same light as the Fuggers of Augsburg, and his liberality to Xerxes as an act parallel to the well-known story of the head of that house; who presented the emperor Charles V., towards the close of a splendid entertainment he gave to him, with his own bond to light a pile of fragrant spices. In its turn the agency of Ionian capitalists will help to explain the peculiar order of the satrapies in Darius's cadastral system, as given by Herodotus, to which attention was called in note 261 on iii. 90. PLUTARCH (*de Virtut. Mul.* p. 262) gives a long story of Pythius, whom he calls Pythes, and whose wealth he derives from the discovery of some gold mines, and represents him as forcing all the inhabitants of "the city which he governed" to work these. He is converted from this policy by his wife, who gives him a practical lesson that gold is only useful as an article of exchange.

<sup>112</sup> ξείνόν τέ σε ποιεύμαι ἐμόν. In these formal expressions of friendship between persons of very unequal rank there seems to be the germ of modern titles, at any rate of that of "count" (*comes*). Philip of Macedonia gave a formality to the title *ἐταῖρος*, which he seems to have bestowed upon men of weight by whose services he hoped to profit.

τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοὶ τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλήσω παρ' ἐμευτοῦ, δοὺς τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἵνα μὴ τοὶ ἐπιδέεες ἔωσι αἱ τετρακοσίαι μυριάδες ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων, ἀλλ' ἢ τοὶ ἀπαρτιλογίῃ ὑπ' ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη κέκτησθ' αὐτὸς τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐκτίσας, ἐπίστασθ' αὐτὸ εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῦντι οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρεὸν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει."

Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας, ἐπορεύετο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω. 30

Ἄνανα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος, καὶ λίμνην Xerxes passes by Ἄνανα and a salt lake, and arrives ἐκ τῆς ἄλῃς γίνονται, ἀπῖκετο ἐς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυ- at Colossae, γίης <sup>113</sup>, ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, where the river Lycus ἐπεὶ διὰ σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδίδοι runs under καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαλανδρον. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁρμεώμενος ὁ ground for στρατὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ τῶν Λυδῶν, ἀπῖκετο ἐς five stades; Κύδραρα πόλιν ἔνθα στήλη <sup>114</sup> καταπεπηγυῖα, σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ then at Cydrara, Κροίσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὖρους. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς 31 on the fron- Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τῆς μὲν tier of Phry- ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδεις, τῇ gia and Ly- καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαλανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη dia, as shown by a stile set up by Croisus. γίνεται, καὶ ἵεναι παρὰ Καλλάτῃβον <sup>115</sup> πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δη- After this μιοεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρικής τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῖσι <sup>116</sup>, ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ divides, the

<sup>113</sup> ἐς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης. S and V omit the word μεγάλην, and the former has the form Κολοσσούς. The city Colosse is said by Στραβὸν to have derived its name from the peculiar aptness of the wool produced by the sheep in the neighbourhood to take the colour which was designated by that name. Laodicea, which was in the immediate neighbourhood, on the Lycus, was equally remarkable for the excellence of its wool in taking the colour called κόραζε (xii. c. 8, p. 74).

<sup>114</sup> Κύδραρα πόλιν ἔνθα στήλη. S has Κυδρεπύδιον, ἔνθα ἡ στήλη, an important variation, as it indicates that the monument was a well-known one. Two or three other MSS also have Κύδρα instead of Κύδραρα. Nothing is known of the town. Probably it was a mere frontier station, existing chiefly for the purpose of exacting transit duties,—a circumstance which would make it notable to travelling merchants. (See note 130 on v. 52.) It has been identified with the Carura of Στραβὸν (xiv. c. 3, p. 212) by Schweighäuser; but

Carura was the frontier town between Caria and Phrygia, whereas Cydrara is represented by Herodotus as the frontier between Phrygia and Lydia, and somewhat south of the point where the road towards Caria turned off.

<sup>115</sup> Καλλάτῃβον. The manuscripts S and V have Καλλάτιον. Nothing is known of the place. Probably it was only noted for the manufacture spoken of in the text. It has been placed by conjecture on the site of Philadelpheia, but apparently without any good reason.

<sup>116</sup> ἄνδρες δημοεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρικής τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῖσι. Herodotus speaks of an extensive manufacture of honey among one of the Libyan tribes (iv. 194). It must be remembered that the word 'honey' would, as naturally as the word 'sugar' with us, be employed by the ancients to express any saccharine substance which might be obtained by an artificial process. As the bee-honey furnished the original and also the principal means of sweetening, its name would be extended to

left leading  
to Caria,  
the right,

32

which  
Xerxes  
took, to  
Sardia.  
From Sar-  
dis heralds  
are sent  
into Hellas.

Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν, εὔρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησά-  
μενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῶ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας<sup>117</sup>,  
δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπύκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς  
Σάρδεις<sup>118</sup>, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, αἰτή-  
σοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλεῖ παρα-  
σκευάζειν· πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε  
ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησι<sup>119</sup>, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τὸ δεύ-  
τερον<sup>120</sup> ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ  
ἔδοσαν<sup>121</sup> Δαρεῖω πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχυ ἔδοκεε τότε δέισαντας  
δώσειν βουλόμενος ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ἔπεμπε<sup>122</sup>,  
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἄβυδον.

33

Site of the  
bridge  
across the  
Hellespont.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς  
τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ,  
Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τραχέα ἐς θάλασσαν  
κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντλὼν ἔνθα μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ  
πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίων,  
Ἀρταύκτην<sup>123</sup> ἄνδρα Πέρσῃ λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον, ζῶντα  
πρὸς σανίδα προσδιεπασσάλευσαν δς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ  
ἶρον ἐς Ἐλαιούντα<sup>124</sup> ἀγινεόμενος γυναῖκας, ἀθέμιτα ἔρδεσκε. Ἐς  
ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὀρμεώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι  
προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν<sup>125</sup> λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν  
βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτου· ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν

all others. The word *δημιουργός* is mentioned by *ATHENÆUS* (iv. 172) as having been the name given by the *ancients* (οἱ πρότερον) to the makers of pastry,—which may induce the conjecture that the origin of this kind of cakes was in the offerings made to the deities, and that a peculiar mode of manufacturing them was preserved as a part of the sacred traditions, and committed to the hands of certain officials.

<sup>117</sup> μελεδωνῶ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας, "having committed it to the charge of a member of the Immortal Band as its guardian." Of these "immortals," see below, § 83.

<sup>118</sup> ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις. It will be observed that in the description of the route of Xerxes to Sardis, there is no pretence at any thing like the accuracy of an itinerary. All the points mentioned have a mercantile interest, which appears on

the very face of the matter, and nothing is related which would not naturally remain in the current traditions of the several localities. These considerations are important in estimating the value of the details in Herodotus's story.

<sup>119</sup> πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας . . . αἴτησι. For a reason of this see § 133, below.

<sup>120</sup> τὸ δεύτερον. These words are omitted by S and V.

<sup>121</sup> ἔδοσαν. The MSS are divided between this word and ἔπεμψαν.

<sup>122</sup> βουλόμενος ὦν . . . ἔπεμπε. This clause is omitted in V, and apparently from no error of vision in the transcriber.

<sup>123</sup> Ἀρταύκτην. Of this Artayctes see ix. 120, below.

<sup>124</sup> ἐς Ἐλαιούντα. See note on § 22, above.

<sup>125</sup> τὴν μὲν. The word with which τὴν agrees is γέφυραν, gathered by inference from the preceding verb ἐγεφύρουν.

ἀπαντιόν. Καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένον τοῦ πόρου, ἐπυγενόμενος χειμῶν 35  
 μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκείνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο Story of the  
 Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιούμενος, τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐκέλευε τριηκοσίας outrageous  
 ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς<sup>126</sup>, καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων behaviour  
 ζεύγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὡς καὶ στυγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε of Xerxes  
 way.  
 στίζοντας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐνετέλλετο δὴ ὦν ραπίζοντας λέγειν  
 βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· “ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι  
 δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον  
 παθόν καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἣν τε σύ γε  
 βούλῃ ἦν τε μή σοι δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων  
 θύει, ὡς εἰνὶ δολερῷ τε καὶ ἄλμυρῷ ποταμῷ<sup>127</sup>.” τήν τε δὴ  
 θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιούν, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ  
 ζεύξι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς. Καὶ οἱ μὲν 36  
 ταῦτα ἐποίεον τοῖσι προσεκέετο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμὴ· τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι  
 ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὥδε πεντηκοντέρους καὶ

<sup>126</sup> τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς. The construction is the same as if the author had said ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐκέλευε τριηκοσίας ἰκέσθαι πληγὰς, “he ordered that three hundred stripes with the scourge should be applied to the Hellespont.” By the way in which *Æschylus* speaks of the act of bridging over the strait, it seems likely that the whole story of the insults wreaked on the Hellespont has for its foundation “poetry condensed into fact.”

ὅστις Ἑλλησποντον ἱδὼν, δοῦλον ὡς δεσφύμασιν  
 ἤλπισε σχῆσειν βρόντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον  
 θεοῦ,  
 καὶ πόρον μετεβῆθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις  
 περιβαλὼν πολλὰν κέλευθον ἤρυσεν πολλὰ  
 στρατῶ,  
 θητὸς ὢν, θεῶν δὲ πάντων φειτ' οὐκ εὐ-  
 βουλῆα  
 καὶ Ποσειδάωνος κρατήσσειν, πῶς τὰδ' οὐ  
 νόσος φρενῶν; (*Pers.* 745.)

It seems quite plain that in the time when the *Persians* were produced on the stage, the particulars related by Herodotus of Xerxes's fury were unknown at Athens. His impiety is made to consist in the forcing his passage across the sacred strait, the displeasure of which had been already evinced. Under more equivocal circumstances Cleomenes did not venture to cross the *Erasmus* (vi. 76). *Æschylus* repre-

sents the Persian metaphorically as treating the Hellespont like a rebellious slave,—for whom bonds, the lash, and the *στίγματα* would be the appropriate punishment; and the popular traditions supplied these, although the last feature seems (as was not unlikely from its utter inappropriateness) to have been wanting in most of these. It did not appear in the account with which *JUVENAL* was familiar, which also varied in making the *winds*, not the Hellespont, the objects scourged.

Ille tamen qualis rediit, Salamine relictâ,  
 In *Caurum* atque *Eurum* solitus sævire  
 flagellis  
 Barbarus, *Æolio* nunquam hoc in carcere  
 passos?  
 Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigæum,  
 Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmatibus  
 Credidit! (*Sat.* x. 179, *seqq.*)

The address to the Hellespont, which is put into the mouth of the Persian king, is of nearly the same stamp as the letter to Mount Athos given by Plutarch. See note 99, above.

<sup>127</sup> ποταμῷ. The Hellespont, perfectly land-locked, and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing in it altogether the appearance of a ‘river;’ and it is from this notion of it that the epithets *ῥατὶς* and *ἀπείρων* are applied to it in the Homeric poems.

τριήρας συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην τεσσαρεσκαῖδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας<sup>128</sup> τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ρόον, ἵνα ἀνακαυχέη τὸν τόνον τῶν ὄπλων συνθέντες δὲ, ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκειας—τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης, τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεούτων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης [τῆς<sup>129</sup>] πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου—εὗρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα· διέκπλουν δὲ ὑπόφανσιν<sup>130</sup> κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων

<sup>128</sup> τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας. See the note on iv. 101. It is impossible that any persons who had ever constructed a pontoon bridge should think of mooring vessels, when stability was an object, in any other position than with their heads or sterns in the direction of the current; and it is such an erroneous assumption which has caused so much difficulty in the understanding of this passage. Owing to the shape of the channel the set of the current is not in the line of water, but oblique from one shore to the other. A vessel therefore laid, as it must be if it is not to be soon carried away, *in the line of the current*, would be at an angle to the apparent line of the shore of the Propontis; it would seem as if not going direct up channel. All the ships were so moored,—each being what the writer describes the whole to have been,—with the object of “steadying the strain of the tackle” (ἵνα ἀνακαυχέη τὸν τόνον τῶν ὄπλων). The only difficulty arises from the circumstance that the author imagines the pontoon-ships to have been *first* put together (συνθέντες), and then brought into line by an operation like that effected with the tubes of the Menai tunnel; whereas no doubt they were first anchored individually, then brought accurately into line by heaving at the capstan, and finally made fast to each other. The two bridges reciprocally acted as breakwaters to each other against the effects of the prevalent winds, the East and the South-west. (See note 87 on iv. 27.) No doubt anchors were also laid out from the inner extremity of each vessel in the two lines, but these would not need to be of the size of the external ones, as the strain upon them would be much less.

STRABO describes the line of the bridge as having been from a point *above* Abydos to one a little *below* Sestos, which in his time bore the name of *Apobathra*. The ferrymen in crossing from Sestos used to

go down channel a short distance until they came off ‘Hero’s Tower,’ from which point the set of the current enabled them to make Abydos. From Abydos, on the contrary, they crept up along shore for about eight stades, and then stood for Sestos. The distance from port to port he puts at thirty stades, but the length of the bridge at only seven (xiii. c. 1, p. 96). The passage from Europe to Asia was considered the easier.

<sup>129</sup> [τῆς.] This word is not found in S, P, F, and I have little doubt that it is an interpolation. It seems impossible to give any sense to the passage if it be retained. But after expunging it from Gaisford’s text, on the authority of the above-mentioned MSS, the sense becomes manifest, making allowance for the false notion the author entertained of the mode of the operation. Translate: “After attaching together penteconters and triremes, 360 for the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea, and 314 for the other (all laid at an angle to the sea, but in the line of the stream of the Hellespont, to steady the strain on the gear), they laid out anchors with very long flukes,—some on the side of the sea for the one bridge, on account of the winds that blew from inwards; and for the other bridge, on the side of the west and the Ægean,—[they laid them out, I say] on account of the e. and a.w. winds [respectively].”

<sup>130</sup> ὑπόφανσιν. This word is used in the sense of ‘a window’ in the LXX (EZEKIEL xli. 16), διέκπλους ὑπόφανσις appears to mean ‘a passage like a window,’ i.e. an arch. We must suppose a line of triremes and penteconters alternated in general, but in three places one of the latter left out in order to allow of a passage during the time of the construction of the bridge. Before the army crossed these were doubtless restored to their proper places, and made to bear their share of the pressure of the main cables,

καὶ τριχοῦ, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλέειν πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνουσι τὰ ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων παχύτης μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλοιή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἦν ἐμβριθέστερα τὰ λίνεα· τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἴλκε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμούς ξύλων καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίστης τῷ εὐρεῖ, κόσμῳ ἐπετίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὤπλων τοῦ τόνου θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὺς ἐπεξεύγγνουσιν ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα, ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην, γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

Ὡς δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκευάστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν 37  
 Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ<sup>131</sup> περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, (οἱ τῆς ῥηχίης The bridge and the canal being reported complete, Xerxes moves his army on Abydos in the early spring. Just at the same time an eclipse of the sun alarms him, but the Ma-  
 εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν ἵνα μὴ πῖμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος,) καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως πεποιημένη ἀγγέλτο· ἐνθαῦτα χειμῆ-  
 ρίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὠρμάτο ἐλὼν ἐς Ἄβυδον. ὠρμημένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὗτ' ἐπινεφέλων<sup>132</sup> ἔόντων, αἰθρίας τε τὰ μάλιστα· ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο· ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο· καὶ εἴρετο τοὺς μάγους τὸ θέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα; οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ

which were passed from shore to shore, and strained tight by the gigantic capstans (ὄνοι) on land.

<sup>131</sup> χυτοί. These appear to have been moles or breakwaters run out for some distance, to prevent the mouth of the canal from being choked up by the shingle, which would otherwise accumulate. The phrase ῥηχίης is not to be interpreted too strictly, as if it meant merely the rise of the tide. That would be very inconsiderable (although not absolutely null) in this part of the Mediterranean. But a great sea would get up on the shore under the influence of the Etesian winds, and soon fill the mouth of the channel with shingle and sand, unless prevented by some such contrivance as that referred to in the text.

<sup>132</sup> ἐπινεφέλων. So Gaisford prints.

But two MSS have ἐπὶ νεφέλων, and several ἐπὶ νεφέων. If absolute dependence could be placed on the statement that an eclipse took place, as Herodotus relates, the exact time of the passage of the raft might be determined. But it seems (see LARCHEER), that no eclipse took place in the year 480 B.C. which would be visible at Abydos, although such a one did occur the year before. It is however quite impossible to reconcile the passage of the army in that year with the general chronology of Herodotus's history. See notes 5 and 25, above. It is more reasonable to suppose that in subsequent times the traditions connected the celebrated eclipse of 481 with the transit of Xerxes in 480. See note 32 on iii. 10, and 221 on vi. 98.

gians re-  
assure him.

38  
Story of the  
horrible  
punishment  
for an  
offence  
given by  
Pythius the  
Lydian.

θεὸς ἔκλειψεν τῶν πολλῶν λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέ-  
κτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων <sup>133</sup>. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περι-  
χαρῆς ἔων ἐποίεετο τὴν ἔλασιν <sup>134</sup>. Ὡς δ' ἐξήλανε τὴν στρατιήν,  
Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαρθείς  
τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ δέσποτα,  
χρήσας ἂν τι τεῦ βουλομένην τυχεῖν <sup>135</sup>, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρόν τυγχάνει  
ἔον ὑπουργήσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον” Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον  
δοκέων μιν χρητῶσειν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσῃ καὶ δια-  
γορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτεν δέοιτο· ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε  
θαρήσας τάδε· “ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσί μοι παῖδες ἔοντες πέντε,  
καὶ σφῆας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν  
Ἑλλάδα· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἥκοντα οἰκτεῖρας,  
τῶν μοι παιδῶν ἓνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγῆς τὸν πρεσβύτατον” <sup>136</sup>,

<sup>133</sup> λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προ-  
δέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. This passage  
indicates a great change in the religion of  
the Persian court as compared with the  
time of Cambyses. (See notes on iii. 35,  
and on § 114, below.) The same doctrine  
was laid down by the Egyptians in Alex-  
ander's army, which had been terrified by  
an eclipse of the moon just before the  
battle of Arbela. (CURTIUS, iv. 10. 7.)  
But it seems not unlikely from the expres-  
sion “veteraque exempla percensent,” that  
the story is framed on the model of this  
very passage. At any rate Darius, very  
soon after (iv. 13. 12), is represented as  
invoking “Solem Mithren, sacrumque et  
aeternum ignem.” The popular notion at  
Athens in the time of the Peloponnesian  
war was that both sun and moon were the  
especial deities of the barbarians, as con-  
trast distinguished from the anthropomorphic  
divinities of European Hellas. Thus AXI-  
STOPHANES takes advantage of the irregu-  
larity of the Athenian calendar to show  
the Athenians how the feuds of Greece  
served the policy of Persia:

ΤΡ. σοὶ φράσω τι πρᾶγμα δεῖνόν καὶ  
μέγα,  
ὃ τοῖς θεοῖς ἅπασιν ἐπιβουλευέται·  
ΕΡ. τίς δὲ, κατέειπ'· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν πεί-  
σαις ἐμὲ.

ΤΡ. ἡ γὰρ σελήνη καὶ πανοῦργος ἥλιος  
οὖν ἐπιβουλεύοντε πολλὸν ἤδη χρόνον  
τοῖς βαρβάροις προβίβοντι τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

ΕΡ. ἵνα τί δὲ τοῦτο δρᾶτον; ΤΡ. ὅτι  
νῆ Δία

ἡμεῖς μὲν ὑμῖν θύομεν, τοῖσι τοῖσι δὲ  
οἱ βάρβαροι θύουσι. (Pac. 403.)

<sup>134</sup> περιχαρῆς ἔων ἐποίεετο τὴν ἔλασιν.  
Photius (*Biblioth.* p. 39) gives the following  
words as the summary of ΟΥΡΑΣΙΑΣ, im-  
mediately after mentioning the building of the  
bridge: Δημάρτος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος  
παρεγένετο ἥδη πρῶτον, καὶ συνῆν αὐτῷ  
ἐν τῇ διαβάσει, καὶ ἀπείργε τῆς εἰς Λακε-  
δαίμονα ἐφόδου. It is observable that  
while differing in every particular, the  
prominent point brought forward equally  
in both narratives is the dim apprehension  
of calamity impending if the strait should  
be crossed.

<sup>135</sup> χρήσας ἂν τι τεῦ βουλομένην τυχεῖν,  
“I would fain obtain at thy hands a thing  
I wished for.” The particle ἂν is to be  
taken with βουλομένην.

<sup>136</sup> τὸν πρεσβύτατον. It would seem  
that the anger of Xerxes was mainly ex-  
cited by the request of Pythius being made  
for his eldest son,—who, according to  
oriental ways of thinking, would be the  
most precious of his children. (See the  
note 676 on i. 199.) Hence the expression  
τοῦ περιέχειαι μάλιστα in Xerxes's reply.  
SENECA ‘improves’ the story, by making  
Pythius ask for one son without specifying  
which. Xerxes allows him to take his  
choice, and having by this means dis-  
covered which was the favourite child,  
proceeds in the manner related in the  
text. (*De Ira*, iii. 17.) See the note  
235 on iv. 84. The non-historical cha-  
racter of the story is confirmed by the  
circumstance that no eclipse seems to have  
happened in the year when the army  
crossed into Europe. (See note 132,  
above.) Compare note 235 on iv. 84.

ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἢ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγευ ἅμα σεωντῶ· καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστήσειας ὀπίσω.” 39  
 Κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης, καὶ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε “ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῦ στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμούς καὶ ἀδελφεοὺς καὶ οἰκητοὺς καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο παιδός· ἐὼν ἐμὸς δοῦλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικίῃ αὐτῇ γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι; εὖ νῦν τόδ’ ἐξεπίστασο, ὡς ἐν τοῖσι ὥσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός· ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλᾷ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοισι ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει· ὅτε μὲν νῦν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλαιο, εὐεργεσίῃσι βασιλέα οὐ καυχῆσαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμβψαι, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης· σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ ἐνός, τοῦ περιέχειαι μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσῃ.” ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προστετάκτο ταῦτα πρῆσσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμῆν διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ δὲ ἐπ’ ἀριστερά· καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατὸν<sup>137</sup>.

Ποιοσάντων δὲ τούτων τούτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξῆγε ὁ στρατός· 40  
 ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνῶν ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι<sup>138</sup>. τῇ<sup>Order of the line of march.</sup>  
 δὲ ὑπερῆμισες ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο<sup>139</sup>. καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεῖ. προηγύντο μὲν δὴ ἱππῶται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ, αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ, ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι<sup>140</sup> καλούμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τούτῳ· ἔστι πεδῖον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς<sup>141</sup> τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Νίσαιον τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους

<sup>137</sup> καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατὸν. See note 236 on iv. 84.

<sup>138</sup> στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνῶν ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι. These troops were probably raised for general service, and entered into the framework of the standing army. Such an arrangement, natural to a great empire, was quite foreign to the habits of the Greeks of Herodotus's time, where the civil relations were not lost sight of in associating levies from different states.

<sup>139</sup> τῇ δὲ ὑπερῆμισες ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα

διελέλειπτο, "in the point where the half of the number was turned, there a break in the line had been left."

<sup>140</sup> Νισαῖοι. Some of the MSS have Νησαῖοι.

<sup>141</sup> πεδῖον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς. See note 307 on iii. 106. RAWLINSON says (*Journal of the Geogr. Soc.* ix. p. 101), "With Herodotus, who was most imperfectly acquainted with the geography of Media, originated the error of transferring to that province the Nisæa (Ness) of



τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἰλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ· ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἵπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος, ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει· τούτου δὲ ὅπισθεν αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων παραβέβηκε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ ὄννομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὅτανεω  
 41 παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω<sup>142</sup>. Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθεν αἰχμοφόροι, Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναῖότατοι, χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες<sup>143</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίῃ ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον, ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοιᾶς εἶχον χρυσέας<sup>144</sup>, καὶ περίξ συνεκλήιον τοὺς ἄλλους· οἱ δὲ

Khorassan, and all later writers either copied or confounded his statement. Strabo alone has escaped from the general confusion. . . . In his description we recognize the great grazing plains of Kháwah, Alish-tar, Huru, Silákhúr, Burbúrúd, Jápálák, and Ferídún, which thus stretch in a continuous line from one point to another along the southern frontiers of Media." These pastures lie along the mountain range, reaching from about Behistun (*Bagistane*), lat. 34° 16', long. 47° 35', to Ispahan, and it is probably the westernmost of them which were visited by Alexander on his march from Susa to Agbatana. (ARRIAN, vii. 13.)

<sup>142</sup> Ὅτανεω παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω. The office of ἡνίοχος was no doubt one of high rank, like that of bow-bearer and quiver-bearer and all others which involved close proximity to the person of the sovereign. This circumstance suggests that Patiramphe may have been son of the conspirator Otanes, apparently the most powerful of the Persian aristocracy. (See notes 192 on iii. 68, and 390 on iii. 141, and the exceptional position of his family described in the text, iii. 84.) On the other hand, it is certainly striking that so important an individual as the conspirator Otanes should be designated merely as ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, if the narrative here belongs to the same cycle of historical traditions as the account of the conspiracy in Book III.

<sup>143</sup> κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες. This seems to indicate, when taken in

connexion with the reversal of the arms of the guard who preceded the sovereign, a symbol of respect to him. The notion seems to have been that the rear guard were regarded as more in the actual presence of the monarch than the advanced guard. In the university of Cambridge the maces of the esquire bedells are borne reversed when preceding any other official than the chancellor himself.

<sup>144</sup> ῥοιᾶς . . χρυσέας. These pomegranates were no doubt sacred emblems. (See note 666 on i. 195.) The statue of Here in the temple at Mycenæ had a pomegranate in the one hand and a sceptre (on which a cuckoo was perched) in the other. PAUSANIAS says that there was a secret doctrine connected with the former (ii. 17. 4). The statue Pausanias saw was by Polyclethus, but the symbol would doubtless be traditional, and derived from a much earlier time. The wife of the 'rex sacrificulus' at Rome, when sacrificing, wore a garland composed of a twig of the same tree. (FESTUS, v. *Inarculum*, and SERVIVS, *ad Æn.* iv. 137.) As the deity at Mycenæ was a *θεὸς γαμήλιος*, and the rites at Rome alluded to were of the same nature as the Attic Thesmophoria, it seems likely that the productivity of nature was symbolized by the fruit, remarkable as it was for the number of seeds it contained. In this case the deity to which the emblem belonged would be some form of Aphrodite Urania, and would be a recent adoption among the pure Persians,

εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἔοντες ἀργυρέας ροῖας εἶχον. (εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροῖας καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ᾄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρῃ.) τοῖσι δὲ μυριοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρὴ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίου, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὁμιλος ἦε ἀναμῖξ.

Ἐποικέτο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν 42

Καίικον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην ἀπὸ δὲ Καϊκου<sup>145</sup> ὁρμεώμενος, Κάνης Course of the march from Sardis to Abydos.

ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνεὸς ἐς Καρῖνὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου<sup>146</sup> ἐπορεύετο, Ἀτραμύττειόν τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα<sup>147</sup> παραμειβόμενος· τὴν Ἴδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χέρα<sup>148</sup>, ἦε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταὶ τε καὶ πρηστῆρες ἐπεισπίπτουσι, καὶ τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχνὸν ὁμιλον διέφθειραν.

Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς πρῶτος 43

ποταμῶν ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλυπε τὸ ῥέεθρον, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον<sup>149</sup> ἀνέβη, ἡμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι· θεησάμενος

probably under the name of *Mitra*. See i. 132, above. LAYARD professes to have found the pomegranate among the sacred emblems on the Nimroud sculptures. (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 296.) A Parthian with a short spear, at the extremity of which is a sphere, is figured by HOPF. (*Costumes of the Ancients*, vol. i. fig. 13.)

<sup>145</sup> ἀπὸ δὲ Καϊκου. From this point the line of march until the Hellespont was crossed would lie among an Æolian population, which covered the whole country from Cyzicus to the Caicus. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 81.) *Cane* is the promontory which constitutes the southern point of the bay of Adramyttium, Lectium, a spur of Mount Ida, being the northern one. (Id. *ib.* p. 134.)

<sup>146</sup> διὰ Θήβης πεδίου. The town *Thebe* is represented in the *Iliad* as having been sacked by Achilles, together with eleven others in the neighbourhood. It was there that Chryses, the priest of Apollo under the name of *Hecatus* (see note 506 on i. 151), dwelt, and Andromache, the wife of Hector, was the daughter of its king Aetion. Xerxes, according to the text, seems to have kept the coast road which led from Atarneus to Adramyttium, but

on arriving near the latter place to have passed between it and Antandrus, and struck northwards into the hill country between Ida and a range running east and west, called in the *Iliad* *Placus*, under which Thebe lay.

<sup>147</sup> Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα. See note 179 on i. 56.

<sup>148</sup> τὴν Ἴδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χέρα. It is not easy to understand this expression; for if Xerxes had left Ida on his left, he would have come upon the *Granicus*, not upon the *Scamander*. Their sources however were not distant from one another, although the rivers descended on opposite sides of the water-shed. (STRABO, xiii. p. 113.) His route between Adramyttium and Abydos is over the top of Ida, and there seems no obvious reason why he should have abandoned the coast road, which, although longer, would have been much easier for a large army. Perhaps the bulk of the force did really take the coast road, and only a detachment accompany the king by the short cut over the mountains.

<sup>149</sup> ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον. This phrase is perhaps used to distinguish the place visited by Xerxes from the hill-fort

δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος κείνων ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βούς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι <sup>150</sup> ἐχέαντο· ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε· ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεύτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτειον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥπερ δὴ Ἀβύδῳ δμουρός ἐστι, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς <sup>151</sup>.

44  
In Abydos  
the army  
is reviewed.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ἰδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατὸν καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῇ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ <sup>152</sup>. ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυθῆνοι, ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέως· ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἔζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας· θηεύμενος δὲ ἰμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν <sup>153</sup> γινομένην ἰδέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες

45  
Xerxes is  
moved to  
tears,

Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. Ὡς δὲ ὦρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυθηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα

46  
and Arta-  
banus takes

Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. Μαθὼν δὲ μιν Ἀρτάβανος <sup>154</sup> ὁ πάτριος, δς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο

which Lysimachus afterwards made the acropolis of the celebrated city of the same name.

<sup>150</sup> τοῖσι ἥρωσι. The barrows with which this locality abounds were all regarded as the burial place of some of the worthies of the Trojan war, and chapels were erected to these, either on them or on the elevations in the neighbourhood. At Rhætæum was a chapel of Ajax, at Ophrynum a grave of Hector, at Sigeum the tomb of Achilles. The tomb of Hecuba (called κυνὸς σῆμα) was between Dardanus and Abydos; and near Sigeum was that of Protesilaus. (STRABO, xiii. p. 102, *seqq.*) Larcher attempts to account for the discrepancy between the conduct of Xerxes here and the habits ascribed to the Persians in i. 132, by supposing that it arose from a desire to conciliate the gods of the land through which the army was passing. There is no doubt something in this; but the true explanation is (I believe) to be found in the view put forth in the *Excursus* on iii. 74, pp. 434—5.

<sup>151</sup> Γέργιθας Τευκρούς. These Gergithians had been subdued by the Persian general Hymeas in the course of putting down the Ionian rebellion (v. 122, above).

<sup>152</sup> προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ. Massive marble chairs were set up in many places in Greece, sometimes in honour of distinguished individuals, sometimes consecrated to certain deities. Such a one, existing at Rhamnus, is described by MR. RAIKES. (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 310.) The custom appears in the Homeric poems (*Il.* xviii. 504). *Job* too says of himself, ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἐτίθετό μου ὁ δῖφος (xxix. 7), when enumerating the particulars of the prosperity of his former days.

<sup>153</sup> ἄμιλλαν, "a contest of speed," not "a sea-fight."

<sup>154</sup> Ἀρτάβανος. HERMOGENES the rhetorician, in quoting a part of the dialogue which follows, makes not *Artabanus*, but *Artabazus* to be the party with whom the Persian king discourses. This is doubtless owing to a slip of the memory, the attention of the writer being taken up by the substance of the discussion, and the name of the interlocutor being comparatively a matter of indifference. But this very circumstance should operate as a caution to those who attempt to identify the individuals mentioned here and there in the stories related by Herodotus with one another; for exactly the same causes which influenced Hermogenes would also

ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλευέων Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὤνηρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα εἶρετο τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολὺ ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαιο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῃ πρότερον; μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωντὸν δακρύεις” ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ἐσθήθε γάρ με”<sup>155</sup> λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἔοντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· “ἕτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζῆν πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα· ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεὶ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἀνθρώπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἄπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν αἷ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι”<sup>156</sup> καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσιν καὶ βραχὺν ἔοντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεύσι τὸν βίον· οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζῆς, καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγρονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκύν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἑὼν”<sup>157</sup>. Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· “Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νῦν ἀνθρωπητῆς πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἷη περ σὺ διαιρεῖαι”<sup>158</sup> εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνέωμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσὶ· φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργῆς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἶχες ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίην γνώμην οὐκ ἐὼν με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ μετέστης ἂν; φέρε μοι τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανέῖσα τοῦ ὀνείρου ὡς βουλόμεθα ἀμφοτέροι τελευτήσῃ· ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δειμάτός εἰμι ὑπόπλεος, οὐδ' ἐντὸς ἐμεωυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ὀρέων τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἔοντα πολεμώτατα.”

advantage of the mood to impress him with the uncertainty of human affairs.

47

operate upon the authorities through which the accounts came to Herodotus. See note 116 on i. 32, note 494 on ii. 160, and note 368 on iv. 144.

<sup>155</sup> ἐσθήθε γάρ με. A similar expression is used above, iii. 42: τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσθήθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρήγμα, vi. 125: ἰδὼντα τὸν Κροῖσον γέλωτος ἐσθήθε, and in other passages.

<sup>156</sup> προσπίπτουσιν. STOBÆUS, in quoting this passage, has the variation συμπίπτουσιν, which is used by Herodotus above, i. 139: καὶ τότε ἄλλο σφι ἔδε συμπίπτωκε γίνεσθαι, and by THUCYDIDES, iii. 59: κατανοῦντες . . . ὡς ἀσάθμητον τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ᾧ τίτ' τοι' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίω

ξυμπίεσοι.

<sup>157</sup> ὁ δὲ θεὸς . . . εὐρίσκεται ἑὼν. Translate: “the deity, after giving us a taste of sweetness in our life, is found to mean spite in so doing.” The vender of wine would “give a taste” (γεύειν) in order to allure a purchaser. Hence SILENUS, in the *Cyclops* of EURIPIDES, says: γεῦμα τὴν ὥρην καλεῖ (v. 150). The meaning of Artabanus is, that the happiness of life is bestowed merely to arouse desire, in order that the greater pain may be inflicted by thwarting it. “Ut casu graviore ruant, tolluntur in altum.” Upon the θεῶν φθόνος see note 119 on iii. 40.

<sup>158</sup> διαιρεῖαι. See note 604 on i. 180.

- 48 Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε “ δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ τὸ πλήθος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου; ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκεῖνων; ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ ἐνδεέστερα φαίνεται εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα,
- 49 στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἀγερσιν ποιῶιτο.” Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο λέγων “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν<sup>159</sup> τοῦτον ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει μέμφουτ' ἂν, οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλήθος· ἦν τε πλεύνας συλλέξης, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῶ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεσθαι· τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἔστι γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα· οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάω, ὅστις ἐγερομένου χειμῶνος δεξιόμενός σευ τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικόν, φερέγγυος ἔσται διασῶσαι τὰς νέας· καὶ τοι οὐκί ἕνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡπειρον, παρ' ἣν δὴ κομῖαι· οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίῳ<sup>160</sup>, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκὶ ὠνθρωποι τῶν συμφορῶν καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰρημένου, τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων γῆ δὴ<sup>161</sup> πολεμίῃ τῇδὲ τοι κατίσταται· εἰ ἐθέλοι τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξοον καταστήναι, τοσοῦτφ τοι γίνεσθαι πολεμιωτέρῃ ὅσφ ἂν προβαίνης ἐκαστέρῳ, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος<sup>162</sup>. εὐπρηξίης γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρη<sup>163</sup>. καὶ δὴ τοι, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω

<sup>159</sup> οὔτε στρατὸν, κ.τ.λ. Valcknser calls attention to the circumstance of the following sentiments of Artabanus being by SENECA (*de Benef.* vi. 31) put into the mouth of Demaratus, while, on the other hand, the argument relative to the succession (§ 3, above), which Herodotus ascribes to Demaratus, is by FLUTARCH and others who followed him attributed to Artabanus. See note 154, above.

<sup>160</sup> ὑποδεξίῳ, i.e. ἱκανῶν ὥστε ὑποδέχσθαι. The analogy of ἀλώσιμος, ναπηγήσιμος, &c., would lead one to expect the form ὑποδέξιμος. The fear of not finding sufficient accommodation for their ships induced a tripartite division of the fleet which sailed from Athens on the fatal Sicilian expedition, although that consisted only of one hundred and thirty-seven ships. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 42.)

<sup>161</sup> γῆ δὴ. So S. The other MSS have

γῆ δὲ, which Gaisford follows.

<sup>162</sup> τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος, “being cheated as you go of [real] advance.” The meaning seems to be, that success not being complete is no success at all. Whatever is achieved, more will seem to remain behind.

<sup>163</sup> εὐπρηξίης γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρη, “with men there is no such thing as a plethora of success.” This is exactly parallel to the sentiment of the Chorus in the *Agamemnon* of ÆSCHYLUS, where the thought is very beautifully followed up:

τὸ μὲν εὖ πρόσσειν ἀκέραιον ἔφην  
πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδεκτῶν δ'  
ὅστις ἀπειπὼν εἶργει μελᾶδρον,  
ΜΗΚΕΤ' ΕΞΕΛΘΗ· ΤΑΔΕ, φωνῶν.  
(ss. 1331-4.)

τὴν χώραν πλεῖνα ἐν πλεῖνι χρόνῳ γινομένην λιμὸν τέτρεσθαι.  
 ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρραδῶει, πᾶν  
 ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρήμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη.” Ἀμεί 50  
 βεται Ξέρξης τοῖσδε “ Ἀρτάβαγε, οἰκότης μὲν σύ γε τούτων  
 ἕκαστα διαίρει· ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο, μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπι-  
 λέγει· εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπесφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ  
 πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσεις ἂν οὐδαμὰ οὐδὲν κρέσσον δὲ  
 πάντα θαρσέοντα ἡμῖν τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον, ἢ πᾶν χρήμα  
 προδιδυμῶντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν· εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ  
 λεγόμενον, μὴ τὸ βέβαιον<sup>164</sup> ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλῃσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν  
 αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν  
 ἐπίσης ἔχει· εἶδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα κῶς χρὴ τὸ βέβαιον;  
 δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοις ποιεῖν, ὥς τὸ  
 ἐπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα· τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενοισί τε  
 πάντα καὶ ὀκνεῖσι, οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. ὁρᾷς τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα  
 ἐς δὲ δυνάμει προκεχώρηκε· εἰ τοίνυν ἐκείνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι  
 βασιλεῖς γνώμῃσι ἐχρέοντο<sup>165</sup> ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σὺ, ἢ μὴ χρεόμενοι  
 γνώμῃσι τοιαύτησι ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἂν  
 κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρ-  
 ριπτέοντες<sup>166</sup> ἐς τοῦτο σφρα προηγάγοντο· μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα  
 μεγάλοισι κινδύνουσι ἐθέλει κατατρέχεσθαι· ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὁμοιούμενοι  
 κείνοισι, ὥρην τε τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην πορευόμεθα, καὶ κατα-  
 στρεφόμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λιμῷ  
 ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμῶθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι παθόντες οὐδὲν τοῦτο μὲν  
 γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορευόμεθα· τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν

<sup>164</sup> μὴ τὸ βέβαιον. This is the reading of S, V, A, B. But M, P, K, F, δ have μὴ τε βέβαιον. Gaisford's reading, which I have followed, seems to furnish a satisfactory meaning. Translate: "and if, while taking exceptions to every thing which is proposed, you fail to point out the secure course, you are open to failure in them (i.e. the perilous conjunctures, τοῖς δεινοῖς) no less than those who have given opposite advice. And as for the secure course, how should mortal man know it? I hold it to be impossible!"

<sup>165</sup> ἐχρέοντο. So Gaisford prints, but the MSS have ἐχρέωντο, and in the next line χρεόμενοι. Some of the MSS have

τῇσι for ὁμοίῃσι, a change which seems to arise from a gloss.

<sup>166</sup> κινδύνους ἀναρριπτέοντες. EURIPIDES (*Iph.*, fr. 14) uses the simple verb: νῦν δ' εἰς μίαν βλέπουσι, κίνδυνον μέγαν ῥίπτοντες.

So too the author of the *Rhesus* (154):

ἐγὼ πρὸ γαλας τόνδε κίνδυνον θέλω  
 ῥίψας κατόπτης ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν.

The metaphor is taken from the throwing of dice. Translate: "playing the dangerous game." In the expression κίνδυνον ἀρεσθαι (*Heracl.* 504), the metaphor is from lifting a burden.

- 51 *ἀν κου ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σίτον ἔξομεν ἐπ' ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας.*" Λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀρρωδέειν οὐδὲν ἔας πρήγμα, σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι· ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῖνα λόγον ἐκτείνειν. Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν, πλὴν Ἀθηναίων, κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσῃσι· τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμὴ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας<sup>167</sup>. καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἰοί τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ σφεας, ἦν ἔπωνται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδουλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεοῦντας. ἀδικώτατοι μὲν νυν γινόμενοι, οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι· δικαιοτάτοι δὲ γινόμενοι, οἰοί τε δηλήσασθαι<sup>168</sup> μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῦ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος<sup>169</sup> ὥς εὖ εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι." Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης "Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφῆναι γινωμέων σφάλλαι κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα, δς Ἰωνας φοβέαι<sup>170</sup> μὴ μεταβάλωσι· τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα<sup>171</sup> μέγιστον, τῶν σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρεῖφ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἢ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο, διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι· οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδὲν παρέξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ καταλιπόντας τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα, οὐδ' ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσῃν οὕτω μηδὲ τοῦτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν, σῶζε οἰκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνφ ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτρέπω." 53 Ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας<sup>172</sup> ἐς Σοῦσα, δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ παρήσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε "ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρήζων

Xerxes holds a second council of notables.

<sup>167</sup> *ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας.* This is the argument which in the sequel Themistocles used to induce the Ionians to take part against their Persian masters: *ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεῖτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι* (viii. 22).

<sup>168</sup> *δηλήσασθαι.* S and V have the active form *δηλῆσαι*.

<sup>169</sup> *ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῦ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος.* The same expression is used below (viii. 68): *ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τότε ἐς θυμὸν βαλεῦ.*

<sup>170</sup> *φοβέαι.* See note 604 on i. 180.

<sup>171</sup> *γνῶμα,* "ground for knowing." The word is not a common one, but is used by SOPHOCLES (*Trachin.* 593):

ἀλλ' εἰδέναι χρὴ δρῶσαν ὥς οὐδ' εἰ δοκαῖς

ἔχειν, ἔχοις ἂν γνῶμα μὴ πειρωμένη.

<sup>172</sup> *ἀποστείλας.* S and V have *ἀπολύσας*, which seems to be an original reading, though Wesseling regards it as derived from a gloss.

συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ μὴ κατασχύνειν τὰ πρόσθεν ἐργασμένα Πέρσησι, ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια· ἄλλ' εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν ξυνὸν γὰρ τοῦτο πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένους· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς· τῶν ἣν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τοῖ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι <sup>173</sup>."

Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρασκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν τῇ δὲ 54  
ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον, ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμὴ-  
ματὰ τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίησι  
στορνύντες τὴν ὁδὸν ὥς δ' ἐπανετέλλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς  
φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον <sup>174</sup>, μηδε-  
μίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι ἢ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι  
τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται· εὐξά-  
μενος δὲ, ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον  
κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ  
ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατήκε ἐς τὸ  
πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι  
καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέτο. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ 55  
ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς  
τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς

The passage of the strait is aspired to by offerings to the rising sun.

Order of the passage.

<sup>173</sup> τοῖ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι. The manuscripts P, K, F, a, b, c have οἱ Πέρσας λελόγχασι.

<sup>174</sup> εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, "prayed, turned to the sun." This practice, which prevailed in all the religions of antiquity into which sun-worship entered, was transferred to the early Christians, probably to avoid shocking the habits of new converts, and the Fathers of the Church took considerable trouble to give explanations of the practice conformable to the principles of Christianity. But, nevertheless, the habit drew upon them the calumny that the sun was an object of their adoration, and, in the case of many individuals, probably with justice. LEO (quoted by Voss, *De Origine Idololatriæ*) complains that some persons after mounting the steps to the altar of St. Peter's Basilica, which, contrary to the usual practice, stands at the west end, "converso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant, et curvatis cervi-

cibus in honorem se splendidi orbis inclinent;" and in a Latin sermon of the seventh century by St. Eligius (quoted by GRIMM, *Anhang zur Deutschen Mythologie*, p. xxx) appears the caution, "Nul-lus dominos Solem aut Lunam vocet." The same idolatry of which Leo complained had aroused the indignation of the prophet EZEKIEL at Jerusalem (see viii. 16); and the direction in which DANIEL turned (vi. 10) was doubtless a portion of his disobedience to the royal decree which especially excited the wrath of his accusers. The position of the temple at Jerusalem was, according to the notion of some, expressly determined on as a protest against sun-worship (*ὅτι οἱ προσευχόμενοι μὴ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα προσκυνῶσιν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἥλιον δεσπότην*. ANASTASIUS, *Quæst.* xviii.). This position is enjoined for Christian Churches in the *Pseud-Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. 57).



τὸ Αἰγαῖον<sup>175</sup> τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπητὴ ἡγγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἵππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ, οἱ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ, αὐτὸς τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι, καὶ οἱ ἵππόται οἱ χίλιοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατὸς· καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον<sup>176</sup>. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων<sup>177</sup>.

56 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθνεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα<sup>178</sup>. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλυνύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξῃ ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· “ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὐνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα.”

57 Ὡς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὠρμημένοισι τέρας σφί ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησατο καὶ περ εὐσύμβλητον ἑόν· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. (εὐσύμβλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν ἐλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὑπίσω δὲ περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων<sup>179</sup> ἤξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον.) ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἑόντι ἐν Σάρδισι· ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διζὰ ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἔρσενος, τὰ δὲ θηλέης· κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσενος. Τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο· σὺν δὲ οἱ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς· ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον πλέων<sup>180</sup>, παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσω τὸ πεζοῦ

<sup>175</sup> τὸ Αἰγαῖον. F has τὸν Αἰγαῖον.

<sup>176</sup> ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον, “got under way for the opposite shore.”

<sup>177</sup> ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα . . . βασιλέα πάντων. The diversity of these two accounts indicates the uncertain character of the sources of the narrative; for the difference between them is not the difference between two witnesses who contradict one another in details entirely unimportant to the main gist of a story, but it is a contradiction in the very particular which could not have

failed to impress itself upon a spectator,—the place of the monarch.

<sup>178</sup> ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. See note 92 on § 22, above.

<sup>179</sup> περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων. One manuscript (S) has περὶ ἑωυτῷ τρέχων. But the genitive is warranted by the majority of MSS, and by the whole in viii. 140: θέειν περὶ ὁμῶν αὐτῶν.

<sup>180</sup> ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον πλέων. One MS only has τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, which would be the usual form. Perhaps ἔξω

Anecdote of a Hellespontine on the occasion.

Portents which occurred at the time of the passage.

Line of the march through Europe.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιούμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν<sup>151</sup>, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἧώ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐποίετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλης τάφον τῆς Ἀθάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν<sup>152</sup>, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐὼν Ἀγορή· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον, καὶ Μέλανα ποταμὸν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβὰς (ἐπ' οὗ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει) ἤιε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, Αἰνὸν<sup>153</sup> τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λίμνην παρεξιών, ἐς δ' ἀπίκετο ἐς Δορίσκον<sup>154</sup>. Ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος 59 ἔστι τῆς Θρηκτικῆς αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίου μέγα· (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἐβρος·) ἐν τῷ τεύχῳ τε ἐδεδμητο βασιλῆϊον— τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται—καὶ Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ

A halt is made at Doriscus, and a review takes

πλέων is to be regarded as a single verb governing the accusative τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, in the sense "evacuating." Above (v. 103) the expression ἐκπλώσαντες ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον is used.

<sup>151</sup> ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιούμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν. This phrase is not a very easy one to translate, except by a periphrasis, although the meaning of the author is plain enough if the form of the coast be considered. The fleet would not really sail in a western direction on leaving Sestos, but first of all in a s.w. course till it came off Εἰλας. When that point was rounded they would hug the shore of the Chersonese for four or five leagues, and then would stretch across for the Sarpedonian head in a direction only two or three points to the westward of due north. The ships were laid "for the cape" (ἐπὶ ἄκρης) in the process of "making the land" (ποιούμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν). After that had been effected, they would proceed westward along the shore to the beach adjacent to Doriscus (§ 59). Looking on the one hand to the point of rendezvous for the ships, and on the other to the direction of the mountain range in which the Chersonese is continued, and to the south of which the land forces must have marched for a considerable time, a native of Sestos might not unreasonably describe the courses of the fleet and the army as being respectively to the west and the east. Speaking in general terms they were this; and

strictly they were in opposite directions to each other.

<sup>152</sup> Καρδίην πόλιν. See note 80 on vi. 33.

<sup>153</sup> Αἶνον. This place was a very strong one, as appears from the circumstance that in the war with the Romans carried on by Philip, king of Macedonia, in the year 200 B.C., it gave great trouble to the besieger, and at last only fell by the treachery of the governor. (Livy, xxx. 16.) It probably was occupied by a Persian garrison as an important post, and perhaps on this account is mentioned by the author in iv. 90. The Thracian name of Ἄενος was *Poltyobria*, which was equivalent to "the town of Poltys," for the termination *bria*, that appears in *Selybria*, and *Menebria* (the ancient name of *Mesembria*) is, according to Strabo (vi. c. 6, p. 111), the equivalent of *πόλις*. Another name of the city was *Apsynthus*. (Stephanus Byzantinus, v. Αἶνος.) Hence it is possible that the *Apsynthian Thracians* of whom Herodotus speaks (vi. 34 and ix. 119) are the periceians of this town, although in the text there is no hint of any connexion between them. The population was certainly Æolian. (Thucydides, vii. 57.) Ἄενος is however mentioned in the *Iliad* (iv. 520) as the town from which the Thracian leader *Pirous* came.

<sup>154</sup> ἐς Δορίσκον. See note 289 on v. 98.

place of all  
arms.

60  
The land  
force  
amounted  
to 1,700,000.

61  
Enumera-  
tion of the  
several na-  
tions serv-  
ing in the  
grand army.  
*Persians*

κατεστήκει ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεὶ τε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν καὶ ἐποίει ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξου, ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν ἐν τῷ Σάλῃ τε Σαμοθρηκίῃ πεπόλισται πόλιν καὶ Ζώνῃ, τελευτάλα δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον, ἄκρῃ ὀνομαστή<sup>185</sup>. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες, τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες· ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποίετο. "Ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρέιχον πλήθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν<sup>186</sup>, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τούδε τὸν τρόπον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χώρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συνάξαντες<sup>187</sup> ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον περιγράφαντες δὲ, καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμασι τὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον ὕψος ἀνῆκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλὸν, ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περικκοδομημένον· μέχρ' οὐ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν· ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνη διέτασσον.

Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἷδε ἦσαν Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους, πῖλους ἀπαγέας<sup>188</sup>. περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειρῶν τοὺς<sup>189</sup> ποικίλους, λεπίδος σιδηρῆς ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδούς· περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέγρα· ὑπὸ δὲ, φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο<sup>190</sup>. αἰχμὰς

<sup>185</sup> ἄκρῃ ὀνομαστή. Perhaps from its importance as a landmark to the mariner, it forming with Serpedon's Head the bay within which there was so good a beach for ships to be hauled up high and dry.

<sup>186</sup> πλήθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν. The manuscripts S, V, a, c have πλήθος ἀριθμὸν, and d, πλήθος ἀριθμὸν.

<sup>187</sup> συνάξαντες. The true reading is probably *συννάξαντες*, which is adopted by Bekker. The meaning of *συννάσσω* would be "to compress." See above, *κατανάξαντες* (§ 36).

<sup>188</sup> πῖλους ἀπαγέας. See HESYCHIUS, quoted in note 449 on i. 132.

<sup>189</sup> χειρῶν τοὺς, "a-leeved." The whole of the upper part of the body of these

Persians was protected by a coat of mail, of such a kind as still not to prevent them from drawing the bow. For the manner in which they acted see ix. 61, and the note thereon. The lower part of the body was not necessarily defended by armour, for this was protected by the huge shield fixed in the ground. A figure of the kind is given by LAYARD from the sculptures of Kouyunjik. (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 348.)

<sup>190</sup> ὑπὸ δὲ, φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο, "and under these were hung quivers of arrows." This does not (I conceive) mean that the shield was carried on the back, and thus covered a quiver suspended from the archer's shoulders; but that the quivers were hung to the interior of the

δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, οἷστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους· πρὸς <sup>commanded by Otanes;</sup>  
 δὲ, ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν <sup>191</sup> παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ τῆς  
 ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὀτάνεα, τὸν Ἀμῆστριος πατέρα,  
 τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός <sup>192</sup>. (ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων  
 Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἀρταῖοι <sup>193</sup>.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν  
 Βήλου, καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ  
 πάϊς τῷ οὐνομα ἔθετο Πέρσῃν τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει,  
 ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἄπαις ἔων ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσεως γόνου, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ  
 τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον <sup>194</sup>.) Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι <sup>62</sup>  
 ἐστρατεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἢ σκευὴ ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐ Περσικὴ <sup>195</sup>. <sup>Medians commanded by Tigranes;</sup>  
 οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο Τυγράνην, ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην.  
 (ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοι <sup>196</sup>. ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης

shield itself, which when used fixed in the ground formed a kind of breastwork. (See note on ix. 61.)

<sup>191</sup> παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν. See note 176 on iii. 64.

<sup>192</sup> τὸν Ἀμῆστριος πατέρα, τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός. RAWLINSON (*Note on the Persian Inscriptions at Behistun*, p. xiii.) believes that Otanes is here confounded with his son Anaphes or Onophas. (See note on i. 19.) Having been old enough to have a daughter married to Cambyses (iii. 68), and to take a command against Sarmos (iii. 141), Otanes (in his judgment) could not by any possibility have led the *Persians*, the flower of the army of Xerxes, in the expedition against Greece, still less could he have had a daughter young enough to marry Xerxes. It is possible that there is a confusion; but Rawlinson's reasons do not appear to me satisfactory. Considering the early puberty of women in the east, Otanes may very well have been no more than thirty-five or forty when he conspired against the Magian. This would make him little more than eighty at the time of Xerxes's expedition; and the examples of Suwarrow, Radetzky, and Wellington are enough to prove that warfare is not a thing impossible at that age. Besides this, the command of the Persians (like the colonelcy of our regiments) may not have implied active service with them, but rather have been the index of the rank of the commander. Xerxes offered the highest military command either to Artynthe or her nominee (ix. 109). The age of Amestris too would

not be a conclusive argument. She need not have been more than twenty-five or thirty. No doubt one great cause of her occupying the position she did was the power of her family, whether she was the daughter of Otanes or of Anaphes. (See note 192 on iii. 68, and also iii. 83, 84.) And the bitter jealousy exhibited by her against the wife of Masistes is rather in keeping with a woman whose personal attractions have gone off, and who feels her power over a sensual husband diminishing (ix. 111, 112). Compare the anecdote of her told in vii. 114.

<sup>193</sup> Ἀρταῖοι. This word would seem to be equivalent to *magnates*. See the interpretation of *Artaxerxes* given in vi. 98. The etymology would indicate that they were a ruling class living among a servile population; and if so the term *perioikion* does not mean merely "neighbours," but implies (as in Hellas) an inferior condition.

<sup>194</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς, κ.τ.λ. This genealogy shows that the author is here drawing from *Hellenic*, not *Oriental*, sources; for "the Persians" made Perseus an Assyrian by birth, and in no way connected with the family of Acrisius. See vi. 53, above.

<sup>195</sup> Μηδικὴ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ. See i. 135.

<sup>196</sup> ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοι. The MSS all have the form Ἀριοι both here and in § 66; but Ἀρειοι in iii. 93. HELLANICUS called *Aria*, which he used both in the feminine and neuter gender, a region of Persia. (*Steph. Bys.* sub γ.)

τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους, μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ὄνομα· αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι.<sup>197</sup>)

Cissians by Anaphe, son of Otanes; Hyrcanians by Megapanus;

63

Assyrians, with Chaldeans among them, by Otanes;

Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰπερ Πέρσαι ἐσκενδάτο· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πλίων, μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισσίων δὲ ἥρχε Ἀνάφης<sup>198</sup> ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ἑρκάνιοι δὲ κατὰπερ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπέυσαντα. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπύρηκτον.<sup>199</sup> ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι εἶχον πρὸς δὲ, ρόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ καὶ λινέους θώρηκας<sup>200</sup>. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι<sup>201</sup>, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ, Χαλδαῖοι<sup>202</sup>. ἥρχε δὲ σφεων Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἄρταχαῖον.

64

Bactrians and Sacans

Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμὰς

<sup>197</sup> αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. The most determined sticklers for the authority of Herodotus will hardly contend that genuine Median traditions brought the author of their name from Athens. *Tigranes* is in fact an Armenian name; and in the Armenian history of *Moses of Chorenz*, a *Tigranes* takes the part in the overthrow of the Median empire which Herodotus ascribes to *Cyrus*. (See note 441 on i. 130.) Perhaps "the Medians" here are the inhabitants of that region which is spoken of elsewhere as so very near to Colchis (i. 104, where see note 363).

<sup>198</sup> Ἀνάφης. The manuscripts S and V have Ἀναφάνης. *RAWLINSON* considers this name identical with Ὀνάφης, the name by which *CRATESIAS* designates one of the seven conspirators against the Median pretender, and whose daughter he makes *Amestris*, the sultana of *Xerxes*, to have been. See *DIODORUS*, cited in note 228 on iii. 84.

<sup>199</sup> χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπύρηκτον. I take these words to mean two different kinds of casque, the former being the helmet familiar to the Greeks with a curved crest, and the latter a scull cap surrounded by a turban. Both of these (as well as others) were found by *LAYARD* at *Nimroud* represented in the sculptures. See

the figures given by him, *Nineveh*, vol. ii. p. 338. He also found helmets, but they were of iron, sometimes inlaid with stripes of copper.

<sup>200</sup> λινέους θώρηκας. These were very probably of Egyptian manufacture, or at least produced by Egyptian artisans. The Egyptian flax and byblus manufactures are well known; and the offering of *Amasis* to the *Lindian* *Athene*, and that which he intended to send to *Lacedæmon* (ii. 182 and iii. 47), seem to have been a *chef d'œuvre* of the particular article which his subjects were famous for producing. A quilted thorax made from the coarse byblus thread of which sailcloth was manufactured (ii. 96) would be a considerable protection. See i. 135, and the note 461.

<sup>201</sup> οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι. The name *Syrians* seems to have been anciently applied by the Hellenic race so as to include *Assyrians*, *Syrians* proper, and *Cappadocians*. Specially however it was applied to the last, who in speaking exactly were termed *White Syrians* (λευκόσυροι). *STRABO*, xvi. iiii.

<sup>202</sup> τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ, Χαλδαῖοι. It seems not impossible that these *Chaldeans* who were mixed up with the *Assyrians* were the armourers to the heavy-armed troops. They can scarcely be the *Chaldeans* of i. 181.

βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ [οἱ Σκύθαι<sup>203</sup>] περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρ- by *Hyaspes*,  
 βασίας ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπυγμένες<sup>204</sup> ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγνίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ *pes, son of*  
 ἐνδεδύκεσαν τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια, καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ *Darius and*  
 ἀξίνας<sup>205</sup> σαγάρης<sup>206</sup> εἶχον (τούτους δὲ εὐντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργί- *Atossa;*  
 ους<sup>207</sup> Σάκας ἐκάλεον οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέ-  
 ονσι Σάκας) Βακτρῶν δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἤρχε Ὑστάσπης, ὁ Δαρείου  
 τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου. Ἴνδοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ 65  
 ξύλων πεποιημένα<sup>208</sup>, τόξα δὲ καλάμυνα εἶχον καὶ οἷστοὺς καλα- *Indians by*  
 μίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ, σῖδηρον ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἴνδοι· *Pharnazathres*;  
 προσετατάχато δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάθρη τῷ Ἀρταβάτew. *Arians by Si-*  
 Ἄριοι<sup>209</sup> δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα *satrapes*;  
 κατὰ περ Βάκτριοι· Ἀρίων δὲ ἤρχε Σισιάμνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος<sup>210</sup>. *Parthians,*  
 Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμοι<sup>211</sup> καὶ Σογδοὶ τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ *66*  
 Δαδίκαι<sup>212</sup>, τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι, ἐστρα- *Chorasmi-*  
 τεύοντο· τούτων δὲ ἤρχον οἶδε· Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων *ans, Sogdi-*  
 Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκειω· Σογδῶν δὲ Ἀζάνης<sup>213</sup> ὁ Ἀρταίου Γαν- *ans, Ganda-*  
*rians, and*  
*Dadicae by*  
*Artabazus,*  
*Azanes,*  
*and Artig-*  
*pius; Cas-*  
*pians by*

<sup>203</sup> [οἱ Σκύθαι.] These words appear to me a gloss.

<sup>204</sup> ἀπυγμένες. The manuscripts P, F have ἀπηγμένες, which Schaefer adopts. The word πεπηγνίας, "stiffened," makes it likely that the caps were of felt.

<sup>205</sup> ἀξίνας. Aldus prints ἀξίνας καὶ σαγάρης, but all the MSS have ἀξίνας σαγάρης without the copula. The case seems a parallel one to that of πῖλους τιδράς (iii. 12), where see the note.

<sup>206</sup> σαγάρης. This word, which is etymologically identical with the Latin 'securis' and the Armenian 'sacr,' denotes the double-headed Amazonian axe which appears on the works of art. It was also the ensign of Zeus Labrandeus in Caria (see note 327 on v. 119), and an hereditary weapon of the Vindelici in the time of HORACE. (*Od.* iv. 4. 17.)

<sup>207</sup> Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους. No clue seems to exist for determining the site of these Scythians. The MSS vary between Ἀμυργίους, Αἰμυργίους, and Εὐμυργίους. COOLEY from the etymology supposes them to be the inhabitants of the valley of the Moorg. They served as marines on board the ships (§ 90), and their weapon, the sagaris, must have been very effective in boarding. A somewhat similar one is used in the British navy for the same duty.

<sup>208</sup> ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα. This has been understood to mean "made of tree-wool" (*εἶρια ἀπὸ ξύλου*), i.e. cotton. See the note 219, δ, on iii. 86.

<sup>209</sup> Ἄριοι. All the MSS have this form here, but in iii. 93 they are equally unanimous in favour of Ἀρειοί.

<sup>210</sup> ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. See note 254 on § 83, below.

<sup>211</sup> Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμοι καὶ Σογδοί. These three nations, together with the Arii, form one *nome* in the cadastral system (iii. 93).

<sup>212</sup> Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι. See note 258 on iii. 91. The name Γανδάριοι is probably connected with *Candabar*. In the Behistun Inscription *Gadara* comes next to *Suguda* (Sogdiana) in the list of tributary countries. The Persians seem to have found a difficulty in pronouncing the letters M and N when followed by a mute, and thus Gandaria became with them Gadara, just as Intaphernes did *Vidafrana*, and Cambyses *Kabujiya*. COOLEY identifies the Dadicae with the *Tadjek*, "a people of ancient Persian race, now widely scattered through the countries east of Persia;" and says that Von Hammer traces the word in *Tadschik* (Tedeschi), the ancestors of the *Deutschen*, or Germans.

<sup>213</sup> Ἀζάνης. S and V have Ἀρτάνης. See note on § 224, below.

- 67 *Ariomardus; Sarangians by Pherendales; Pactyes by Artynites;* δαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος<sup>214</sup> ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες<sup>215</sup>, καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμυνα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκεις, ἐστρατεύοντο· οὔτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν<sup>216</sup>. Σαράγγαι<sup>217</sup> δὲ εἴματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες· πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικὰς Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι<sup>218</sup> τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρτύνην<sup>219</sup> τὸν Ἰθαμάτρεω. Οὐτίωι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατάπερ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε· Οὐτίων μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρέλιν Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειράς<sup>220</sup> ὑπεξωσμένοι ἦσαν· τόξα δὲ παλίντονα<sup>221</sup> εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα μακρὰ, τετραπήχων οὐκ ἐλάσσων· ἐπὶ δὲ, καλαμίνοισι οἰστοῦς μακροῦς<sup>222</sup>. (ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶν λίθος ὄξυνς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι) πρὸς δὲ, αἰχμὰς εἶχον ἐπὶ δὲ, κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶν
- 68 *Utians and Mycians by Arsamenes, son of Darius, and Paricanians by Siromitres; Arabians and Ethiopians, some African, some Asiatic, by Arsamenes, son of Darius*

<sup>214</sup> Ἀρτύφιος. Both here and in the next section S, V, and d have Ἀρτύβιος, a name which was borne by a Persian of distinction killed in Cyprus (v. 108).

<sup>215</sup> σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες. This (which was no doubt the ordinary garb of the country) suggests that these Caspians were more probably inhabitants of a cold than a warm region,—rather therefore to be sought in the mountains than on the plains. That they should have had some cavalry is no objection to this view. That it was insignificant is clear from the description of its armament (below, § 86). See, with reference to the word *Caspian*, the note 268 on iii. 93.

<sup>216</sup> τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν. The circumstance of two brothers having such high commands suggests the probability that their father Artabanus was Darius's brother.

<sup>217</sup> Σαράγγαι. Zarangia is one of the twenty-two countries enumerated in the Behistun Inscription as making up the empire of Darius. (See note 278 on iii. 94.)

<sup>218</sup> σισυρνοφόροι. This description of their garb would lead one to suppose that

the Pactyes were mountaineers living at a high level, which produced severe cold. Their site is most difficult to fix. See note 294 on iii. 102, the view in which is corroborated by the circumstance that 'pasht' is said in the Afghan language to mean 'a hill' (POTT, *Etymologische Forschungen*, quoted by Cooley, *ad loc.*)

<sup>219</sup> Ἀρτύνην. The majority of the MSS have this form, but some have Ἀρταύτην and Ἀτραύτην. See note 353 on iii. 128.

<sup>220</sup> ζειράς. This word is explained by the grammarians as χιτῶνας ἀνακεκολλημένας, a phrase which appears to be corrupt.

<sup>221</sup> τόξα δὲ παλίντονα. These are bows which when unstrung assumed a curved form, sometimes approaching nearly to circularity, with the convex side in the opposite side to that on which it shows itself when the bow is strung.

<sup>222</sup> μακροῦς. This is the reading of the manuscripts F, a, b. The majority (which Gaisford follows) have μικροῦς. But it would be impossible to use very short arrows with bows of six feet.

ὁξὺ πεποικημένον, τρόπον λόγῃς· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά· and Artystone his favourite wife.  
 τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ ἰόντες ἐς μάχην,  
 τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἡμισυ μίλτη. Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ  
 Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης<sup>223</sup>, ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστῶν  
 τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς· τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρείος,  
 εἰκὼ χρυσῆν σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο<sup>224</sup>. τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύ-  
 πτου Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου 70  
 ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες, (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο,) προσεtetάχατο Difference between the African and Oriental Ethiopians.  
 τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἑτέροις, φωνὴν  
 δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μῦνον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθὺτριχῆς  
 εἰσι· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων  
 ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες, τὰ μὲν πλέω  
 κατάπερ Ἰνδοὶ ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον<sup>225</sup> ἐπὶ  
 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι σύν τε τοῖσι ὥσὶ ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφιῇ· καὶ  
 ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἢ λοφιῇ κατέχρα· τὰ δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ  
 πεπηγῶτα εἶχον· προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων  
 δοράς. Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἥσαν ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοις 71  
 δὲ ἐπικαίτοιςι χρεώμενοι· ἄρχοντα δὲ παρείχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Lityans commanded  
 Ὀαρλῖζον. Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι 72  
 ἔχοντες κράνεα πεπλεγμένα<sup>226</sup>, ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικρὰς, αἰχμὰς δὲ οὐ  
 μεγάλας· πρὸς δὲ, ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια· περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας,  
 πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσσην κνήμην ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες<sup>227</sup> δὲ καὶ  
 Dotus;

<sup>223</sup> Ἀρσάμης. *Æschylus* mentions this chief as the governor of Memphis:

ὃ τε τῆς ἱερᾶς Μέρμιδος ἄρχων  
 μέγας Ἀρσάμης (*Persians*, 37),

a position quite in accordance with his holding the command which *Herodotus* ascribes to him. He makes him slain in the action of *Salamis* (308).

<sup>224</sup> εἰκὼ χρυσῆν σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο. Perhaps this was an effigy after her death. Just before the death of *Darius* himself *Atossa* possessed the whole influence with him (vii. 3), which would scarcely have been had *Artystone* been alive. According to the canons of the grammarians the Ionic form of the accusative εἰκὼ is εἰκοῦν. But although *Herodotus* uses the accusatives Ἰοῦν and Βουτοῦν, he adheres to εἰκὼ and αἰδῶ.

<sup>225</sup> προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον. These are helmets made of a portion of the skin

of the horse's crest, perhaps a part of the bone being also left in to protect the forehead of the wearer. The helmet of *Hercules* is in a similar way made of the head of the *Nemean lion* in *Valerius Flaccus*:

"Cleonæo jam tempora clusus hiatus  
*Alcides*" (*Argonaut.* i. 34),

a representation which often appears on ancient works of art. Another hero is made by *Virgil* to use the skin of the wolf's head in the same way:

—"caput ingens oris hiatus  
 Et malæ texere lupi cum dentibus albis."  
 (*Æneid.* xi. 680.)

<sup>226</sup> κράνεα πεπλεγμένα. See above, note 199 on § 63.

<sup>227</sup> Λίγυες. One manuscript (S) has *Λίγυες*, and the same, together with V, has *Λιγδων* instead of *Λιγλῶν* in iii. 92.



*Mariandryans, Ligyres, and Cappadocians, by Gobryas, son of Darius*

73  
and Artystone; Phrygians and Armenians by Artochmes, a son-in-law of Darius;

74  
*Lydians and Mysians by Artaphernes, the colleague of Datis at Marathon;*

Ματιηνοὶ καὶ Μαρνανδυννοὶ τε καὶ Σύροι <sup>228</sup> τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο· οἱ δὲ Σύροι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται· Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δῶτος <sup>229</sup> ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε· Μαρνανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λυγύαν καὶ Σύρων Γωβρύης <sup>230</sup> ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγγιστάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσουσιν· οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρύγες <sup>231</sup> χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπῆϊοι ἔοντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι· μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰπερ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἔοντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων συμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμης, Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα. Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγγιστάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα· (οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μητόνες ἐκαλεῖντο τὸ πάλαι <sup>232</sup>, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὖνομα·) Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικράς· ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι <sup>233</sup>. (οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λυδῶν ἄποικοι· ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ οὐρεος

<sup>228</sup> Σύροι. See note 242 on i. 72.

<sup>229</sup> Δῶτος. One MS has Δάτος.

<sup>230</sup> Γωβρύης. This is the reading of S alone. The majority of the MSS have Βρύης, and α and c Γωβρύης.

<sup>231</sup> ἐκαλέοντο Βρύγες. This account of the matter by the Macedonians is very instructive as a type of the manner in which historical facts were both preserved and modified by the early traditions. The ethnical affinity of the tribes thrown off in successive waves of the great stream of migration which set from central Asia westward was manifest, partly by the similarity of their ritual, partly by that of their garb and military equipments, partly by that of their language. (Thus Eudoxus, *ap. Steph. Byzant. sub v. Ἀρμενία*, remarks of the Armenians, that they τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ Φρυγίζουσι.) But the westernmost were the first to benefit by contact with Hellenic civilization, and after this was the case, and commercial intercourse had again renewed their intercourse with their kinsmen, all recollection of the original connexion having died away, the first mode of explaining the phenomena which forced themselves upon their notice would be to consider the inferior race as the degenerate descendants of the superior. Hence, as in the text, the Asiatic Phrygians are represented as colonists from Macedonia, and the Armenians as colo-

nists from Phrygia. Hence, too, the phenomenon which so continually recurs in mythical times, of pairs of legends, the one of which represents a given tribe (A) as the ancestors of another (B), while the corresponding legend exactly reverses the relation.

The form Βρύγες, or Φρύγες (which one MS has), for Φρύγες, is due to the dialect of Macedonia, which substituted β for φ, or for the digamma F, of which βαλακρὸς for φαλακρὸς, κεβαλή for κεφαλὴ, Βερενίκη for Φερενίκη, and βρώγος for Φρύγος (Lat. *frigus*), are familiar instances. It may be remarked that this provincialism was not confined to the lower orders; for although the father of Alexander the Great is always called, and probably wished always to be called, Φίλιππος, yet when his generals succeeded to thrones, the vulgarity was elevated to a court fashion, and neither Pherenices nor Polemy ever make their appearance in Greek literature. The Βρύγοι of vi. 45 are no doubt the same as the European Βρύγες of the text.

<sup>232</sup> Μητόνες ἐκαλεῖντο τὸ πάλαι. See i. 7, above.

<sup>233</sup> ἀκοντίοισι . . . ἐπικαύτοισι. It is not easy to imagine such weapons as these formidable, yet Æschylus distinguishes the bearers of them as ἀκοντιστὰ Μυσοί. (*Pers.* 52.)

καλέονται Οὐλυμπιηνοί<sup>224</sup>.) Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἤρχε Ἄρτα-  
 φέρνης ὁ Ἄρταφέρνεος, ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι.  
 Θρηῖκες δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκάας ἔχοντες ἐστρα-  
 75 Thracians  
(Bithyni-  
ans) by  
Bassaces;  
 τεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας· ἐπὶ δὲ, ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι  
 ποικίλλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν<sup>225</sup>.  
 πρὸς δὲ, ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά. (οὗτοι δὲ  
 διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί<sup>226</sup>. τὸ δὲ πρότερον  
 ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι·  
 ἐξαναστήναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν<sup>227</sup>.)  
 Θρηῖκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἤρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἄρταβάνου. . . 76  
 . . ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους δύο  
 λυκοεργέας<sup>228</sup> ἕκαστος εἶχε· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα·  
Asiatic  
Thracians,  
who have  
an oracle  
of Ares;

<sup>224</sup> καλέονται Οὐλυμπιηνοί. For the site of the Mysian Olympus see note 124 on i. 36. It is the scene of the death of Croesus's favourite son.

<sup>225</sup> πέδιλα νεβρῶν, "deerakin buskins." See note 27 on ii. 9.

<sup>226</sup> Βιθυνοί. The Thyni are not mentioned (as in i. 28) by the side of the Bithyni, which is certainly remarkable, if, in accordance with the general view, we suppose both to be Asiatic Thracians. STRABO (xi. c. 3, p. 15) mentions a place called Thynias Acte, on the European side of the Euxine, between Apollonia and Salmydessus, as an evidence (like the Thracian tribe called Bithyni) of the European origin of the Asiatic Thyni and Bithyni. It is clear therefore that he and the authorities whom he followed conceived of the Thyni of i. 28 as Asiatics. But it is observable that wherever these last are mentioned on the Asiatic shore, it is always in connexion with the Bithyni; whereas the European Thyni were a notoriously warlike Thracian tribe in the time of XENOPHON (*Anab.* vii. 2. 22). Under these circumstances I am inclined to suspect that the Asiatic Thyni owe their existence only to the misunderstanding of the passage in Herodotus (i. 28), it being wrongly assumed that the catalogue of Croesus's subjects there given related only to the continent of Asia. But it is far from impossible that through the agency of the elder Miltiades a feudal submission may have been rendered to Croesus by the chiefs of the European Thyni. (See note 88 on vi. 37.) And if these are meant in i. 28, their absence from the roll of the Persian army here is at once explained,—

which on the generally received hypothesis of their being Asiatics would be very difficult to account for. This view of the case illustrates the antipathy of the younger Miltiades to the Persian power (see note 354 on iv. 137), and the difference of feeling between him and Histiaeus, who stood to Darius in very much the same feudal relation that the elder Miltiades had done to Croesus. It also serves to show the steps by which Croesus came to entertain the project of building a navy of his own (i. 27). His success abroad through Miltiades might give plausibility to a scheme which would be obviously insane in a purely continental potentate. But it would be very natural for a sanguine and successful prince to think that if great results could be achieved by a small fleet of (so to say) privateers, yet more might be effected by a pitched battle with a regular navy. The intense desire exhibited a few years ago in Germany to get up a confederate fleet for the purpose of protecting the foreign trade of the Zollverein is an exaggerated parallel of the delusion of the Lydian monarch.

<sup>227</sup> ἐξαναστήναι . . . ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. This event would have taken place in the course of the expedition spoken of in § 20, above. But with regard to that expedition see the note on the passage, and 332 on ii. 118.

<sup>228</sup> προβόλους δύο λυκοεργέας, "wolf-spears." The commentators from the time of De Pauw seem agreed that a lacuna must exist after the word Ἄρταβάνου, the name of some tribe or nation to whom the armament belonged having fallen out from the text.

πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι, ὧτά τε καὶ κέρεα προσὴν βόδς χάλκεα ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατεῖλχατο. (ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεός ἐστι χρηστήριον.)

77 Καθηλῆες<sup>229</sup> δὲ, οἱ Μητώνες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κιλίξιν εἶχον σκευὴν τὴν ἐγὼ, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι<sup>230</sup> δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἶχον, καὶ εἴματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκιοι· περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποικημέναις κυνέαις. τούτων πάντων ἤρχε Βάδρης<sup>231</sup> ὁ Ὑσσάνης.

*Cabeles (Lasonians) and Milya by Badres;*

78 Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέαις ξυλῖνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικρὰς· λόγχοι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλας. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνιοι<sup>232</sup> κατάπερ Μόσχοι<sup>233</sup> ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τούτους δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἷδε Μόσχους μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοῦς, Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμνος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνα δὲ καὶ Μοσυνίους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος<sup>234</sup>, ὃς Σηστόν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ

*Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynioi, by Ariomardus, son of Darius and Parmys, and Artayctes;*

<sup>229</sup> Καθηλῆες. These, it cannot be doubted, are the same as the Καβάλιοι of iii. 90, although the difference in the form of the name suggests that there will have been a different source for the two lists. In that passage the Lasonii are represented as not identical with the Cabalii, but the text is certainly corrupt; the Hygenneae are never mentioned elsewhere; and the conjecture of Valcknaer that ΚΑΙΤΤΕΝΝΕΩΝ is a corruption from ΚΑΛΕΤΜΕΝΩΝ is, to say the least, a very plausible one, and completely reconciles the two accounts.

<sup>230</sup> Μιλύαι. See i. 173, and the notes upon it.

<sup>231</sup> Βάδρης. Respecting this name see note 83 on iii. 30.

<sup>232</sup> Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνιοι. See notes 274, 275 on iii. 94. ΗΕCΑΤΕΥS mentioned both these tribes by name. The latter he made continuous to the Tibari, and mentioned a city in their territory named Χοιρῶδες (ap. Steph. Byz. v. Χοιρῶδες).

<sup>233</sup> Μόσχοι. In the cadastral system of Darius, the Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynioeci, and Mares constitute the nineteenth satrapy, and their tribute is fixed at 300 talents (iii. 94). STRABO (xi. c. 2, p. 406) makes the Moschi to be the inhabitants of the roots of the s.w. side of the Caucasus on the coast of the Euxine, immediately north of the Colchians. But it seems quite clear from the armament

which is here attributed to them that they were mountaineers; and ΗΕCΑΤΕΥS (ap. Steph. Byzant. sub v.) made them continuous with the Matieni. So too HELLANICUS (ap. Steph. Byz. v. Χαριμάται) says: Κερκεταίων δ' ἔνα οἰκοῦσι Μόσχοι καὶ Χαριμάται, κάτω δὲ Ἠνίοχοι, ἄνω δὲ Κοραξοί. The Coraxi are described by ΗΕCΑΤΕΥS (ap. Steph. Byz. sub v.) as a Colchian tribe. We shall probably be right in considering them as ethnically identical with the Achæi, Zygi, Heniochi, and Cercetæ, whom Strabo places on the mountainous shore of the eastern coast of the Euxine. Still Moschice is further on said by Strabo to be the name of the region drained by the upper part of the Phasis, and its feeders Glaucus and Hippos, which run from the Armenian mountains, i. e. the northern side of the range of Taurus. In this country the legend of Jason was indigenous, and he, as also Phrixus before him, was said to have gone as far as Media,—an indication of the early existence of the commercial route described in the note 363 on i. 104 (xi. c. 2, p. 410).

<sup>234</sup> Χεράσμιος. S has Χοράσμιος, and Valla Chorasmis filius. Chorasmia is one of the twenty-two countries forming the empire of Darius in the Behistun Inscription. (See note 278 on iii. 94.) But Artayctes is specified elsewhere to be a

ἐπετρόπευε. Μᾶρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια 79  
 πλεκτὰ εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας σμικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχοι  
 δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοτῖνας  
 σμικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε βραχεάς· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μα-  
 ρῶν <sup>243</sup> δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι  
 δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες <sup>244</sup> κατάπερ Κόλχοι ὅπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο  
 τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἦρχε. Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα 80  
 τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇσι τοὺς  
 ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους <sup>245</sup> κατοικίξει βασιλεὺς, ἀγγχοτάτω τῶν  
 Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθιῆτά τε καὶ ὅπλα· τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων  
 ἦρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ  
 ἔτει τούτων <sup>246</sup> ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

Mares and Colchians by Pharan-dates; Alarodians and Saspires by Masistius;

Islanders from the Erythraean sea by Mardonies, who was afterwards killed at Mycale.

Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἡπείρου στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα, καὶ τεταγμένα 81  
 ἐς τὸ πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον οὗτοι οὔπερ εἰρέαται  
 καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν, καὶ χιλιάρχας  
 τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες· ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ  
 μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες <sup>247</sup>. ἦσαν  
 μὲν δὴ οὗτοι, οὔπερ εἰρέαται, ἄρχοντες. Ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων 82  
 τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γω-  
 βρύεω <sup>248</sup>, καὶ Τριτανταίχμης <sup>249</sup> ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου

The generals of division were Mardonius,

Persian (ix. 115), so that the interpretation of Valla is apparently correct.

<sup>243</sup> Μαρῶν. See note 276 on iii. 94. HECATÆUS made the Mares conterminous with the Mosynoeci (ap. Steph. Byz. sub v.).

<sup>244</sup> Σάσπειρες. See note 272 on iii. 94.

<sup>247</sup> τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους. See iii. 93.

<sup>248</sup> δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων, "in the second year after these things." See note 96 on vi. 40.

<sup>249</sup> τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες, "and of entire nations also there were other officers having the command." A distinction is taken between the ἄρχοντες, whom Herodotus has mentioned as high officers directly appointed by the king, and these persons, probably the chiefs of their several tribes, who brought their followers en masse on their own authority.

<sup>250</sup> Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γωβρύεω, κ.τ.λ. These six generals are united in pairs

below (§ 121). Mardonius and Masistes are in command of one division, which keeps up the communication with the fleet; Tritantæchmes and Gergis of a second, which seems to be a light division, as it would have to act against mountaineers; and Smerdomenes and Megabyzus of a third, which was accompanied by Xerxes in person. Mardonius being named first, in spite of the rank which Masistes's birth must have given him, induces one to suppose that the command in chief was practically given to him. Hence he commanded the most important of the corps which had to act with the fleet; and hence, when Xerxes retreated, he was formally recognized as chief.

<sup>251</sup> Τριτανταίχμης. This is the name of a satrap of Babylonia (i. 192), but his father's name is Artabazus. It may be observed that the richness of the Babylonian province rendered it an appropriate government for a near relative of the sovereign; and in the uncial MSS *ν* might

*Tritantæchmes, Smerdomenes, Masistes, Gergis, and Megabyzus.*

83

μη στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω—Δαρείου ἀμφοτέροι οὔτοι ἀδελφῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξη δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοὶ—καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς, καὶ Γέργης ὁ Ἀρίζου<sup>233</sup>, καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου<sup>234</sup>. Οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ πεζοῦ, χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατιῆγε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος<sup>235</sup>. ἐκαλέοντο δὲ Ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὔτοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ νόσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο· καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμὰ οὔτε πλεῖνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. κόσμον δὲ πλεῖστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάν-

The corps of "the Immortals" commanded by Hydarnes.

των Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἶχον ἥπερ εἴρηται· χωρὶς δὲ, χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἄρμαμάξας τε ἅμα ἦγοντο ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς, καὶ θεραπῆτην πολλήν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην· σῖτα δὲ σφι, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοι τε καὶ ὑποζύγια ἦγον.

84

The cavalry contingent.

Ἴππευεὶ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μούνα· Πέρσαι μὲν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν

85

*Sagartians,*

καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα. Εἰσὶ δὲ τινας νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυκῆς<sup>235</sup>. οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισχίλην, ὅπλα

easily be mistaken for ζ. The Tritantæches of this passage seems to have inherited his father's prudence, if the reading of S in viii. 26 be the true one.

<sup>233</sup> Ἀρίζου. The manuscripts S, a, c, d have Ἀριάζου.

<sup>234</sup> Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου. It has been assumed that this Zopyrus is the same as the individual whom Herodotus represents to have played so important a part at the siege of Babylon. But if he was so regarded, it seems strange that no allusion should be made to that remarkable story. See the note 440 on iii. ult.

<sup>235</sup> Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. RAWLINSON (*Note on the Persian Inscription of Behistun*, p. xv) calls this person the elder of the two sons (the other being Sisamnes, § 66, above) of Hydarnes the conspirator. He also tacitly identifies the conspirator with the great officer mentioned below,

§ 135. But all this connexion of circumstances is pure assumption. There is nothing to prove that the Hydarnes of iii. 70 is the same with all or any of the parties of the same name mentioned in vi. 133; vii. 66. 211, and 135; and there are some reasons against it. See note 298 on vi. 133.

<sup>235</sup> σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυκῆς. Perhaps the covering of their heads as well as their dirks resembled the Persian. Being nomads, they would doubtless be shepherds, and the rough sheepskins would be the point of similarity between them and the Pactyes, who wore capotes of goatskin with the hair on. (See § 67, above.) The description of their armament reminds one of the *lasso* of the Pampas; and in the late war in Hungary very formidable irregular cavalry were furnished by the mounted shepherds, who

δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα, ἔξω ἐγχειριδίῳ  
 χρέωνται δὲ σειρήσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων ταύτησι πίσυνοι  
 ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεὰν  
 συμμίσῃωσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ' ἄκρῳ  
 βρόχους ἐχούσας· ὅτεν δ' ἂν τύχῃ, ἦν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἀνθρώπου,  
 ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ἔλκει· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθείρονται·  
 τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας.  
 Μῆδοι δὲ τήνπερ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευήν· καὶ Κίσιοι ὡσαύτως. 86  
 Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον  
 δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖσι ἄρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ  
 ὄνοι ἄγριοι<sup>256</sup>. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάδατο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ,  
 καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. Δίβυες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατάπερ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ·  
 ἤλαυνον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἄρματα. ὥς δ' αὐτως Κάσπειροι<sup>257</sup>  
 καὶ Παρικάνιοι<sup>258</sup> ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ  
 σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν ἦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ πάντες  
 καμήλους, ταχυτῆτα οὐ λειπομένης ἵππων. Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μούνα 87  
 ἵππευεν<sup>259</sup>. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, παρέξ  
 τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππέες ἐτετάχατο  
 κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων  
 οὔτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο  
 τὸ ἱππικόν<sup>260</sup>. Ἴππαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμῖθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος, 88  
 Δάτιος παῖδες· ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνίππαρχος Φαρνούχης κατα-  
 λέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων ὥς γὰρ ὀρμέοντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ  
 συμφορὴν ἐνέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον<sup>261</sup>. ἐλαύνοντι γάρ οἱ, ὑπὸ τοὺς

*Medes,  
Cissians,  
Indians,  
Bactrians,  
Casprians,  
Libyans,  
Caspiri,  
Paricani,  
Arabs.*

likewise carried a lasso loaded with a heavy ball of lead at each end. They however are described as using this in the manner of a hand-sling, whereas the Sagartians employed their weapon like the South American horsemen. With regard to the site of the Sagartians see note 433 on i. 125.

<sup>256</sup> ὄνοι ἄγριοι. This feature in the narrative is very suspicious. The *sebra* has never been tamed, although many trials have been made.

<sup>257</sup> Κάσπειροι. S has Κάσπιοι. The *Casprians* have been mentioned above (§ 63), but the *Caspirians* are unknown except from this passage.

<sup>258</sup> Παρικάνιοι. ΗΕCΑΤΑΙΟΥ (cp. *Steph. Byzant.* τὸ ὄν.) gave Παρικάνη as the name

of a city in Persia. But the site is entirely unknown. The Paricanians are mentioned above (iii. 92), where see note 260.

<sup>259</sup> ἵππευεν. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V. The majority of the MSS have the present ἵππευει.

<sup>260</sup> ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν. See i. 80.

<sup>261</sup> ἐπὶ συμφορὴν . . . ἀνεθέλητον. A similar expression is used below (§ 133): ὅ τι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσας τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι. The extreme aversion to using words in themselves importing misfortune may be observed. Similarly Solon says, τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, meaning δυστυχήματα all the time (i. 32); and the phrases

πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὐ προιδὼν, ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσείσατο τὸν Φαρνούχεια· πεσὼν δέ, αἰμά τε ἡμεε, καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιήλθε ἡ νοῦσος· τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν οἱ οἰκέται ὥς ἐκέλευε· ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότηα ἀπαγαγόντες, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω παρελύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

- 89 Τῶν δὲ τριήρεων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι<sup>262</sup>. παρελίχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἶδε· Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Συρίοις τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν· ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους<sup>263</sup>, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἴνυς οὐκ ἐχούσας<sup>264</sup> εἶχον, καὶ ἀκόντια· οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν

οὐκ ἐς ἥθελε, and the like, are common in Herodotus, where a very strong expression would really be appropriate.

<sup>262</sup> ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι. The same number is given below (§ 184), where the author sums up the whole of the Persian force. ÆSCHYLUS states the amount of the force in terms which may be differently interpreted, according as we suppose him to agree with Herodotus or not:

Ἡρότη δὲ (καὶ γὰρ οἶδα) χιλιάς μὲν ἦν  
ὅν ἦγε πλῆθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει  
ἐκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ'. ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.  
(*Persæ*, 341.)

If the 207 swift sailers be taken exclusive of the 1000 before mentioned, the two accounts exactly coincide. But that this was the intention of Æschylus seems very improbable, if we look back to the two preceding lines, where he says:

Ἑλλήσιν μὲν ἦν  
δ' πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα  
ναῶν· δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἑκακίτος.

It is quite certain that the ten select ships here are not exclusive of the 300, and it is almost so, that the 207 of the Persian armament is intended to stand in the same relation to the whole as the ten of the allies to their fleet. And both PLATO (*Legg.* iii. 14) and CTEBIAS (*ap. Photium*, p. 39) make the numbers of the Persian ships something above a thousand. This circumstance proves decisively that a definite tradition, which confined the numbers to a thousand or a little more, existed in the early part of the fourth century B.C., even among those persons who would be most

tempted to exaggerate the enemy's force. The statements of the orators—(such as ISOCRATES, who gives in one place 1200 and in another 1300),—and of the later compilers of history, are not worth taking into account. I am inclined to the opinion not only that the interpretation of Æschylus, in accordance with Plato, is the more authentic one, but that the discrepancy between the resulting numbers and those which appear in the text arises from the other interpretation of that very passage, viz. the addition of the squadron of 207 to the whole fleet, of which it was really a part. Herodotus's informant had fallen into this mistake (as I conceive), and perhaps into another also,—the reckoning the Egyptian squadron as an independent one of 200 ships. See note 288 on § 98, below.

<sup>263</sup> θώρηκας λινέους. Probably of Egyptian manufacture. See note 461 on i. 135, and above, note 199 on § 63. The similarity of the Phœnician, Carian, Egyptian, and Greek helmet of the time of Herodotus was so great as to suggest the probability of the common origin of them. See note 467 on iv. 180. But I do not believe with LAYARD (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 338) that it came from Assyria, but rather that it was imported thither from Phœnicia or Egypt, after the expeditions of the Assyrian monarchs to those countries. It seems to me to be originally Carian, and to have been invented before the era of Minos. (See note 487 on iv. 189.)

<sup>264</sup> ἴνυς οὐκ ἐχούσας. The grammarians explain ἴνυς as the bosses of the shields; but they are the rims surrounding them.

οἶκεον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἐνθεύτην δὲ ὑπερ-  
 βάντες<sup>265</sup>, τῆς Συρίας οἰκέουσι τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν τῆς δὲ Συρίας  
 τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν, Παλαιστίνῃ καλέ-  
 εται<sup>266</sup>. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρέρχοντο διηκοσίας· οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ  
 μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλευτὰ<sup>267</sup>, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας τὰς ἴνυς  
 μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα, καὶ τύκους<sup>268</sup> μεγάλους·  
 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας  
 εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσταλάδατο. Κύπριοι δὲ παρέρχοντο νέας 90  
 πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὧδε· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς  
 εἰλίσχато μήτρησι οἱ βασιλεῖες αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας<sup>269</sup>.  
 τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰπερ Ἑλλήνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεά ἐστι· οἱ  
 μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίας· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ  
 Κύθνου<sup>270</sup>. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φωϊκίης· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας<sup>271</sup>, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύ-  
 πριοι λέγουσι. Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρέρχοντο νέας· οὗτοι δ' αὖ περὶ  
 μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισιγῖά τε εἶχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων 91  
 ὠμοβοῆς πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρινέους ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ  
 ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτῳ τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι μαχαί-

<sup>265</sup> ἐνθεύτην δὲ ὑπερβάντες. This is a similar account to that given in i. 1. But there were traditions which exactly reversed the matter. See ΣΤΡΑΒΟ quoted in note 314 on iii. 111.

<sup>266</sup> τῆς δὲ Συρίας . . . Παλαιστίνῃ καλέεται. A distinction between Phoenicia and Palestine seems to be made in iii. 5, although the passage is certainly in confusion. But the two were united in the same name by Darius (see iii. 91), and it is probably with reference to this division that the term Palestine is applied to the whole sea-board. In the genuine Persian account of the satrapies the two appear massed together as *Arabia* (see the BZISTUN INSCRIPTION in note 278 on iii. 94), although Arabia, according to Herodotus, was excluded from the satrapy.

<sup>267</sup> χηλευτὰ. HESYCHIUS explains this word as πλεετὰ ἐκ σχολίνου.

<sup>268</sup> τύκους, "poll-axes." See LIDDELL and SCOTT'S Lexicon, *sub v.*

<sup>269</sup> οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας. POLLUX (x. 162) quotes the word *κίθαρης* as used by Herodotus, which has induced the conjecture that *κιδάριος* is the true reading in this passage instead of *κιθῶνας*,—which certainly does not give an adequate sense.

<sup>270</sup> οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίας· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθ-

νου. These would be respectively Pelasgians and Dryopes, both of which appear among the elements of the mixed population in Ionia (i. 146). Hermione, on the coast of Argolis, and the two towns (each called Asine) in that region and on the coast of Messenia were likewise Dryopian, the founders being apparently hierodules of the Delphic Apollo antecedently to the revolution, which is mythically described as a conquest by Heracles. (See PAUSANIAS, iv. 34. 9, *seqq.*) Asine was the name of a town in Cyprus (STEFANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*), and probably therefore a Dryopian and Cythnian settlement. That the 'Arcadians' in Cyprus should really have come from Arcadia seems as little likely as that the Pelasgi mentioned in the *Iliad*, as one of the races in Crete, should have come from Pelasgiotis in Thessaly. In both cases the existence of diverse fragments of the same race is accounted for by the hypothesis of a colony.

<sup>271</sup> οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας. It seems not impossible that these were the descendants of negroes brought as slaves from Africa; or perhaps they may have been a swarm of the pirates who haunted the Bucolic branch of the Nile in Egypt. See note 293 on ii. 104.



- ρρησι πεποιημένα. οὔτοι μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ἽΤαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο· ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνωρος, ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος, ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι· οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὔτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκευασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ<sup>272</sup> καὶ Κάλχαντι. Λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα, θωρηκοφόροι τε ἔοντες καὶ κημηδοφόροι· εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανείνα, καὶ οἷστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια· ἐπὶ δὲ, αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενα<sup>273</sup>. περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι πῖλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο<sup>274</sup>, ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες· ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίωνος, ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Δωριεὲς δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, ἔχοντές τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὅπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Κάρες δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἅλλα κατὰπερ Ἑλληνες ἐσταλμένοι· εἶχον δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὔτοι δὲ οἵτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτοισι τῶν λόγων<sup>275</sup> εἴρηται. Ἴωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἑλληνες. Ἴωνες δὲ, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιῆν, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δανάον τε καὶ Εἰοῦθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Διγυαλεές· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Εἰοῦθου Ἴωνες<sup>276</sup>. Νησιῶται<sup>277</sup> δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὥπλι-

<sup>272</sup> ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ. See STRABO, quoted in note 254 on iii. 91.

<sup>273</sup> αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενα. This seems almost the same thing as the *agis*, and only differing from it in its original form (see iv. 189) by not being fringed. And the *agis* was the common garb of the Libyan women. (See note 487 on iv. 189.)

<sup>274</sup> Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο. See note 585 on i. 173.

<sup>275</sup> ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτοισι τῶν λόγων. The reference is to i. 171; but it must not be supposed from this that the present nonary division is recognized. See note 93 on vi. 39. On the relation of the Carians to the Leleges see note 571 on i. 171.

<sup>276</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Εἰοῦθου Ἴωνες. This expression seems to intimate a belief in the purity of descent of the Asiatic Ionians, very alien from the opinions maintained in the kind of *εὐκέρειος* found in i. 143—146. It would almost seem that

the present passage belongs to the original draft of the work, and that the other is an addition of a later period. This seems a more natural solution of the contradiction than to substitute *δοιοὶ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων* for *οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων*, three lines below, as Valcknaer conjectures.

<sup>277</sup> Νησιῶται. These islanders might be taken for the contingent from the Cyclades; but this does not seem to have joined the fleet of Xerxes until it arrived at Phalerum. (See viii. 66.) LEAKE conjectures with some plausibility, that Lemnos and Imbros are the places from which these ships came. (*Appendix ii. to Athens and the Demi of Attica*, p. 237.) The Samothracians in the fleet of Xerxes, who are of the same race as the natives of these islands, are spoken of as *Ionians*, although probably in contradistinction to Phœnicians, in viii. 90. See the note there.

μένοι ὡς "Ελληνες" καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλιες Ἴωνες οἱ ὅπ' Ἀθηναίων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς "Ελληνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι καλούμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ, πλὴν Ἀβυδηῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γὰρ προστετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος, κατὰ χώραν μένουσι, φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου<sup>278</sup> στρατεύόμενοι, παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἑλληνες. οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.

Ἐπεβάτευνον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι<sup>279</sup>. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες, καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. τούτοισι πᾶσι, καὶ τοῖσι ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοισι αὐτῶν, ἐπήσαν ἐκάστοισι ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες· τῶν ἐγὼ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι<sup>280</sup> ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιον ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἔν τε ἔθνει ἐκάστῳ ὅσαιπερ πόλεις, τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν<sup>281</sup>. εἶποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοί, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατεύόμενοι δοῦλοι· ἐπεὶ στρατηγοί τε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνέων ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαται μοι. Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον οἶδε Ἀριαβήνης<sup>282</sup> τε ὁ Δαρείου, καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίω<sup>283</sup>, καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτω<sup>284</sup>,

<sup>278</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. Among these one may expect the Cysicenes, from their wealth, to have furnished a considerable contingent. The Hellespontines, after the destruction described in vi. 33, could have supplied little or nothing.

<sup>279</sup> Ἐπεβάτευνον . . . Σάκαι. The marines in all the vessels being supplied from the hereditary dominions of the Persian king indicates some distrust of their naval allies. They could perhaps depend upon these for working the ships, but not for much more.

<sup>280</sup> ἐξέργομαι. See note 106 on i. 31.

<sup>281</sup> οὔτε γὰρ . . . ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν. See above, note 249.

<sup>282</sup> Ἀριαβήνης. Possibly this is the same individual whom PLUTARCH (*The-mist.* § 14) describes under the name of Ariamenes, as the admiral of the Persian naval force, and as *πολὴν κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαίτατος* of all Xerxes's brothers. He was killed at Salamis. The Hellenic *m* is sometimes represented in Persian by *b*;

for instance, *Megabazus* is in the Behistun tablets *Bagabazaka*.

<sup>283</sup> Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίω. An Aspathines is mentioned by Herodotus, although not so by the Behistun Inscription, as one of the seven conspirators wounded severely in the attempt to slay the Magian (iii. 70. 78). But if the same person had been meant here, some allusion to the circumstance might have been looked for. Possibly he may have been a son of the Prexaspes who by his confession and voluntary death did such good service to the cause of Darius (iii. 75), as in several instances the Hellenic practice of naming a grandson after the grandfather appears as existing among the Persian nobles.

<sup>284</sup> Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτω. Perhaps this Megabazus is the chief of whom Herodotus tells two anecdotes (iv. 143); and from the practice which evidently prevailed of putting members of the royal family in high command, it seems likely that his father Megabates was the first

καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρα-  
τιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης, ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γωβρύεω θυγατρός·  
Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγειε Ἀχαιμένης<sup>225</sup>, Ξέρξεω ἑὸν ἀπ' ἀμφο-  
τέρων ἀδελφείας τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγειον οἱ δύο.  
τριηκόντεροι δὲ, καὶ πεντηκόντεροι, καὶ κέρκουροι<sup>226</sup>, καὶ ἱπ-  
παγωγὰ πλοῖα μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρισ-  
98 χίλια. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρατηγούς οἶδε  
ἦσαν οἱ ὀνομαστότατοι· Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ  
Τύριος Μάπην<sup>227</sup> Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος<sup>228</sup> Ἀγβάλου,  
καὶ Κιλιξ Συνέννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα·  
καὶ Κύπριοι, Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος<sup>229</sup>, καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω  
καὶ Καρῶν Ἰστιαίος τε ὁ Τύμνεω<sup>230</sup> καὶ Πύγρης ὁ Σελδώμου καὶ

cousin of Darius (mentioned in v. 32). Some have also identified Megabazus with the Megabyzus of iii. 70. But great caution is requisite in such proceedings. (See note 367 on iv. 143.)

<sup>225</sup> Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγειε Ἀχαιμένης. After the revolt of Egypt, which took place in the last year of Darius's life, and which was quelled by Xerxes, Achaemenes was sent to that country as viceroy. He seems therefore to have left his government in command of the naval contingent furnished from thence. A question arises, how was this enormous force (200 triremes, § 89, above) raised? There is no reason to suppose that the Egyptians themselves were ever any thing but river boatmen. The naval conquests of Amasis and of Apries were probably effected by Hellenic auxiliaries. (See note 554 on ii. 182.) The refusal of the Phœnician squadron prevented Cambyses from attempting the conquest of Carthage after he had subdued Egypt, although he had the Ionian and Æolian naval contingent with him (iii. 19). Therefore at that time there could hardly have been an Egyptian fleet. Nevertheless Aryandes possessed a fleet either native or foreign (iv. 167), which was commanded by a Persian. If we suppose the fleet in question to have been created by Achaemenes subsequently to his going to his government, we shall see the force of the expression: Αἰγυπτίον πολλὰν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας (§ 7, above), for the most stringent measures must have been required to produce such results. And after all, it seems not impos-

sible that although the Egyptians probably supplied rowers, the navigation of the ships may have been performed by Phœnicians or Philistines, the funds for the payment of these, and probably also for the building of the fleet, being furnished by Egypt.

<sup>226</sup> κέρκουροι. Accounts vary as to whether this description of vessel was Cyprian or Corcyrean. Its mention here by Herodotus goes to corroborate the former view.

<sup>227</sup> Μάπην. The MSS vary between this form, Μάπην, and Μάρπην. Of Σιρώμου, see note 301 on v. 104.

<sup>228</sup> Μέρβαλος. Some MSS have Νέρβαλος. Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus were the three cities which constituted the Phœnician Tripolis. It will be observed that no Philistine or Egyptian commander is named among the subordinate chiefs. The Philistine contingent too is reckoned together with the Phœnician one above, § 89; and possibly the real solution of the difference between the numbers of Æschylus and those of Herodotus is to be found in the view that the Egyptian contingent really formed two thirds of the three hundred galleys, of which Tetramnestus, Mapen, and Merbal were the subordinate commanders. See note on viii. 17.

<sup>229</sup> Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος. This individual had been replaced in his position as king of Salamis in Cyprus (v. 104) on the reconquest of the island by the Persians (v. 115).

<sup>230</sup> Ἰστιαίος τε ὁ Τύμνεω. This individual was one of the commanders in the

Δαμασίθυμος<sup>291</sup> ὁ Κανδαύλεω. Τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παρα- 99  
 μένηται ταξιαρχέων, ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος· Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ, τῆς  
 μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης,  
 γυναικός· ἦτις, ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν  
 τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νενηλέω, ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ  
 ἀνδρητῆς ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς ἐούσης οἱ ἀναγκαίης. οὖνομα μὲν  
 δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος· γένος δὲ ἐξ  
 Ἀλκαρνησοῦ<sup>292</sup> τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσαι· ἡγε-  
 μόνευε δὲ Ἀλκαρνησέων τε καὶ Κφῶν καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ  
 Καλυμνίων<sup>293</sup>, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη· καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρα-  
 τιτῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάν-  
 των τε τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεῖ ἀπεδέξατο·  
 τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολλῶν ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτὴν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω  
 πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν· Ἀλκαρνησῆας μὲν Τροίξηνιους, τοὺς δὲ  
 ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς  
 εἴρηται.

Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡρίθησέ τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε 100  
 αὐτὸς σφεας διεξελάσας θεήσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ ἐποίηε ταῦτα, καὶ  
 διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκάστῳ, ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ  
 ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί<sup>294</sup>. ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπύκετο  
 καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, τῶν νεῶν  
 κατελκυσθεισῶν ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηπῇ χρυσῇ· καὶ παρέπλεε

fleet which attempted the *coup de main* on Naxos, whom Aristagoras secured at the outbreak of the Ionian revolt (v. 37).

<sup>291</sup> Δαμασίθυμος. This individual is probably the commander of the ship sunk by Artemisia in order to save herself (viii. 87). Perhaps his notoriety was mainly owing to this circumstance.

<sup>292</sup> Ἀλκαρνησοῦ. This is the reading of all the MSS. Below F has Ἀλκαρνησέων and Ἀλκαρνησέας. See note I on i. 1.

<sup>293</sup> Καλυμνίων. Gaisford, with the MSS, has Καλυδνίων. But it seems certain that the inhabitants of some island near Halicarnassus are here meant; and such an island existed, of the name Κάλυμνα (called *Calimno* by SÆWULF, A.D. 1102), in the immediate vicinity of Cos and Nisyros. Calydna was a name given to some very

small islands just off the shore of Tenedos, and at one time to Tenedos itself. And it seems not improbable that the island Calymna was sometimes called Calydna (for the *Iliad*, ii. 677, couples *νήσους τε Καλύδνας* with Cos). But the form Κάλυμνα appears in inscriptions (HOFMANN, *Griechenland*, p. 1441, note 26), and therefore seems to be the authentic form for the times when the orthography was settled. But see note on viii. 87.

<sup>294</sup> ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί. It is a conjecture of Heeren's, which is approved of by Bishop Thirlwall, that the muster rolls thus formed fell into the hands of the Greeks after the defeat of the Persians, and formed the authority for the account which Herodotus has been giving of the troops.

παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος· τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχουσι, τὰς πρῶρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον ὃ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρῶρων πλέων ἐθήεϊτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

- 101 Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε, καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεὸς, μετ' ἐπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἶρετο τάδε “Δημάρητε, νῦν μοι σε ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ ἐπείρεσθαι τὰ θέλω· σὺ εἰς Ἑλλήν τε, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ πυθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικνεομένων, πόλιος οὐτ' ἐλαχίστης οὐτ' ἀσθε-  
νεστάτης· νῦν ὦν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἑλληνες ὑπομενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι· οὐ γὰρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης οἰκούντες ἄνθρωποι συλ-  
λεχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιώμαχοί εἰσι ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα ὑπομείναι, μὴ ἔόντες ἄρθμοι”<sup>295</sup>. ἐθέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, οὐκ οἶόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα· ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθιῇ χρήσομαι πρὸς σέ ἢ ἡδονῇ;” ὁ δὲ μιν ἀληθιῇ χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε, φὰς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσεσθαι

- 102 ἢ πρότερον ἦν ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε “βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀληθιῇ διαχρήσασθαι”<sup>296</sup> πάντως με κελεύεις, ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται, τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφος σύνηστι, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτός ἐστι, ἀπὸ τε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ· τῇ διαχρεωμένη ἢ Ἑλλάς, τὴν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. αἰνέω μὲν νῦν πάντας Ἑλλήνας τοὺς περὶ κείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους· ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξω οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων πρῶτα μὲν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλο-  
σύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι· αὐτὶς δὲ, ὡς ἀντιώσονται τοι ἐς μάχην, καὶ ἦν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι· ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι, μὴ πύθῃ ὅσοι τινὲς ἔόντες ταῦτα ποιεῖν οἴοι τέ εἰσι· ἦν

<sup>295</sup> μὴ ἔόντες ἄρθμοι. These words appear to me to have dropped out of their proper place, which seems to be after the word ἀνταειρόμενοι.

<sup>296</sup> διαχρήσασθαι. The manuscripts S and V have the simple form χρήσασθαι, ΣΤΟΒΕΥΣ; δὴ χρήσασθαι.

τε γὰρ τύχῳσι ἐξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχήσονται τοι, ἦν  
 τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων, ἦν τε καὶ πλεύνες." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης, 103  
 γελήσας ἔφη " Δημάρητε, οἶον ἐφθέγγαιο ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους  
 στρατιῇ τοσῆδε μαχήσασθαι. ἄγε, εἰπέ μοι, σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι; σὺ ὦν ἐβελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα  
 πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι<sup>297</sup>; καίτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν<sup>298</sup> ὑμῖν  
 πᾶν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ διαίρεεις, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα  
 πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμε-  
 τέρους<sup>299</sup>. εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς  
 ἐμῆς ἀντάξιος ἐστι, σέ δέ γε διζῆμαι εἰκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον καὶ  
 οὕτω μὲν ὀρθοῖτ' ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σεῦ εἰρημένος. εἰ δέ, τοιοῦτοί  
 τε ἔόντες καὶ μεγάθεα τοσοῦτοι οἶος σὺ τε καὶ οἱ παρ' ἐμέ φοιτῶσι  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐς λόγους, αὐχεῖτε τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ  
 λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος εἴη. ἐπεὶ φέρε ἴδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκῷτι κῶς  
 ἂν δυναίατο χίλιοι, ἢ καὶ μύριοι, ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, ἔόντες γε  
 ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ  
 τοσῶδε ἀντιστῆναι; ἐπεὶ τοι πλεύνες περὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον γινόμεθα  
 ἢ χίλιοι, ἔόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιαδέων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς  
 ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον, γενοιάτ' ἂν δειμαίνοντες  
 τοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἑωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζό-  
 μενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἔόντες· ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐς τὸ  
 ἐλεύθερον, οὐκ ἂν ποιεοίεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ  
 ἀνισωθέντας πλήθει χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἑλληνας Πέρσῃσι μόνουσι  
 μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σὺ λέγεις· ἔστι γε  
 μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν, ἀλλὰ σπάνιον· εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων τῶν ἐμῶν  
 αἰχμοφόρων οἱ ἐβελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχε-  
 σθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἄπειρος, πολλὰ φληνρέεις." Πρὸς ταῦτα 104

<sup>297</sup> πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; By the selection of this number it would seem as if Xerxes had here in his mind merely his guardsmen, the band of the Immortals, who were 10,000 in number, although, as Herodotus tells the story, the conversation with Demaratus takes place when he is elated at seeing the numbers and efficiency of his whole force, fleet as well as army. And it is with reference to the whole force that he pursues the argument below: ἐπεὶ τοι πλεύνες . . . πέντε χιλιαδέων.

<sup>298</sup> τὸ πολιτικόν. This term is used to

denote the aggregate of the πολῖται in contradistinction to ὁ ἔρχων. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ (*Nicomach. Ethic.* iii. p. 1116, l. 19) calls the civilians employed in an army as militia men τὰ πολιτικά, in contradistinction to the regular soldiers.

<sup>299</sup> κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. There is perhaps here an allusion to the custom at Sparta of setting before the kings a double share of the victim whenever they were invited to a private sacrifice (vi. 57). The practice was a sort of symbol of their being held equal to two other men.

Δημάρητος λέγει· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχήθεν ἠπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθὴν ἤνθα γινώσκων οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω· σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἠνέγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι· καί τοι ὡς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστανται<sup>300</sup>, οἳ με τιμὴν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώϊα ἀπολὺν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποιήκασιν, πατήρ δὲ σὺς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον δέδωκε· οὐκ οἶκος ἐστὶ ἄνδρα τὸν σὺ φρονεῖν εὖ νοήσῃ φαινομένην διωθέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπὸ ἰσχύϊ οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι, οὔτε δυοῖσι· ἐκὼν τε εἶναι οὐδ’ ἂν μουνυμαχέοιμι· εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίη εἴη ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγὼν, μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων ἥδιστα ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστός φησι τριῶν ἄξιός εἵναι· ὥς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ μὲν ἓνα μαχεόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰσι κακίονες ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἀριστοὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων· ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ὄντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροί εἰσι· ἔπεστι γὰρ σφί δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδεδαιμονοῦσι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ· ποιεῖσι γὰρ τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνάγῃ· ἀνάγει δὲ τῶντ’ αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἔω φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι<sup>301</sup>. σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν, τᾶλλα<sup>302</sup>· σιγᾶν ἐθέλω τὸ λοιπὸν, νῦν δὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔλεξα· γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ.”

105

Xerxes proceeds, after making Maspames governor of Doriscus.

‘Ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς γέλωτά τε ἔτρεψε, καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησατο ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ’ ἠπλῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τοῦτ’ οὖν δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ξέρξης, καὶ ὑπαρχὸν ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτ’ οὖν<sup>303</sup> καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς

<sup>300</sup> καί τοι ὡς ἐγὼ . . . αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστανται, “although no one knows so well as you how little, as things now are with me, I am disposed to feel kindly towards them on this subject.”

<sup>301</sup> ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. These infinitives are governed by some such word as *κελεύειν*, gathered by inference from οὐκ ἔω. Valcknaer compares *ALEXIS* (*ap. Stobaeum*, p. 454):

οὐκ ἤξιωσα καταλιπεῖν τὴν μητέρα,  
πρώτην δὲ σώζειν,

and the description given by St. PAUL of the perverters of Christian simplicity:

κωλύοντων γαμῆν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων. (1 *Timothy* iv. 3.) Compare note 218 on vi. 97.

<sup>302</sup> τᾶλλα. Several MSS have *ἅμα*, from which Wesseling conjectured that *ἅλλα* was the true reading. But the text as it stands appears quite sound, and the words *τὸ λοιπὸν* are something more than *τᾶλλα*. They are in opposition to *νῦν*, which follows. “If this my language appears vapouring, I will keep silence on other matters for the future, and as it is (*νῦν δὲ*) I spoke by compulsion.”

<sup>303</sup> ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτ’ οὖν. See § 59, above.

Θρηίκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκά- 106

Anecdote  
of the gal-  
lantry of  
Mascames.

μην γενόμενον, τῷ μόνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε<sup>304</sup>, ὡς ἀριστεύ-  
οντι πάντων ὅσους κατέστησε αὐτὸς ἡ Δαρείος ὑπάρχους· πέμ-  
πεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω<sup>305</sup> τοῖσι  
Μασκαμείοισι ἐκγόνοισι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης  
τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπαρχοὶ ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου παν-  
ταχῇ<sup>306</sup>. οὗτοι ὦν πάντες, οἳ τε ἐκ Θρηίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόν-  
του<sup>307</sup>, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς  
στρατηλασίης ἐξηρέθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμοί  
κω ἐδυνάσθησαν<sup>308</sup> ἐξελεῖν, πολλῶν πειρησαμένων διὰ τοῦτο δέ  
οἱ τὰ δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.  
Τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης 107  
ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν, εἰ μὴ Βόγην μόνον, τὸν ἐξ Ἡΐονος.  
τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιέοντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρ-  
σῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἵνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο  
Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ  
Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὼν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστήσαι ἐς  
τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἐθέλησε, μὴ δειλὴν δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλείῃ, ἀλλὰ  
διακαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνὴν ἐν τῷ  
τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα  
καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ·  
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν  
ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ  
ταῦτα, ἑωυτὸν ἐπέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέ-  
εται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε ὑπὸ Περσέων<sup>309</sup>.

107  
Anecdote  
of Boges,  
the governor  
of Eion.

<sup>304</sup> τῷ μόνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε. Mascames was perhaps the only Persian chief to whom the Greeks in these parts were cognizant of gifts of honour being sent. By i. 135 and iii. 160 it appears that there were certainly some others who received them yearly.

<sup>305</sup> Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω. This prince succeeded to the throne in the latter part of the year 465 B.C. CLINTON explains a slight diversity which is found in the different statements of the date of his accession.

<sup>306</sup> κατέστασαν γὰρ . . . πανταχῇ. See note 111 on vi. 44.

<sup>307</sup> πανταχῇ . . . τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. These words are omitted from the two

manuscripts S and F. The mistake apparently arises in the latter from the eye of the transcriber being deceived. But in S this is not the real cause; for that MS has immediately afterwards: πλὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ.

<sup>308</sup> ἐδυνάσθησαν. This form, which is of very rare occurrence, is found in ii. 19: οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην, and ii. 43: οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκούσαι.

<sup>309</sup> ὑπὸ Περσέων. THUCYDIDES, who mentions the capture of Eion as the first success of the allies after the transfer of the hegemony from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians, gives no hint of the heroic conduct of Boges, but simply states that the town was taken by blockade, and



108

March of Xerxes from Doriscus. He passes the Samothracian castles, the westernmost of which is Mesembria, in the immediate vicinity of Stryme, a Thracian town.

109

He crosses the Lissus, and passes Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera, and the lakes

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε· ἐδεδούλωτο γὰρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα, καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος<sup>310</sup>, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεφάμενου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου<sup>311</sup>. παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρητικὰ τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτῃ πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρην πόλιν τῇ οὐνομά ἐστι Μεσαμβρίῃ· ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλις, Στρυμὴ· διὰ δὲ σφῶν τοῦ μέσου Λίσσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει· ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξῳ στρατῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε. ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκὴ νῦν δὲ Βριαντική· ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιωτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων. Διαβάς δὲ τοῦ Λίσσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρασμένον, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο· Μαρώνειαν, Δίκαιαν, Ἀβδηρα· ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήιε, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας δὲ, λίμνας ὀνομαστάς τάσδε· Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρυμῆς κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα<sup>312</sup>. κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν, Βιστονίδα, ἐς

the inhabitants sold as slaves (i. 98). He must have been quite familiar with the local accounts from his connexion with the neighbourhood; and his complete silence goes to confirm the inference from Herodotus's expression, that the authority of the latter was an Asiatic one. DIODORUS SICULUS (xi. 60) places the capture of Eion by the Athenians in the year 470 B.C.; but, as is remarked by Wesseling, he in that passage puts together transactions which took place at a considerable distance of time from each other. That the circumstance mentioned by Herodotus: ὥς οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνὶν, was a striking feature in the siege, seems likely from the fact of its appearing in the epigram cited by ÆSCHINES (c. Ctesiph. § 184):

ἦν ἄρα κάκεινοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων  
παισίν, ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοᾶς,  
λίμῳ τ' αἴθωνα κρατερὸν τ' ἐπάγοντες  
Ἄρῃα,  
πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμηχανίην.

The starvation was no doubt effected by closing the straits, and thus stopping the transit of corn from the Euxine. In later times it was said that the city was taken by Cimon turning the course of the Strymon, so as to set the current against the

walls, which, being of unbaked bricks, gave way. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 8, 9.) But if this was the discovery of Cimon, as Pausanias states, it would hardly have been unnoticed by the epigram or by Herodotus. Agesipolis adopted the same stratagem at Mantinea; but the mountain streams of Arcadia would be much more efficient agents in undermining than an estuary.

<sup>310</sup> ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος. There is no trace of this in the Behistun Inscription, although *Sparta* and *Ionian* are there mentioned among the subject countries. (See note 278 on iii. 94.) It seems very unlikely that the Persian occupation of the country from the Hellespont to the Strymon was more than that effected by a line of strong military posts. If the country had been δασμοφόρος, they would hardly have made Elæus the base of operations when cutting the canal through the isthmus of Athos. See above, § 22, and the note 91.

<sup>311</sup> Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεφάμενου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου. See v. 1, 2, and vi. 43, 44, with the note 111 on the last passage.

<sup>312</sup> Ἰσμαρίδα. In the view of the historian it would seem that the course of Xerxes was in a great degree determined by the opportunity which these lakes

τὴν ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσειέσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραυὸς<sup>313</sup> τε καὶ Κόμφατος<sup>Ismaris and Bisotia.</sup>

κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα, λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἴδυσαν οὐνομαστὴν παρα-  
μείφατο Ξέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον ῥέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. μετὰ  
δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις παρήϊε τῶν ἐν  
μῇ λίμνῃ εἴδυσά τυγχάνει ὥσει τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη  
τὴν περίοδον, ἰχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρὴ ταύτην τὰ ὑποζύγια  
μῶνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρνη· τῇ δὲ πόλιν ταύτην οὐνομά ἐστι Πίστυ-  
ρος· ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλεις, τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλλη-

The salt  
lake near  
the town  
Pistyrus.

νίδας, ἐξ εὐνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήϊε. Ἔθνεα δὲ Θρητικῶν, 110  
δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν ἐποικέτο, τοσάδε· Παῖτοι, Κίκονες, Βίστονες, The Thra-  
ζαπαῖοι, Δερσαῖοι, Ἡδωνοὶ, Σάτραι· τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασ-  
σαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἴποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσό-  
γαιαν οἰκέοντες, καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρώων οἱ  
ἄλλοι πάντες περὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἴποντο. Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενός 111  
κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλὰ διατελευσί force, ex-  
τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἔοντες ἐλεύθεροι, μῶνοι Θρητικῶν οἰκέουσι τε Satra, among  
γὰρ οὐρεα ἰνὴ γλῶττι, ἴδυσσι τε παντοίησι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ whom is  
εἰσι τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. οὗτοι οὖν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι the oracle  
ἐκτεμνομένοι<sup>314</sup>. τὸ δὲ μαντήϊον τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρέων τῶν Bessians.

afforded of watering his army. Stores would probably be supplied by sea, and magazines of grain formed at the towns on the coast which are mentioned. Abdera seems to have been a principal port of the Persians,—apparently a naval arsenal. (See vi. 46, 47.)

<sup>313</sup> Τραυός. There is no doubt some connexion between this river and the tribe (Trausi) mentioned above, v. 4.

<sup>314</sup> οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἐκτεμνομένοι, "these are the possessors of the celebrated temple of Dionysus." The use of the article, as in many similar cases, indicates that the author is speaking of a thing well known by common report,—doubtless derived originally from the traders on the coast. This is the *Dionysus* mentioned by EURIPIDES: ὁ ὅρῃ μάλιστα εἶπε Διόνυσος τάδε. (*Hecuba*, 1267.) For the nature of this Dionysus, not the rustic deity, but the conquering leader, see note 15 on v. 7. His worship had in early times extended as far as Delphi, where he is invoked by the priestess in ÆSCHYLUS (*Æumenides*, 24) under the name of Bromius, a word sig-

nificant of orgiastic rites. From the time of EURIPIDES a syncretism of this deity with the wine-god seems to have been generally accepted, the connecting link being the physical excitement caused either by intoxication or by other means. Thus Tiresias says:

μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων δδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσι-  
μον  
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει·  
ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολλὸς,  
λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμνηνότες ποιεῖ.  
(*Bacch.* 298.)

On this principle Hecuba (*Hecub.* 123) calls Cassandra μαντίπολος Βάκχα, although her inspiration proceeds from Apollo. In later times legends were coined to connect the Delphic Apollo with Dionysus mythically. One in the latest form is given by CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS. (*Protrept.* i. § 18.) When the Titans had destroyed Dionysus, and put his mangled fragments into a cauldron, Zeus appeared, scattered them with his thunderbolts, and gave the mutilated members to Apollo to bury. Apollo car-

ἰνῆλοτάτων Βησσοί<sup>112</sup> δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέουσα<sup>113</sup>, κατάπερ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.

112 He then passes by the Pierian castles, leaving Mount Pangæum on his left, and from

113 thence through the territory of the Pæonians, Doberes, and Paopla, to Eion on the Strymon, where the Magi offer a sacrifice of white

Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμειβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων τῶν καὶ ἐνὶ Φόγῃς ἐστὶ οἶνομα, καὶ ἑτέρῳ Πέργαμος· ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποίεετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χερὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον οὖρος ἀπέργων, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἰνῆλόν· ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνὶ μέταλλα<sup>114</sup>, τὰ νέμονται Πιερές τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι, καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι. Ὑπεροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορρῶ ἀνέμου Παίονας<sup>115</sup> Δόβηρας τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξιὼν, ἥϊε πρὸς ἐσπέρην· ἐς δ' ἀπῖκετο ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἡϊόνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἤρχε Βόγῃς, τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον ἐποιέυμην· ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτῃ ἢ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλέσεται Φυλλίς· κατατείνουσα, τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐπὶ ποταμόν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα· τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα, ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιρέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς<sup>116</sup>. Φαρμα-

ried them to Parnassus, and there interred them. Compare PLUTARCH (*de Deo Delph.* § 9) and TZETZES (*on Lycoph.* 207). It is plain from the terms of this account that it implies a previous identification of Dionysus with Osiris, and perhaps also of each of these with the vitalizing power of nature symbolized by the sun,—all of which notions are (I believe) later than the time of Alexander.

<sup>112</sup> Βησσοί. The female votaries were called Βασσαρίδες, and *Bassareus* is the name under which the deity was invoked. (HORACE, *Od.* i. 18. 11.) This tribe appears to have stood in somewhat the same relation to the temple of Dionysus as the Selli to that of the Dodonæan Zeus, and the Delphi to that of Apollo. Strictly speaking, Apollo (Loxias) was the *προφήτης* of Zeus at Pytho, but still the term was, as in the case of the Bessi, applied to the Delphians themselves. See EURIPIDES (*Ion*, 413. 416):

ΕΟΥΘ. τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ;  
ΙΩΝ. Δελφῶν ἀριστῆς οὐς ἐκλήρωσεν πά-  
λος.

See also note 168 on ii. 55. It is probable that this oracle was founded by settlers coming in remote times from the east. (See v. 9, and the notes thereon.) The

word *Bessus* is the name of the satrap of Bactria, who murdered Darius after the battle of Arbela.

<sup>113</sup> χρέουσα. The manuscripts S, V, P, K, F, δ have *χρέωσα*, which (from the form *χρώω*) is defensible by the analogy of *δρέωντες*, *δρέωσι*, from *δράω*.

<sup>114</sup> ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνὶ μέταλλα. From here perhaps was derived that revenue which Herodotus mentions Pisistratus to have obtained 'from the Strymon' (i. 64). Hence his connexion with the king of Macedonia (v. 94).

<sup>115</sup> Παίονας. These and the *Paoplae* are represented (v. 15) as having been subjugated by the Persian forces and transported into Asia; but in the same place it is stated that the *Doberes* were not at that time conquered, although subsequently their subjection may have followed.

<sup>116</sup> ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιρέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς. The victims were so placed that the jet of blood from the stab fell into the stream. See notes 35 and 37 on iii. 11. STRABO mentions that the Persians were very careful when they sacrificed a victim to a river, *not* to let the blood fall into it, but into a trench dug for the purpose (xv. c. 3, p. 326). The account in the text, therefore, if true, can

κεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, *horses to the river. He then crosses the Strymon by the bridge which he finds laid across at "the Nine Ways."* ἐν Ἑννέα Ὀδοῖσι<sup>320</sup> τῇσι Ἡδωνῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, *Vivise-pulture of eighteen of the natives.* τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρόντες ἐξευγμένον. Ἑννέα δὲ Ὀδοὺς πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χώρον τοῦτον καλέεσθαι, τοσοῦτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζῶντας κατάρυσσον. (Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζῶντας κατορύσσειν<sup>321</sup>. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμνηστρίην τὴν Ἑέρξω γυναιῖκα πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις ἑπτὰ<sup>322</sup> Περσέων παῖδας ἑόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῇ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῃ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσιν.)

Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατὸς, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν τῇ οἰκημένην Ἀργίλου πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήιε αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλέεται Βισαλτή· ἐνθεν τε δὲ, κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδητῷ<sup>323</sup> ἐξ ἀριστερῆς

hardly be of a pure Persian ritual. See note 322, below. Tiridates in after times sacrificed a horse to the Euphrates (TACITUS, *Annal.* vi. 37) when intending to pass that river; and the proceeding of Julius Cæsar (see SUCTONIUS, quoted in note 174 on ii. 65) was perhaps intended to be in honour of the Rubicon. But originally among the Persians the horse seems to have been a victim appropriated to the *sun-god*. See XENOPHON, *Anab.* iv. 5; *Cyrop.* viii. 3, compared with note 713 on Herodotus, i. 216. STRABO too says of the Persians: *ὅτι ἂν θύσωσι θεῷ, πρῶτον τῇ πυρὶ εὐχονται.* (l. c.)

<sup>320</sup> ἐν Ἑννέα Ὀδοῖσι. This is the same place which was afterwards so celebrated under the name of *Amphipolis*. That Herodotus should not mention it, has been accounted for by the hypothesis that he was at Thurii when he wrote this part of his work, and had gone there before the new foundation, which took place B.C. 437.

<sup>321</sup> Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζῶντας κατορύσσειν. This assertion is very suspicious, if it be intended to represent the practice as a part of the religious ritual of the genuine Ormuzd-worshippers. But it is very probable that under the reign of Xerxes, and possibly the latter part of that of Darius also, foreign religious ideas may have gained ground in the Persian court. See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 435. The proceeding of Amestris may perhaps be accounted for on this principle. She, and (through her) her husband, may have be-

come addicted to the mysteries imported by foreigners into Susa, just as the Roman ladies under the empire were devoted to the ritual of Isis or of Serapis; and if the Persians acted as described at 'the Nine Ways,' this may have arisen either from the desire to gratify the individual superstition of Xerxes, or may have been the act of a portion only of the multifarious army accompanying him, in accordance with *their* national ceremonies. It is to be observed that these words do not exist in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, although the following clause does. (See note 103 on iii. 35.)

<sup>322</sup> δις ἑπτὰ. Probably there were seven of each sex, and the same in the case of the sacrifice which Cyrus is said to have designed to offer (i. 86), for no where does *fourteen* ever appear to have been a sacred number. But if victims of both sexes were taken, the deity to which they were offered was most likely an union of two, a male and female. In this instance it would probably be a pair analogous to Hades and Persephone, in the other to Hecatus and Hecate, or Helios and Selene. See notes 308 and 506 on Book I., and also 219 on vi. 97.

<sup>323</sup> κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδητῷ. The MSS have Ποσειδητῷ, but I have not hesitated to insert *ε*. The gulf is not named, but described by a landmark such as would be familiar to a navigator, and as such doubtless named after the sea-god.

Next he passes by Argilus and Stagirus, and halts at Acanthus, where the whole force is assembled.

116

Favour shown to the Acanthians.

117

Death of Artachæas, to whom the Acanthians pay the honours of a hero.

118

Ruinous cost of entertaining Xerxes.

χερὸς ἔχων, ἥτε διὰ Συλῆος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα<sup>324</sup> παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπῖκετο ἐς Ἀκανθὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάργαιον ὄρος οἰκούντων ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐν νηυσὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης περὶ ἐπομένους· τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρήικες οὔτ' ἐπισπεύρουσι, σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθὸν ἀπῖκετο, ξεινίην τε ὁ Πέρσης<sup>325</sup> τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προσῆτε καὶ ἐδωρήσατό σφεας ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ<sup>326</sup>, ἐπαίνεε τε ὁρέων αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἔοντας<sup>327</sup> ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων.

Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἔντος Ξέρξεω, συνήνευκε ὑπὸ νούσου ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην<sup>328</sup>, δόκιμον ἔοντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάλῃ τε μέγιστον ἔοντα Περσέων—ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων βασιλῆων<sup>329</sup> ἀπέλιπε τέσσερας δακτύλους—φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων ὥστε Ξέρξεα, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενον μεγάλην, ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάνατον ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή· τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἥρωϊ, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὐνομα· βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης, ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχαίεω, ἐποιέετο συμφορὴν.

Οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπικέατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου γε Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλῶν τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασαι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος

<sup>324</sup> Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα. Both this town and Acanthus were colonized from Andros. (THUCYDIDES, iv. 84, 88.)

<sup>325</sup> ὁ Πέρσης. The manuscripts S, V, P, F, a have Ξέρξης. See note on § 133, below. The phrase ξεινίην προσῆτε does not mean "ordered a banquet," but "offered alliance." See viii. 120: ξεινίην σφι συνθέμενος. Doubtless the honour entailed the cost of entertainment.

<sup>326</sup> ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ. See iii. 84.

<sup>327</sup> ὁρέων αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἔοντας. The commercial advantages resulting from the expenditure of the people employed in cutting the canal would no doubt make

their employer popular in any neighbouring town. It would be of great importance to Xerxes to conciliate the Acanthians, who by destroying the canal would have done him incalculable mischief; and they, for their parts, doubtless viewed the construction of such a work near their own town with the greatest satisfaction, knowing the impulse which would by it be given to their trade.

<sup>328</sup> Ἀρταχαίην. He had a colleague. See above, § 22.

<sup>329</sup> πηχέων βασιλῆων. See note 597 on i. 178.

ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα. Ὡς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πόλισι οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον· τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοιόνδε τι ἐγένετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον· τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιωργελλόντων<sup>330</sup>, δασάμενοι σῖτον ἐν τῇσι πόλισι οἱ ἄστοι ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄλφιστα ἐποίησαν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συγχρούς· τοῦτο δὲ, κτήνεα σιτεύεσκον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφον τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους ἐν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοις, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ, χρυσέα τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεύντο, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέσθαι πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποιήτο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μούνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιή, σκηπὴν μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποικέσκετο Ξέρξης· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιή ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος· ὥς δὲ δεῖπνον γίνοιτο ὥρῃ, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχσκον πόνον· οἱ δὲ, ὅκως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγαγόνειν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τὴν τε σκηπὴν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες, οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι· Ἐνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρί-  
119  
120  
A bitter jest of Megacreon of Abdera on the subject.  
 τω ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, δς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, πανδημεὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναικάς ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἰρὰ, ἕζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραυτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφί ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα<sup>331</sup>. τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφί μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σῖτον αἰρέεσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προεῖρητο ὁμοία τῷ δεῖπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα, ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβήναι<sup>332</sup>. οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμοίως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον.

<sup>330</sup> τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιωργελλόντων. These were sent out as soon as Xerxes had arrived at Sardis. See above, § 32.

<sup>331</sup> τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα. The Abderitan population was familiar with calamity; for the town itself had been founded by the population of Teos, who left their native country *en masse* to avoid falling under the power of Harpagus

(l. 168). But both the phrase which Herodotus there uses: *τῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀβδηρίοις*, and the close alliance formed by Xerxes with the town (viii. 120), would induce the belief that the bulk of the population consisted of others than the original colonists.

<sup>332</sup> παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, . . . διατριβήναι. These words are not to be

121

From Acan-  
thus Xerxes  
proceeds  
across by  
land to  
Therma,

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας· (Θέρμη δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει) ταύτη γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι<sup>333</sup>. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο τρεῖς μοῖρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος<sup>334</sup> πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἵεναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδόνιος τε καὶ Μασίστης· ἐτέρη δὲ τεταγμένη ἦε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορίς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν μοιρέων, μετ' ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς ὁ Ξέρξης, ἦε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτέων, στρατηγοὺς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.

122

sending the  
fleet through  
the canal to  
sail round  
the Sitho-  
nias and  
the Palle-  
nias penin-  
sulas.  
Its course,

Ὁ μὲν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὡς ἀπείθη ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω, καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθῷ γενομένην διέχουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἀσσα τε πόλιν καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σήγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἰκηται· ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολλῶν στρατιὴν παρέλαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον, κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον τὴν<sup>335</sup> Τορωναίην ἄκρην<sup>336</sup>, παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας

considered as a part of the saying of Megacreon, but as an explanation, on the part of the author, of the thought which suggested his remark. The failure both here and in iv. 144, to observe where the actual saying ended, has caused a witty remark to be regarded as an insipidity by some modern critics.

<sup>333</sup> συντομώτατον εἶναι, "was the shortest cut across."

<sup>334</sup> τρεῖς μοῖρας . . . δασάμενος. This is a similar expression to *δυώδεκα μοῖρας δασ*. Αἰγυπτον *πᾶσαν* (ii. 147), where see note 435. The regimen is the same as if the writer had said *τριχῇ δασάμενος*, a phrase which he uses in iii. 39. For the previous mention of the generals in command of these main divisions of the army, see above, § 82. Comparing the order in which they are there given with this passage, one may conjecture that Masistes, Gergis, and Megabyzus were subordinated to the generals with whom they are here respectively associated. Perhaps Masistes was placed with Mardonius on account of the recognized military skill of the latter, whose corps certainly had the most important work to do, and who had himself

experience of the region in which the movement took place. See above, note 250 on § 82.

<sup>335</sup> ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος . . . Ἀμπελον τὴν. These words are omitted in F.

<sup>336</sup> κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην. As the text stands the meaning would be that in the rounding Ampelus, the fleet passed the Greek towns presently mentioned. This, however, is an impossibility. (See note 341, below.) If the MSS were not unanimous, I should be disposed to put a colon after *ἄκρην* and insert δὲ after the following word *παραμείβετο*. In this case the words (*ἔπλεε . . . ἄκρην*) would merely give the general direction of the course of the fleet. "It sailed off into the Thermæan gulf and round Ampelus, the headland of Torone,"—just such a description as an inhabitant of *Sone*, in the isthmus of Athos, would give of what he saw take place under his eyes. Then follows an account, which would naturally be derived from other sources, of the towns from which it levied contingents as it passed them.

τάσδε πόλεις<sup>327</sup> ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε· Τωρώ-  
 νην, Γαληφὸν<sup>328</sup>, Σερμύλην, Μηκύβερναν<sup>329</sup>, Ὀλυνθον ἢ μὲν νῦν  
 χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίᾳ<sup>330</sup> καλέεται. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικός στρατός ὁ Ξέρξεω, 123  
 συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Κανάστραιον ἄκρην<sup>331</sup>, τὸ δὲ  
 πάσης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεύτεν νέας τε καὶ στρα-  
 τιὴν παρελάμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης, καὶ Ἀφύτιος, καὶ Νέης Πό-  
 λιος, καὶ Διγῆς, καὶ Θεράμβω, καὶ Σικιώνης, καὶ Μένδης, καὶ  
 Σάνης<sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup>. αὗται γάρ εἰσι αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ

and the  
 towns from  
 which it  
 obtained  
 reinforce-  
 ments,

<sup>327</sup> Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε πόλεις. By this ex-  
 pression being used here, one would sus-  
 pect that Assa, Pilorus, Singus, and Sarta  
 were *not* settlements of Greeks. STEPHANUS  
 BYZANTINUS describes each of them as  
 πόλεις πρὸς τῇ Ἀθῶν, or περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν.  
 It is probable that the Greeks would only  
 know of them by hearsay at Sane, the  
 Hellenic city on the isthmus, and would  
 not willingly enter the gulf in which they  
 lay. From the description of Herodotus  
 it is impossible to say whether they were  
 on the eastern or western shore. Σάρτη  
 seems to be merely a dialectal variation  
 of Σάρτη (a name which must certainly be  
 Thracian, see above, § 111); and Assa is,  
 according to STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS,  
 the name also of a Scythian village. Nei-  
 ther have the other two names at all a  
 Hellenic character.

<sup>328</sup> Γαληφόν. STEPHANUS BYZANTI-  
 NUS (sub v.) calls this πόλις Θράκης καὶ  
 Παιδόνων, quoting as his authority the  
 Europe of HECATÆUS. Both he and  
 THUCYDIDES (iv. 107), who puts Myrci-  
 nus, Galepsus, and Zeume together, prob-  
 ably allude to a town to the east of the  
 embouchure of the Strymon, assigned to  
 that locality by STRABO (vii. fragm.  
 15). Thucydides knows of no Galepsus  
 in the locality here ascribed to it by He-  
 rodotus. He calls Galepsus a Thasian  
 colony (l. c. and v. 6), which would cer-  
 tainly not induce one to look for it to the  
 west of Mount Athos. Stephanus also  
 calls Sermylia πόλις περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν, on  
 the authority of Hecataeus, which would  
 bring it at any rate to the east of Point  
 Ampelus. Thucydides speaks of a Her-  
 myle, which is doubtless the same town  
 (i. 65; v. 18), but not so as to decide  
 whether it is to be looked for in the Toro-  
 nean or the Singitic gulf.

<sup>329</sup> Μηκύβερναν. STRABO calls this  
 place the arsenal (ἐπίκειον) of Olynthus  
 (vii. fragm. 13).

<sup>330</sup> Σιθωνίᾳ. S has Σιθονίη, which ac-  
 cords with the quantity of the word in  
 Latin.

<sup>331</sup> συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ  
 Κανάστραιον ἄκρην, "after making a short  
 cut from Point Ampelus to Point Cana-  
 stræum." STRABO makes the opposite  
 headland to Canastrum to be a point  
 called Derris (vii. fragm. 15). There  
 is some difficulty in reconciling the prob-  
 able movements of the fleet with Hero-  
 dotus's account. Torone, Micyberna, and  
 Olynthus at any rate could not have been  
 visited by it until *after* Point Ampelus  
 had been rounded. Perhaps we may re-  
 gard the great bulk of the force as ly-  
 ing sheltered to the west of the head-  
 lands Ampelus or Derris, and a land  
 force (possibly with the co-operation of  
 light vessels) overrunning the Sithonian  
 peninsula and pressing the inhabitants of  
 the several cities. When these were col-  
 lected, the whole armament would then  
 make the short passage across to Point  
 Canastrum, and take up a similar posi-  
 tion while the operation was repeated with  
 the towns of Pallene. It is not conceiv-  
 able that the *whole* fleet should make the  
 circuit of the Toroneic gulf, and after-  
 wards return to Point Ampelus in order  
 to cross it at the narrowest part.

<sup>332</sup> ἐκ Ποτιδαίης . . . Σάνης. SCYLAX  
 gives the Pallenean towns in the following  
 order: Potidæa, Mende, Aphytis, Thrani-  
 dos, Scione, after which comes "Cana-  
 stræum the sacred headland." He names  
 no others in that peninsula (§ 67, p. 26,  
 Hudson).

<sup>333</sup> Σάνης. There is no trace earlier  
 than a fragment of STRABO (vii. fr. 12),—  
 which is apparently founded on this pas-  
 sage,—of any town of this name in the  
 peninsula of Pallene. The Sane, which  
 THUCYDIDES speaks of (v. 18), is the  
 town mentioned by Herodotus above  
 (§ 22). See note 96 on that passage.



Φλέγρην καλεομένην νεμόμεναι. παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολλῶν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουμεουσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματά ἐστι τάδε· Λίπαξος, Κώμβρεια, Λίσαι, Γύγονος, Κάμψα, Σμίλα, Αἵνεια<sup>344</sup>. ἡ δὲ τουτέων χώρα Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε καλέεται. ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἦδη ἐς αὐτὸν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγένετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην πλέων δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σινδὸν τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην<sup>345</sup>, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν δὲ οὐρῶναι χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαῖδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στενὸν χωρίον πόλιν Ἰχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα<sup>346</sup>.

until it finally reached *Therme*, *Sindus*, and *Chalestra* on the *Axius*.

124

Xerxes with the army proceeds direct overland to *Therme*

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλιν τουτέων, περιμένων βασιλέα, ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. Ἐέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάθου<sup>347</sup>, τὴν μεσόγειαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς

I believe it here, like Galepsus in the last section, to be introduced by an error.

<sup>344</sup> Λίπαξος . . . Αἵνεια. These were probably mere hamlets. When Cassander founded the city *Thessalonica*, he transferred to it the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages (πολύχνη), of which *Aeneas* is mentioned by STRABO as one (vii. *fragm.* 10).

<sup>345</sup> Χαλέστρην. *HECATÆUS* stated that this town was inhabited by a pure Thracian population; *Therme* by Thracian Hellenes. (STEPH. BYZ. v. Χαλ.)

<sup>346</sup> Πέλλα. It is to be remarked that at this time Pella is not even Macedonian. It owed its importance to Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, after he became king; he having been brought up there. SCYLAX (§ 67) mentions a Πολύχνη, where there was a royal palace, and from the site it seems almost certain that this was at Pella; for that (see STRABO, vii. fr. 8) was ninety *stadæ* sail up the river *Lydias*. Voss wishes to alter the text of Scylax to Πέλλα πόλις, but perhaps the form in Scylax is the old Botticean name. Another suggestion is, that ΠΟΛΛΑΓΙΑΛΣ is a corruption from ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΙΓΑΙ, *Æge* being the residence of the Macedonian kings before the time of Philip. But *Æge* was high up in the mountains, and would never be mentioned in a descrip-

tion of the coast. LIVING gives a very graphic description of Pella at the time it was occupied by the Romans in B.C. 168 (xliv. 46).

<sup>347</sup> Ἐέρξης δὲ . . . ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάθου. These words must be taken with considerable allowance. It cannot be supposed that the whole land army of Xerxes deviated so far from the direct route to Macedonia as to go to Acanthus. The main division would doubtless have held that course which in subsequent times is marked in the ANTONINE ITINERARY, leading from Amphipolis (*The Nine Ways* where Xerxes crossed the Strymon, § 14) to Thessalonica (*Therme*) through Apollonia. The distance is variously given as 67, 68, and 69 Roman miles, in the Antonine Itinerary, the Peutinger Table, and the Jerusalem Itinerary, which are compared by HOFFMANN (*Griechenland*, p. 119). From the head of the valley called *Arethusa* (where there was a station of the same name, and in which the town *Stagirus* lay) there was a steep mountain-road, called *Acontisma* from its precipitous character, which likewise led into Macedonia. (AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, xxvii. 4.) Both of these routes, (of which perhaps the latter ultimately fell into the former,) would have run along the northern side of the mountain ridge which formed the

τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ through  
 Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχειδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξά- *Paeonia and*  
 μενος, ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας, καὶ ἐξίει <sup>348</sup> παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' *Crestonia,*  
 Ἄξιφ ποταμῷ. Πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ, λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι **125**  
 σιτοφόροισι καμήλοισι· καταφοιτούντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας, *passage his*  
 καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἦθεα, ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄπτοντο οὔτε *baggage*  
 ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκερααῖζον μούνας. *camels were*  
 θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον ὃ τι κοτὲ ἦν, τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπ- *lions.*  
 εχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι· τὸ μῆτε πρό-  
 τερον ὑπώπεσαν θηρίον, μῆτ' ἐπεπειράετο αὐτοῦ. Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ **126**  
 ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ, καὶ βόες ἄγριοι τῶν τὰ κέρα *These parts*  
 ὑπερμεγάθεά ἐστι, τὰ ἐς Ἑλληνας φοιτούντα. οὔρος δὲ τοῖσι *abound in*  
 λέουσὶ ἐστι ὃ τε δι' Ἀβδῆρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος, καὶ ὃ δι' *lions, and*  
 Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῷος· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τοῦ Νέστου *wild cattle*  
 οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε *with enorm-*  
 πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελῷου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ *ous horns.*  
 μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται. *Limits of*  
*the lion*  
*region.*

Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκητο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἰδρυσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν **127**  
 στρατιήν· ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευόμενος τὴν *Position of*  
 παρὰ θάλασσαν χώραν τοσύνδε· ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος *the Persian*  
 καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης, μέχρι Λυδίων τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, *army on*  
 οἱ οὐρρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαϊδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα ἐς τῶντ' *forming a*  
 ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες <sup>349</sup>. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν *junction*  
*with the*  
*fleet.*

boundary of Chalcidice, and by going to Acanthus, this would have been crossed and recrossed. This it is very likely might have been done by the king with the troops in immediate attendance on his person, but certainly not by the whole army. If we suppose the main force to have moved on the line of the road above mentioned, the circumstance of the large number of wild animals observed in the march may be explained. The whole country to the north will have been beaten by the troops moving through it, and the lions and other animals previously dispersed over it, *λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἦθεα*, will have been forced into the region which the king, on his route from Acanthus, would have to pass through. Considering the passion of the oriental sovereigns for the chase, and the provision made for it by taking hounds with the army (§ 187), it

is far from unlikely that one motive which carried Xerxes out of his way to Acanthus was to take advantage of this operation,—which would have secured him the pleasure of the sport during the whole passage. A similar reason may have induced him to take the course over Ida, while his army went round by the coast, as is suggested in the note 148 on § 42, above. It will be observed that all particulars of the course which he took are wanting, except the circumstances that he directed it to the river Echedorus, and that he found a very large number of wild animals, particularly lions, which were especially attracted by the camels. This would be a matter of talk at the Macedonian court when he arrived; and thus would get to the Greeks.

<sup>348</sup> ἐξίει. See note 604 on i. 180.

<sup>349</sup> οἱ οὐρρίζουσι . . . . . τὸ ὕδωρ συμ-  
 μίσγοντες. In the time of the compila-

128

Xerxes  
visits the  
embouchure  
of the Pe-  
neus.

τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τού-  
των ποταμῶν, ἐκ Κρηστωναιῆς ῥέων Ἐχειδωρος μούνος οὐκ ἀν-  
έχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ πινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε. Ξέρξης δὲ ὁρέων ἐκ  
τῆς Θέρμης οὖρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά, τὸν τε Ὀλυμπον καὶ τὴν  
Ὀρσοσαν, μεγάλῃ τε ὑπερμήκειά ἐόντα, διὰ μέσου τε αἰτῶν αὐλῶνα  
στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος εἶναι δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειὸς, ἀκούων τε εἶναι  
ταύτῃ ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θεήσασθαι  
τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ· ὅτι τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἔλawn διὰ  
Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων<sup>350</sup>, ἐς Περραιβοὺς παρὰ  
Γόννον πόλιν<sup>351</sup>. ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ὡς

tion of SCYLAX's work, the two rivers seem to have found their way into the sea by separate channels; and the city *Alorus* (called by PLINY, iv. 10, *Olorus*) is placed between the two embouchures (§ 67, p. 26, Hudson). STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sub v.) calls *Alorus* a Macedonian town at the very head of the Thermaean gulf. It is therefore obviously on the coast. An inference from this would be, either that the river *Lydias* had changed its direction between the time of Herodotus and the compilation of Scylax's work, or that the geography of the former was at fault. The first of these suppositions is by no means unlikely; for the enormous deposits of alluvium in this district, and the great variation in the amount of water brought down at different seasons, would very easily occasion the formation of a new mouth. In this case the Macedonian territory may have been conceived by Herodotus as the space in the fork between the *Haliacmon* and the *Lydias*, and the *Bottizæan* as the southern bank of the lower *Haliacmon* and the northern of the lower *Lydias*. Thus we may reconcile his statement with that of THUCYDIDES (ii. 99), who represents "Alexander" (the prince mentioned above, v. 17) "and his ancestors" as having expelled the *Pieræ* from *Pieria*, the *Bottizæi* from *Bottia*, the *Pæonians* from a narrow slip along the s.w. bank of the *Axius* down as far as *Pella* and the sea, and the *Edones* from the other side of the *Axius* as far as the *Strymon*. Considering the intrigues of Alexander with the Persian court (notes 56 on v. 21 and 110 on vi. 44), it seems not unlikely that the presence of the Persian armament on this occasion gave him the opportunity of completing his part of this revolution. (See note 45 on v. 17.) GEORGE (*History of*

*Greece*, vol. iv. p. 18) rejects the account of Thucydides, which he regards as incompatible with that of Herodotus, and as not leaving sufficient room for the *Bottizæans* on the coast north of the *Pierians*. The circumstance of Herodotus not mentioning the original seats of the *Pierians*, but merely speaking of them as in *Mount Pangæus* (§ 112, above), is well accounted for by supposing their displacement to have been effected by "the ancestors" of Alexander.

<sup>350</sup> τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων, "the mountaineers," as opposed to those on the narrow strip of sea-coast, but not necessarily the inhabitants of upper Macedonia. The mountain defiles, which nearly proved fatal to a Roman consul (see note) were only twelve miles from *Dium*. (LIVY, xlv. 4.)

<sup>351</sup> παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν. LIVY describes this town as in a narrow pass, and as a point from which a descent into Thessaly from Macedonia might be advantageously effected. "Ante ipsa Tempe in faucibus situm Macedoniæ claustra tutissimæ præbet, et in Thessaliæ opportunitatem Macedonibus decursum." The consul Crassus made an attempt upon it, but "quam et loco et præsidio valido inexpugnabilis esset, abstulit incepto" (xlv. 67). But the descent was in 169 a.c. so difficult as to be impossible if the pass were resolutely defended. In the narrowest part ten men could have maintained their ground against an army. (See the description in LIVY, xlv. 6.) But the *Aleuadæ* had probably secured the co-operation of the mountaineers with Xerxes, and the pioneering operations of the army (below, § 131) doubtless removed much of the natural difficulty. HAWKINS, who visited Tempe in 1797, seems inclined to place *Gonnus* on the south side of the *Peneus*, where

δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐπόλεε ταῦτα· ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τήνην περ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ ὅκως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήιον καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆκετο καὶ ἐθεήσατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο· καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρῃ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν; (Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι 129  
λίμνην, ὥστε γε συγκεκριμένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι οὖρεσι· The whole of Thessaly was formerly a lake,  
τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἔχοντα τό τε Πήλιον οὖρος καὶ ἡ Ὕσσα ἀποκλῆει συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρείας ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρῶ ἀνέμου ὁ Οὐλυμπος<sup>333</sup>, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Πίνδος· τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἀνέμον νότον ἡ Ὀθρυς· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων οὖρέων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ, ἐούσα κοίλῃ· ὥστε ὦν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συγχῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ, καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ, καὶ Ὀνοχώνου, καὶ Ἐνιπέος, καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν οὖρέων τῶν περικλιζόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην οὐνομαζόμενοι, δι' ἐνὸς αὐλῶνος, καὶ τούτου στεينوῦ, ἔκρουον ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τῶντ'· ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμιχθέωσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων, ἀωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιεῖ· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐντός κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρόου τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι τούτοις τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην, οὔτε οὐνομάζεσθαι κατάπερ νῦν

he found some ruins of a fortification commanding the entrance into Thessaly along the Peneus (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 526). But this apparently arises from his imagining Livy (xliv. 6) to be describing the latter pass, which Xerxes did not take, and not the northern one, which both he and the Roman consul did. On the same grounds he considers Livy's description exaggerated, which it probably is. But it would seem likely that the pass by Gonnus had been made purposely much more difficult by the Macedonians between 191 and 169 B.C. In the former year Larissa, being besieged by Antiochus, was relieved by a Roman detachment proceeding by forced marches to a hill overhanging Gonnus. When there, Claudius, who commanded it, caused fires to be made, as if a large body of men were assembled. This being seen from Larissa,

twenty miles off, produced an impression that the whole Roman army was at hand, and Antiochus raised the siege. (LIVY, xxxvi. 10.) If the pass had been then at all like what it is described in the latter year, the advance of any number might have been easily stopped. Hawkins speaks of a route between Thessaly and Macedonia as being commonly taken by travellers at this time, over the mountains, through the modern town *Rapsiani*. This is (I believe) the very route taken by Xerxes, and the more northern part of it that by which the Roman consul, Q. Marcius Philippus, descended upon Dium, finding the descent on Thessaly by Gonnus (which was his only alternative) utterly hopeless. (LIVY, l. c.)

<sup>333</sup> ὁ Οὐλυμπος. This is the reading of S, V, M, P. Gaisford, on the authority of F, omits the article.

to which an outlet was formed through Tempe by Poseidon.

130

Xerxes observes the facility of laying Thessaly under water.

ρέειν τε οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ νῦν ρέοντας δὲ ποίειν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαιος· αὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν Θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα<sup>333</sup> δι' οὗ ρέει ὁ Πηνειὸς, οἰκότες λέγοντες ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν, καὶ τὰ διεστέωτα ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον<sup>334</sup>, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἢ διάστασις τῶν οὐρέων) Οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι, εἰρομένου Ξέρξεω εἰ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνειῷ, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀτρεκέως, εἶπον “ βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις<sup>335</sup> ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, ἀλλ' ἦδε αὐτὴ· οὐρεσι γὰρ περιστεφάνονται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη” Ξέρξεα δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν

<sup>333</sup> Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα. HUMBOLDT gives several instances both in South America and Central Asia of similar legends existing under similar circumstances, and remarks, “ce qui se présente comme une tradition, n'est souvent que le reflet de l'impression que laisse l'aspect des lieux” (*ap. Grote, History of Greece*, i. p. 636, note). The remark is a very true one, if it be taken as one particular application of the general principle, that in rendering an account of existing phenomena, every uncultivated people will unhesitatingly resort for an explanation to the traditions with which they are familiar. It is not that philosophical opinions are put *by choice* into the shape of narrative, when they could have been stated in their proper shape,—but that the narrative form is (under the existing conditions of culture) the only one in which they could be conveyed at all. The same necessity determines the particular features of the narrative. A people with only one history perforce refers all facts to it. Thus water-works, which in the time of Herodotus were ascribed to Semiramis or Nitocris, are by the inhabitants of the same locality at the present day ascribed to Nimrod. (See note 628 on i. 185.) LAYARD says that in the neighbourhood of *Billis* “several bridges and spacious khans, whose ruins still attest the ancient commerce and intercourse carried on through these mountains, are attributed, like all other public works in the country, to Sultan Murad during his memorable expedition against Baghdad (A.D. 1638). . . .” About five miles from *Billis* is a tunnel of about twenty feet in length, carried through a mass of calcareous rock. “There is no inscription to record by whom and at what period this

passage was cut. It is of course assigned to Sultan Murad, but is probably of a far earlier period. There are many such in the mountains.” (*Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 38.) Compare note 360 on ii. 128, above.

<sup>334</sup> ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον. HAWKINS, who entirely confirms this view, says that he observed marks of similar revolutions in other parts of Greece, especially Arcadia. He mentions especially the river *Ladon*, which, at a short distance above the ruins of *Telphussa*, bursts its way through a vast chasm, which is reported to be several miles in length, and has the appearance of being inaccessible to a human being. Parallel instances to the *Peneus* are also afforded by the passage of the *Potomac* through the Blue Mountains in Virginia, and that of the *Elbe* through the sandstone of the Saxon Switzerland.

<sup>335</sup> οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις. HAWKINS says that “the closure of Tempe would undoubtedly cause so extensive an inundation as to cover the whole eastern half of Thessaly (that is, Perrhæbia and Pelasgiotis). In this state of things the first draught of the waters would be towards the Pagassæan gulf. But were they to rise so much higher, in consequence of this stoppage, as to spread over the plains on the western side of Thessaly (*Hestiotis*), they would ultimately find an issue between *Pelion* and *Ossa*, near the modern town of *Aia*. In this case I conceive that a range of hills which separates the two great level districts (connecting *Phææ* and *Pharalia* with *Tricca* and the towns which lie on the s.w. borders of Macedonia) would be the only part of the interior above water” (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 523).

πρὸς ταῦτα· “σοφοὶ ἄνδρες”<sup>355</sup> εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλοῖ· ταῦτ’ ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γνωσιμαχέοντες, καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι χώρην ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον.” τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρὴγμα ἂν ἦν μούνον ἐπεῖναι σφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάσαντα, καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι’ ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥεέθρων ὥστε Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν οὐρέων ὑπόβρυχα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας”<sup>356</sup>, (ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων, ὄντες Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔδωσαν ἑωυτοὺς βασιλείᾳ,) δοκέων ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παντός σφῆας τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίην εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ θεησάμενος, ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς”<sup>357</sup>. τὸ γὰρ δὴ 131  
οὖρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορις, ἵνα ταύτῃ Pioneering  
διεξίῃ ἅπασα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐς Περραιβοὺς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ to facilitate  
ἀποπεμφθέντες”<sup>358</sup> ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησιν ἀπικέατο· οἱ the transit  
μὲν κεινοὶ, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα 132  
ἐγένοντο οἷδε· Θεσσαλοὶ, Δόλοπες, Ἐνίηρες, Περραιβοὶ, Λοκροὶ, List of the  
Μάγνητες, Μηλιεῖς, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ Hellenes  
ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπείων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοις who sub-  
οἱ Ἑλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον”<sup>359</sup> οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι, mitted to  
τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· “ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδωσάν σφῆας αὐτοὺς the king.  
Ἑλληνες ὄντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφί εὐ τῶν  
πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ” τὸ μὲν δὴ  
ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. Ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ 133

<sup>355</sup> σοφοὶ ἄνδρες. See note §9 on i. 30.

<sup>357</sup> ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας, “with a reference to the sons of Aleuas.” For the sense of ἐστέιν, see note 409 on ii. 138. Of the Aleuadæ, note 19, above.

<sup>358</sup> περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς. The Hellenic confederates proceeded to take up their position at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, on the intelligence arriving at the isthmus of the enemy’s arrival in Pieria (§ 177).

<sup>359</sup> οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες. These messengers seem to have been those mentioned in § 32, above. The interval appears a long one if they be regarded as mere heralds; but perhaps we may conceive of them as commissioners entrusted with the power of making arrangements

for the transit of the expedition where they met with a favourable reception. In this case they would naturally not return until the army was at hand, when they would come to report on the state of the preparation for it.

<sup>360</sup> ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἑλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον. Herodotus does not say where the Hellenic congress took place on the occasion on which this oath was framed. In the time of PAUSANIAS a spot called *Hellenium*, near the temple of the Tænarian Poseidon, was said to be the spot (iii. 12. 6). But another tradition accounted for the name by placing there the congress of the suitors to avenge the rape of Helen by Paris. Most likely the congress really took place at the isthmus. See note on § 145, below.

Cause of no commission-ers being sent to Athens or Sparta.

## 134

Wrath of Talthybius in consequence of the violation of the law of nations shown in the story of Sperthias and Bulia.

ἀπέπεμψε ὁ Πέρσης<sup>361</sup> ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον<sup>362</sup> οἱ δὲ ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα· τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὁ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεκε ἀνεθέλητον<sup>363</sup> γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι<sup>364</sup>, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηλώθη· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι. Τοῖσι δὲ ὦν Λακεδαιμονίοισι μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος· (ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν<sup>365</sup>. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβίου, Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκῆται αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι καλλιεργῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνατο<sup>366</sup>. τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχρὸν ἦν σφι· ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλῆς τε πολλάκις συλληγομένης, καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιευμένων, εἰ τις βούλοιο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίης<sup>367</sup> τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βούλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, φύσει τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐβελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν ποιὴν τῖσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται τούτους ὥς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μῆδους ἀπέπεμψαν.

<sup>361</sup> ὁ Πέρσης. The manuscripts S and V have Ξέρξης.

<sup>362</sup> ἐς τὸ βάραθρον. This pit is alluded to by ARISTOPHANES (*Knights*, 1362):

ἔρας μετέωρον ἐς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλῶ  
ἐκ τοῦ λάρυγγος ἐκπρεμάσας Ὑπέρβολον.

<sup>363</sup> ἀνεθέλητον. See note 261 on § 88, above.

<sup>364</sup> οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι. In later times the misfortunes of the family of Miltiades were regarded as the divine vengeance for the crime of the Athenians, Miltiades being said to have persuaded his countrymen to commit the offence against the law of nations. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 12. 7.) But that this was not the common view in the time of Herodotus is plain not only from the expression in the text, but from the fact that he attributes the divine vengeance upon Miltiades to an offence of a different kind. See vi. 135.

<sup>365</sup> ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν. There was also a tomb of Talthybius near

Tenarum. It is to be observed that the ritual of Talthybius is ante-dorian, as he is a hero of the Agamemnonian cycle of legends. Accordingly, not only in Laconia, but in Achaia, in the agora of *Æge*, his tomb was shown. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 12. 7.) That is to say, his worship was carried thither by the Achæan population expelled by the Heraclides from the greater part of Peloponnesus, or existed there among the primitive race.

<sup>366</sup> οὐκ ἐδύνατο. The construction is the same as if, instead of καλλιεργῆσαι, its equivalent καλὰ γενέσθαι ἱερά had been used. See ix. 19: ὅς σφι ἐκαλλιερέτο.

<sup>367</sup> Σπερθίης. In SUIDAS, PLUTARCH, and other writers this tale is told of a *Sperchis*; and it has been conjectured that the poem *Σπέρχην τὸν ἰδλεμον*, alluded to in THEOCRITUS (xv. 98), was a composition of which this self-devoted patriot was the hero. Compare the note 286 on i. 82.

Αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θάματος ἀξίη, καὶ τὰδε πρὸς 135  
 τούτοις τὰ ἔπεα πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σούσα, ἀπικνεύονται παρὰ  
 'Τδάρνεα' ὁ δὲ 'Τδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης<sup>368</sup>, στρατηγὸς δὲ  
 τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ὅς σφεας, ξένια  
 προθέμενος, εἰστία<sup>369</sup>. ξεινίζων δὲ, εἶρετο λέγων τάδε· "ἄνδρες  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλεῖ φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὁράτε  
 γὰρ ὡς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμέ τε καὶ  
 τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δούητε  
 ὑμέας αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ, δεδοξασθε<sup>370</sup> γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες εἶναι  
 ἀγαθοί, ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος, δόντος βασι-  
 λέος<sup>371</sup>." πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε· "Τδαρνες, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου  
 γίνεται ἡ συμβουλή ἢ ἐς ἡμέας τελουσα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρη-  
 μένος συμβουλευεῖς, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος ἐὼν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι  
 ἐξελίσταται, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκ ἔπειρήθης, οὐτ' εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ οὐτ'  
 εἰ μὴ· εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειρήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλευοίς ἡμῶν  
 περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσι." Ταῦτα μὲν 'Τδάρνεα 136  
 ἀμείψαντο· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σούσα καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐς  
 ὄψιν ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελευόντων καὶ ἀνάγκην  
 σφί προσφερόντων προσκυνεῖν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ  
 ἔφασαν, ὠθεύμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, ποιήσῃν ταῦτα  
 οὐδαμὰ· οὔτε γὰρ σφί ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἀνθρωπον προσκυνεῖν, οὔτε  
 κατὰ ταῦτα ἦκειν ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δεύτερὰ σφί λέγουσι  
 τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα, "ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν  
 ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων,  
 ποιῆναι ἐκείνων τίσοντας·" λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ  
 μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὁμοίως ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· κείνους  
 μὲν γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα, ἀποκτείναντας  
 κήρυκας· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ κείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσῃν<sup>372</sup>,

<sup>368</sup> ὁ δὲ 'Τδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης. This description of Hydarnes would seem to show that he is not regarded as the person of the same name mentioned elsewhere,—whether he may or may not really have been so. (See note 254 on § 83, above.)

<sup>369</sup> εἰστία. S, V, P, K have ἰστία, which is defended by the analogy of ἰσθητόριον (iv. 35). But in v. 20 the manuscript S has εἰσθησθαι, and M, K, and F ἡσθησθαι.

<sup>370</sup> δεδοξασθε. The same form appears

in ix. 48, below: ἐπεὶ τε δεδοξασθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, and in viii. 124, ἐδοξάθη.

<sup>371</sup> ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος, δόντος βασιλέος. That is, they would be put in the position of satraps to the Persian king, holding their governments as fiefs under him. See notes 315 on i. 90 and 110 on vi. 44.

<sup>372</sup> αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ κείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσῃν. The same expression is used in iii. 142: τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω.



- οὐδ' ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους, ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίας.
- 137 Οὕτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μήνις, καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτιηγέτων, ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραντικα, καίπερ ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην Σπερθιεύ τε καὶ Βούλιος· χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῶ ἐπηγέρθη, κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θεϊότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μήνις, οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος, καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθιεύ, ὃς εἶλε ἀλίας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος<sup>373</sup>, ὀλκάδι καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ ἀνδρῶν δῆλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θείου ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μῆνιος· οἱ γὰρ, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρητικῶν βασιλέως<sup>374</sup>, καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθω ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἤλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδεϊμάντου<sup>375</sup>, Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ· ταῦτα μὲν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον<sup>376</sup> ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως στόλου ἐπάνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

- 138 Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέως οὐνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατέτο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ<sup>377</sup> οἱ Ἕλληγες, οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιοῦντο· οἱ μὲν
- Consternation of Helias at the approach of

<sup>373</sup> ὃς εἶλε ἀλίας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος. In the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonians destroyed all persons they could fall in with out at sea, considering them as favourable to the Athenian cause; and it was in retaliation for this savagery that the Athenians, on getting Anaristus, Nicolaus, and their colleagues into their power, put them to death. (THUCYDIDES, ii. 87.) These Tiryntian fishermen were probably a notorious instance of the barbarous warfare which Thucydides describes.

<sup>374</sup> Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρητικῶν βασιλέως. Herodotus mentions this chief before (iv. 80), but there does not think it necessary to describe him, just as if he was a person familiar to his hearers. See the note on that passage. Sitalces had, according to THUCYDIDES (ii. 29), married

a sister of Nymphodorus, and was entirely under his brother-in-law's influence.

<sup>375</sup> Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδεϊμάντου. This Adimantus is probably the general mentioned in viii. 59. 61. 94. The success of the son against the Athenians at Potidea (THUCYDIDES, i. 61, 62), perhaps contributed more to his being put to death than the conduct of the father at Salamis, to which Larcher most gratuitously ascribes it.

<sup>376</sup> πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον. The event of which Herodotus speaks took place in the second year of the Peloponnesian war. If this section proceeds from the pen of Herodotus, it is one of the many proofs existing that the work did not receive a last polish at his hands. See note 221 on vi. 98.

<sup>377</sup> πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ.

γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὥς the army of Xerxes.  
οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν  
δείματι μεγάλῃ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι  
ἀριθμὸν ἀξιωμαχῶν δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν  
πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδίζοντων δὲ προθύμως.  
Ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι<sup>318</sup> γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον 139  
μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ δὲ, τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται The author considers  
εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχῆσω· εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν that the decision of the  
ἐπιόντα κινδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἥ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες Athenians  
ἀλλὰ μέιναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν was the saving of all.  
οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρώντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλεῖ<sup>319</sup>. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν  
θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἡντιούτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε  
ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ  
Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοις, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν  
συμμάχων, οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλίσκο-  
μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνθήσαν  
μουνθέντες δὲ ἂν, καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα, ἀπέθανον γεν-  
ναίως. ἡ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ, ὀρέωντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς  
ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας μηδίζοντας, ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα·  
καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι· τὴν  
γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ  
δυναμὶ πυθέσθαι ἦτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσ-  
σης· νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλά-  
δος, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές<sup>320</sup>. οὔτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρη-  
γματῶν ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε· ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλ-  
λάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο<sup>321</sup> τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν,  
ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὔτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες, καὶ βασιλέα  
μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι· οὐδέ σφέας χρηστήρια φοβερά ἐλθόντα

This must refer to at least as far back as the year before the invasion actually took place. See § 148, below.

<sup>318</sup> ἐξέργομαι. See note 106 on i. 31.  
<sup>319</sup> οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρώντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλεῖ. See note on § 148, below.

<sup>320</sup> τὸ ἀληθές. This is not to be taken after ἀμαρτάνοι, in which case a genitive would be required; but is equivalent to ἀληθώς, "in good sooth."

<sup>321</sup> τοῦτο. S has τοῦ, and after the word Ἑλληνικὸν the participle ὄν. Also,

for αὐτοὶ in the next line, it has αὐτοῦ. There seems to be a corruption in the text somewhere or other. I am inclined to suspect the sentence originally ran: ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες. The word αὐτὸ, having dropped out of its place and been inserted in a wrong one, may have been changed into αὐτοῦ or αὐτοί, to make sense.

ἐκ Δελφῶν, καὶ ἐς δαῖμα βαλόντα, ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

140

Two oracles were received by the Athenians from Delphi,

Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, χρηστή-  
ριαζεσθαι ἦσαν ἐτόιμοι· καὶ σφί ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἰδὼν τὰ νομι-  
ζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον<sup>322</sup> ἐσελθόντες ἕζοντο, χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ τῇ  
οὔνομα ἦν Ἀριστοσύνη τάδε·

ᾧ μέλει, τί κάθησθε· λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης  
δῶματα καὶ πόλιος τροχαιοῖδος<sup>323</sup> ἄρα κάρηνα.  
οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,  
οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὔτ' ὦν χεῖρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης  
λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἔζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γὰρ μιν ἔρείπει  
πῦρ τε καὶ δῆξ' Ἀρης Χυριγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.  
πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, καὶ τὸ σὺν οἶον  
πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῶ πυρὶ δάσει,  
οἳ που σὺν ἰδρῶτι βρούμενοι<sup>324</sup> ἐστήκασι,  
δαίματι παλλόμενοι· κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις δρόφοισι  
αἷμα μέλαν κέχυνται, προῖδὼν κακότητος ἀνάγκας.  
ἄλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτου, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

141

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι, συμφορῇ τῇ  
μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο· προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς<sup>325</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ

<sup>322</sup> ἐς τὸ μέγαρον. The inmost recess of the temple, where the sacred weapons were suspended, which no mortal hand was allowed to touch. See viii. 37.

<sup>323</sup> πόλιος τροχαιοῖδος. An allusion to the circular fortification which enclosed the city.

<sup>324</sup> ἰδρῶτι βρούμενοι. Drops of moisture standing upon the statues was considered a portent among the ancients, who were entirely ignorant of the physical cause of it. The original notion suggested seems to have been that sweat was produced by the influence of fear, or tears let fall under that of sorrow at an impending calamity: "moestum illacrymat templis ebur, aeraque sudant." (VIRGIL, *Georg.* i. 480.) Sometimes the credulity of the spectators, enhanced by superstitious terror, converted the moisture into blood. APO-  
LONIUS RHODIUS describes the panic which follows habitually:

ὅταν αὐτόματα ξάνα ῥέη ἰδρώοντα  
αἵματι, καὶ μυκὰ σηκοῖς ἐνὶ φαντάζονται,  
ἡ δὲ καὶ ἥλιος μέσῃ ἡματι νύκτ' ἐπάγρῃσιν  
οὐρανόθεν, τὰ δὲ λαμπρὰ δι' ἡέρος ἀστρα  
φαείην.

(iv. 1284.)

At the time of Alexander's march upon Thebes the statues in the agora were seen ἰδρῶτας ἀφίεντες καὶ μεγάλων μεστοὶ σταλαγμῶν, and at the same time word was brought from Delphi that the shrine, which the Thebans had set up there out of the tithe of the spoils of the Phocians, ῥηματομένην ἔχων τὴν δροφὴν ὀράται. (DIONYSIUS, xvii. 10.) Blood too burst out from the pavement of the temple of Here at Sybaris, shortly before the destruction of the city. See note 107 on v. 43.

<sup>325</sup> προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς. It is not easy to say exactly what the notion is which is implied in these words; but I think the most plausible interpretation is "throwing their cause up," *lit.* "casting themselves away," as a gamester would dice out of his box. Hence the author of the *Rhetus* uses the expression ἐπ' ἀλίου πονεῖν Ψυχὴν προβάλλοντ' ἐν κύβεισι δαιμονος. The Athenians appear to have thought that their case was one in which no prudence could avail, and that nothing remained but to give themselves up passively to the course of events. Schweighäuser seems to think the expression

κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι, δεύτερα αὐτῖς ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἰκέτας· πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ λέγουσι· “ὦναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεῖς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τὰς τοι ἤκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν” ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δι’ Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλᾶσθαι,  
 λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.  
 σοὶ δὲ τόδ’ αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω, Ἀδάμαντι<sup>386</sup> πελάσσας  
 τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἁλισκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος  
 ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμῶν τε Κίθαιρῶνος (αἰόσιοι,  
 τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλων διδοῖ εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς  
 μῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ’ ὀνήσει.  
 μηδὲ σὺ γ’ ἱπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ περὶ ὄντα  
 πολλὸν ἀπ’ ἠπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ’ ὑποχωρεῖν  
 νῦτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι κοτὲ κἄντιος ἔσση.  
 ὦ θείη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,  
 ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἢ συνιοσύης<sup>387</sup>.

Ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, 142  
 συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες  
 οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπὶ γῆγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γινώμει καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ  
 ἐγίνοντο διζημένων τὸ μαντήιον, καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα<sup>388</sup>.  
 τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι, δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν  
 ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν

from the latter of which they derive a ray of hope.

might mean “prostrating themselves on the ground”—as in despair.

<sup>386</sup> Ἀδάμαντι. This word seems to me to be an epithet denoting the supreme deity, the Olympian Zeus. Compare ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον (iv. 163), and ἐς Πολύφημον (v. 79). Pallas was unable “entirely to appease him” (ἐξιλᾶσθαι), but gained as a boon from him all within the wooden wall.

<sup>387</sup> ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἢ συνιοσύης, “either in seed-time or harvest.”

<sup>388</sup> συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα, “most opposed to one another.” The metaphor is taken from the matching of two athletes, who stand up together to put their strength to trial. The opposite of συνεστηκυῖαι

would be ἐπαλλάττουσαι. Thus Aristotle uses the phrase λόγοι ἐπαλλάττοντες for opposing arguments in which a real issue is not joined (*Polit.* i. p. 1265), and ὀδόντες ἐπαλλάττοντες are teeth which do not meet fairly, but fall into the intervals of each other. In iv. 132 the opinion of Gobryas ran counter to that of Darius, and hence the phrase συνεστήκεε ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ. The opinion of Croesus (i. 208) was at direct issue with the common judgment of the Persians, and Herodotus says γινώμει μὲν αὐταὶ συνίστασαν. See also vi. 108, συνεστῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι, and viii. 78, 79, where the expressions ὀθισμὸς λόγων and συνεστηκῶτων τῶν στρατηγῶν are derived from the same idea.

Ἀθηνέων ῥηχῷ<sup>389</sup> ἐπέφρακτο· οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συν-  
εβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τείχος εἶναι· οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας  
σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα  
ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τείχος  
ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης·

ὦ θεή Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,  
ἥ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνίσσῃς.

143

*Themistocles  
interprets  
the oracle  
of the ships.*

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνώμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας  
τὸ ξύλινον τείχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμ-  
βανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ σφέας ἔσσωθῆναι, ναυμαχίην παρα-  
σκευασασμένους. Ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους  
νεωστὶ παριῶν, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεο-  
κλέος ἐκαλέετο· οὗτος ὠνὴρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμο-  
λόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ  
πάθος<sup>390</sup> εἰρημένον ἐόντως<sup>391</sup>, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως  
χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμῖς· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦ θεή  
Σαλαμῖς· εἴπερ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσῃ  
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρῆσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον,  
συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους, παρα-  
σκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου  
ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποφαινομένου,  
Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον<sup>392</sup> ἢ τὰ  
τῶν χρησμολόγων· οἱ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν  
εἶναι, οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταεἰρεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττι-  
κὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν. Ἐτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλεῖ γνώμη ἔμπροσθε  
ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἠρίστευσε· ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων  
μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ<sup>393</sup>, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετᾶλλων σφι προσήλθε τῶν

144

*Former at-  
tempt of  
Themisto-  
cles to*

<sup>389</sup> ῥηχῷ, "a palisade." PAUSANIAS says, that the Troezenians gave the name of ῥηχὸς to the wild olive (ii. 32. 10). This being a tree indigenous to the country, it is likely that its wood would be common, and being generally used in fences of this kind would give its name to them, just as the outer door of students' rooms at Oxford is called an "oak."

<sup>390</sup> πάθος. S and V have this reading instead of ἔπος, which is printed by Gaisford on the authority of the rest.

<sup>391</sup> ἐόντως. This is a conjectural reading adopted by Schaefer and Bekker. The MSS have ἐὼν πως, to which no sense can be given.

<sup>392</sup> αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον. Compare μᾶλλον ὀλβιώτερος (i. 32), κερδαλέωτερον μᾶλλον (ix. 7).

<sup>393</sup> ἐν τῷ κοινῷ. The substantive understood is ταμίειν. Similarly the Romans said "in publicum redigere," understanding the word "aerarium."

ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὄρχηδόν<sup>394</sup> ἕκαστος δέκα δρα- create a  
navy.  
χμάς· τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύ-  
της παυσάμενους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκο-  
σίας<sup>395</sup>, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων<sup>396</sup>. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ  
πόλεμος συστάς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους  
γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν  
ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταὶ τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι  
Ἀθηναίοισι προποιεθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπη-  
γέσθαι· ἔδοξέ τε σφί, μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι, ἐπι-  
όντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεί,  
τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι. τὰ μὲν  
δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνεε.

Συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τούτῳ<sup>397</sup> τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων 145  
τῶν τὰ ἀμείνων φρονούντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, Proceedings  
of the Hel-  
lenic con-  
gress.  
ἐνθαῦτα ἔδωκε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι, πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων  
πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τάς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους  
έοντας πολέμους· ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεχρημένοι, ὁ  
δὲ ὦν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήταισι· μετὰ δὲ, πυνθανό-  
μενοι Ξέρξεα σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλευέσαντο  
κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέως πρηγμάτων, ἐς They send  
commission-  
ers to Argos,  
Sicily, Cor-  
cyra, and  
Crete, for  
succour,  
Ἄργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαυχήν συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν  
καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος,  
ἐς τε Κέρκυραν, κελεύουσιν βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς Κρήτην  
ἄλλους· φρονήσαντες εἰ κως ἐν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ  
συγκύψαντες<sup>398</sup> τούτῳ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων

<sup>394</sup> ὄρχηδόν, "every grown man."

<sup>395</sup> νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας. PLUTARCH (*Themist.* § 4) gives one hundred as the number of galleys constructed out of this fund, a number which appears the more probable, as the whole Athenian navy did not amount to more than two hundred ships at the time of the battle of Salamis. (See note 2 on viii. 1.) And independently of this batch of galleys, they had at least fifty others when the war with Ægina was going on (vi. 89).

<sup>396</sup> ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων, "for the war against the Æginetans (he said)." THUCYDIDES, by the way he speaks of the matter, entirely con-

firms the statement of Herodotus: ὁψέ τε ἀπ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεισεν Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἰσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν (i. 14). The Æginetan war was the main argument, the probable invasion an additional reason. These ships (Thucydides remarks) had not decks running their whole length.

<sup>397</sup> Συλλεγομένων ἐς τούτῳ. Where the place of congress was does not appear from this passage (see also § 132, above); but from § 172, below, it would appear to have been at the isthmus,—which in later times was the rendezvous for the members of the Lacedæmonian hegemony.

<sup>398</sup> συγκύψαντες. The metaphor is

ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.

146 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἔχθρας, πρῶτα μὲν  
and spies to  
Sardis, who  
are detected.

κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσὴν ἄνδρας τρεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀπικό-  
μενοί τε ἐς Σάρδεις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλέος στρατιὴν, ὡς  
ἐπάϊστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ  
στρατοῦ ἀπύγοντο ὡς ἀπολεύμενοι· καὶ τοῖσι μὲν κατακέκριτο  
θάνατος· Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς <sup>399</sup> τῶν στρατηγῶν  
τὴν γνώμην, πέμπει τῶν τινας δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἥν κατα-  
λάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ζῶντας, ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν· ὡς δὲ ἔτι  
περιέοντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἦγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, τὸ  
ἐνθεύτεν, πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευε σφῆας τοὺς δορυφόρους  
περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν  
ἵππον <sup>400</sup>. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θηγέμενοι ἔωσι πλήρεις, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς

Magnani-  
mity of  
Xerxes to  
these

147 τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώραν ἀσυνέας. Ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον  
τὸνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὔτε  
ἂν τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα προεπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔοντα λόγου  
μέζω, οὐτ' ἂν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσυνέατο ἄνδρας τρεῖς  
ἀπολέσαντας· νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, δοκέειν  
(ἔφη) ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα, πρὸ τοῦ  
στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσειν σφῆας τὴν ἰδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ  
οὕτω οὐδὲ δέησειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηλατεύοντας πρήγματα ἔχειν.  
οἶκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἡ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ· ἐὼν γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ  
Ξέρξης, εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλῶντα τὸν  
Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔς τε Αἴγιναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα <sup>401</sup>. οἱ  
μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα,  
ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν αἰρέειν αὐτὰ, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὁκότε  
παραγγελέει· ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἶρετο αὐτοὺς, ὅκη πλείοιεν; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν  
“ ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὦ δέσποτα <sup>402</sup>, σῖτον ἄγοντες”· ὁ δὲ

was of a  
piece with  
his for-  
bearance to  
the corn  
ships from  
the Euxine  
to Ægina  
and Pelo-  
ponnesus.

taken from the rowers of a galley, who all  
bend to their oars together to increase the  
steadiness and force of the stroke. The  
same expression is used in iii. 82.

<sup>399</sup> μεμφθεῖς. See note 267 on i. 77.

<sup>400</sup> ἐκέλευε σφῆας . . . καὶ τὴν ἵππον.  
A similar piece of contemptuous magna-  
nimity is ascribed to Scipio by Livi (xxx.  
29).

<sup>401</sup> ἔς τε Αἴγιναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον

κομιζόμενα, “bound for Ægina and Pelo-  
ponnese.” The centre of the traffic be-  
tween Pontus and European Greece at  
this time would probably be Calauria, a  
little island in the immediate neighbour-  
hood of Troezen, and not far from Ægina.  
See note on viii. 41: οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς  
Τροιζήνα.

<sup>402</sup> ὦ δέσποτα. S has ὦ βασιλεῦ.

ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “οὐκ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθαπερ καὶ οὗτοι τοῖσι τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι<sup>403</sup> καὶ σίτῃ; τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσιν οὗτοι<sup>404</sup> ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;” οἱ μὲν νυν κατὰ σκοποὶ οὕτω θεησάμενοί τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην.

Οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν 148  
τῶν κατασκόπων, δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους. Ἀργεῖοι Embassy  
δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ’ ἐωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε· πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα to Argos.  
κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δὲ, καὶ μαθόντες ὥς σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες<sup>405</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃ, πέμψαι θεοπρότους ἐς Δελφοὺς, τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους ὥς σφί μέλλει ἄριστον ποιεῖνσι The Argive  
γενέσθαι; νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἐξακισχιλίου<sup>406</sup> ὑπὸ Λακε- account  
δαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδου· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα of the  
πέμπειν τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρατῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε conference  
throws the  
blame of its  
failure en-  
tirely on the  
arrogance of the  
Lacedæmo-  
nians; al-  
though the  
Delphic  
oracle had  
recom-  
mended  
neutrality  
to the  
Argives.

Ἐχθρὲ περικτινέουσι, φίλ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,  
εἰσω τὸν προβόλαιον<sup>407</sup> ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἦσσι,  
καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξεν κέρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σάσσει.

ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον μετὰ δὲ, ὥς ἐλθεῖν  
τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον  
καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα· τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρί-  
νασθαι, ὥς ἐτοῖμοι εἰσι Ἀργεῖοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα  
εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ  
πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας· καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν  
ἡγεμονίην ἐωυτῶν<sup>408</sup>, ἀλλ’ ὅμως σφί ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ

<sup>403</sup> ἐξηρτυμένοι. SUIDAS remarks that this word is used by Herodotus in the sense of κατεσκευασμένοι. The same expression is used above: *ἔδασί τε καὶ σιτίουσι ἐδ ἐξηρτυμένους* (ii. 32).

<sup>404</sup> τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσιν οὗτοι. Χωρὶς had perhaps sagacity enough to be aware that any interference with the corn trade of the Euxine would be most prejudicial to his own interests. His own supplies from thence must have been enormous.

<sup>405</sup> πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες. Herodotus habitually uses the verb *πειράσθαι* with a participle, where in other authors an infinitive would be found. Thus: *ἐπειράτο ἐπιπῶν ὁ Κίρως* (i. 77). *οὐδαμῶς*

*ἀν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεῖμενοι βασιλεῖ* (§ 139, above). *ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοὶ τινα σωτηρίην μηχανεσόμενοι* (§ 172, below).

<sup>406</sup> τεθνάναι ἐξακισχιλίου. See note 188 on vi. 83.

<sup>407</sup> τὸν προβόλαιον, “the spear,” a weapon which in warfare would be advanced forward. The term *πρόβολος*, for ‘a boar spear,’ is used by Herodotus (§ 76, above).

<sup>408</sup> καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον . . . ἐωυτῶν. Schweighäuser considers that this plea has reference to the supremacy of Agamemnon at the time of the Trojan war. But the seat of Agamemnon’s dominion was not *Argos*, but *Mycenæ*; and the Mycæans did actually send eighty auxiliaries



149 ἡγεμόνοισι. Ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας συμμαχίην· σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκονταέτιδας καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβερόμενοισι, ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθένσι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἔτεσι· μὴ δὲ σπονδᾶν ἐουσέων, ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι.<sup>409</sup> τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ρηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμελῆσθαι τοῖσδε περὶ μὲν σπονδᾶν ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλευνας· περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι ἐντετάλλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἓνα· οὐκ ὄντως δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης· μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόνυμφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον<sup>410</sup> εἶναι καλύειν οὐδέν. οὕτω δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοί φασι οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχεσθαι ἢ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· προειπεῖν τε τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις, πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, περιέψεσθαι ὥς πολεμίους.

150  
A report  
current in  
Hellas  
accuses the  
Argives of  
really fa-  
vouring the  
Persian  
cause.

Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης ἐπεμφε κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργος πρότερον ἢ περ ὁρμήσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τούτου λέγεται εἰπεῖν “ ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει· ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσῃν εἶναι, ἀπ' οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέας θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης· οὕτω ἂν ὦν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι

to assist Leonidas at Thermopylae,—a circumstance which is said to have in the sequel induced the Argives to destroy the city. (Dionodorus, xi. 65.) I should rather consider it as based upon the tradition of Temenus being the eldest of the three Heraclide brothers, who were said to have conquered the Peloponnese.

<sup>409</sup> μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι. This clause is governed by the sense φοβεῖσθαι, which is not contained in the word ἐπιλέγεσθαι (to perpend), but implied in the act under such circumstances. See note 520 on iv. 203.

<sup>410</sup> τὸν Ἀργεῖον. The word βασιλεὺς would naturally have to be supplied; but there seems to be no trace of the regal office in Argos at this time. Perhaps the polemarch for the time being would be regarded as representing the kingly office. But as this would only be in the field, the answer of the Lacedaemonians squares very ill with the circumstance asserted by Herodotus above (v. 75), that after the joint expedition of Cleomenes and Demaratus to restore the Pisistratids, a law was passed that only one Spartan king should take the command at once.

ἀπόγονοι<sup>411</sup>. οὔτε ὦν ἡμέας οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ἐκστρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξοὺς γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατήσθαι· ἦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμὸς μέζονας ὑμέων ἄξω." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργεῖους λέγεται πρήγμα ποιήσασθαι<sup>412</sup>, καὶ παραχρήμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν<sup>413</sup>. ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὕτω δὲ, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μεταίτεειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι. Συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσί τινες Ἑλλήνων, πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον γενόμενον τούτων τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις<sup>414</sup> ὄντας ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα<sup>415</sup> ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων, Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἴππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας Ἀργεῖους δὲ, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σούσα ἀγγέλους, εἰρωτᾶν Ἀρταξέρξῃ<sup>416</sup> τὸν Ξέρξῃ εἰ σφί ἐτι ἐμμένει τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξῃ φιλήν συνεκεράσαντο, ἢ νομιζόατο πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμιοι; βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρταξέρξῃ μάλιστα ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἀργεὸς φιλιωτέραν. Εἰ μὲν νυν Ξέρξης τε ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργος, καὶ Ἀργείων ἀγγελὸι ἀναβάντες ἐς Σούσα ἐπειράτων Ἀρταξέρξῃ περὶ φιλής, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην

151

Story of what Callias, son of Hipponicus, heard years afterwards at Susa, confirming the charge.

152

Remarks of the author on the subject.

<sup>411</sup> ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν, κ.τ.λ. That this genealogy was Hellenic, not Persian, appears from what the author himself says elsewhere. See the notes on vi. 54, and note 194 on vii. 61. It is likewise obviously absurd that genuine Persian legends should derive their own ancestor from Argos.

<sup>412</sup> πρήγμα ποιήσασθαι, "considered it a thing of importance." Compare vi. 63: τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι, πρήγμα μὲν τοι οὐδὲν ἐποίησαντο τὸ παραντίκα.

<sup>413</sup> παραχρήμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν, "at the moment made no demand in their overtures."

<sup>414</sup> ἐν Σούσοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις. Gaisford, following S, V, P, F, prints Μεμνοῖοις, but the majority of MSS, both here and in v. 54, give the reading Μεμνονεῖοις. ΣΤΕΛΒΟ (xv. p. 317) says that the acropolis of Susa was called Memnoneum.

<sup>415</sup> ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα. It really was no other than the concluding a peace

with Persia. (DIONODORUS, xii. 4.) The reason of Herodotus not mentioning the business expressly in this passage is obvious. To make terms, however honourable, with the foreigner, no doubt called forth taunts; and the Athenians would be very glad to show, if they could, that Argos had throughout been treacherous to the Hellenic cause. The immediate cause of the peace was the success of Cimon and his successors in Cyprus (449 B.C.). On the other hand the Athenians had suffered a severe loss in Egypt three years before (THUCYDIDES, i. 110), and had been forced by want of supplies to raise the siege of Citium. (THUCYDIDES, i. 112.) Peace, therefore, was to the mutual advantage of the belligerents, although it could hardly have been regarded in those times as any thing but a blot upon Hellenic patriotism to make it.

<sup>416</sup> Ἀρταξέρξῃ. The manuscript S has here Ἀρτοξέρξῃ, but in the next section Ἀρτοξέρξῃ.

γε ἢ τήνπερ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι. [ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο, ὅτι εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκίῃα κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενεύκαιεν ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοισι, ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεροίατο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσενείκοντο<sup>417</sup>.] οὕτω δὴ οὐκ Ἀργεῖοισι αἰσχιστὰ πεποιήται· ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω· καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὡς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν δὴ βουλόμενοί σφι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης λύπης. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἴρηται.

It is even said that the Argives invited the Persian invasion.

## 153

Embassy to Sicily.  
Family history of Gelon.

Ἔς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι τε ἀπίκατο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμίζοντες Γέλωνι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Σάυαρος. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τοῦτου πρόγονος, οἰκίτηρ ἑὸν Γέλῃς<sup>418</sup>, ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῃ κειμένης· δς κτιζομένης Γέλῃς ὑπὸ Λινδίων<sup>419</sup> τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμευ, οὐκ ἐλείφθη ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν διετελεσόντες, Τηλίνεω ἑνὸς τευ τῶν προγόνων κτησαμένου

<sup>417</sup> [ἐπίσταμαι . . . ἐσενείκοντο.] This reflection has nothing at all to do with the matter in hand, which relates to the crimes which people impute to each other, not to the troubles of which they complain. The passage is, I believe, an interpolation. If it be removed, the following words, οὕτω δὴ, refer to the explanation of their conduct which was given by the Argives themselves (γινόμεν τήνπερ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι). They were enjoined to neutrality by an oracle; and in spite of this, if they could have had what they deemed their rights, they would have joined the Hellenic confederacy. "In this view, then, the conduct of the Argives was not utterly base. But I am bound to say what is said, although not altogether bound to believe it—a principle which must be extended to my whole story—for it is even said, that, after all, the Argives were those who invited the Persian to invade Hellas," i. e. not the Pisistratids or Demaratus. See note on ix. 12: ὁρμυζόμενοι σχίσαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην μὴ ἐξίναναι.

<sup>418</sup> Γέλῃς. This city was built on the bank of a river of the same name, so

called (according to STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*): ὅτι πολλὴν πύχνην γεννῇ ταύτην γὰρ τῇ Ὀσικῶν φωνῇ καὶ Σικελῶν γέλαν λέγεσθαι. The Oscan and Sicilian *gela* has left its trace in the Latin *gela*, but it is more likely that the stream obtained its name from its temperature, than from any quality which could be described in the words used by Stephanus. It should not be overlooked that according to this statement one would expect the great bulk of the inhabitants of Gela to have been the aborigines. Else its name would have certainly been Hellenic. The proper ethnic adjective is Γελαιῶς—not Γελῶς, the form which Herodotus uses, and which customarily prevailed. Stephanus says that perhaps the form Γελῶς is derived from γέλας,—not an unlikely proceeding on the part of Greek settlers, for the sake of the omen.

<sup>419</sup> Λινδίων. The place which was first enclosed, and where the town Gela existed in the time of THUCYDIDES, bore the name *Lindii* (vi. 4). Thucydides says that a portion of the original colonists were *Cretans* (l. c.).

τρόπῳ τοιῶδες ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην  
 ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῶν, ἐσσωθέντες στάσι· τούτους ὧν ὁ Τηλήνης  
 κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν ἀλλ' ἰρὰ τού-  
 των τῶν θεῶν ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε<sup>420</sup> ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτίσαστο, τοῦτο οὐκ  
 ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τοῖτοισι δ' ὧν πῖσυνος ἐὼν, κατήγαγε ἐπ' ᾧ τε οἱ  
 ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θῶμά μοι ὧν καὶ  
 τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι κατεργάσασθαι Τηλήνην ἔργον  
 τοσοῦταν· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἀπαντος ἀνδρὸς<sup>421</sup>  
 νενομίκα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀν-  
 δρητῆς· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία  
 τούτων, πεφυκέναι θηλυδρείης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ<sup>422</sup>. οὕτω  
 μὲν νυν ἐκτίσαστο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας· Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος<sup>154</sup>  
 τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἑπτὰ ἔτεα  
 ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελῶου, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει  
 τὴν μουναρχίην Ἰπποκράτης, Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφεός· ἔχοντας  
 δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων, ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱρο-  
 φάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδίου τοῦ Παταϊ-  
 κοῦ<sup>423</sup> ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἰπποκράτεος<sup>424</sup> . . . . μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν  
 χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι ἵππαρχος.  
 πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἰπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίου<sup>425</sup>,

154  
 He distin-  
 guishes  
 himself in  
 the military  
 service of  
 Hippocrates,

<sup>420</sup> *θεῶν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε*. It may be reasonably supposed that he brought the ritual with him from the *Triopium* in Caria. That this was one adapted for stanching blood-feuds appears from the legend of Triopas, the eponymous founder. See Diodorus, quoted in note 561 on i. 167. We may perhaps consider *Macetorium* as a city of refuge, to which the Geleians fled for sanctuary. If the root of the name be *Oscan*, which seems not unlikely, it is probably connected etymologically with 'mak,' the element of the Latin 'macto' and of the Greek *μάχεσθαι*, and consequently would signify something like "fort of the slayer." That Herodotus should be unfamiliar with this ritual is explained by the circumstance that Halicarnassus was excluded from all participation in the Carian *Triopium* (i. 144).

<sup>421</sup> *πρὸς τοῦ ἀπαντος ἀνδρὸς*. One would expect either *τοῦ τυχόντος* or *ἀπαντος* without the article; but there is no variation in the MSS. It seems to me probable that the text is a confusion of the two

readings. Valcknaer conjectures *πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἀνδρὸς*, comparing SOPHOCLES, *Oedip. Tyrann.* 401: *καίτοι τόγ' αἰνυγμ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἦν ἄνδρὸς διειπεῖν*.

<sup>422</sup> *θηλυδρείης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ*. This is very much the way in which a tribe of warlike barbarians, like the Sicels, would describe a man of peace, such as the officiating priest of the *χθόνιαί θεαί* naturally would be. It is, I conceive, the native hill tribes, and not the Hellenic settlers, whom the author means by *Σικελίης οἰκῆτορες*.

<sup>423</sup> *Παταϊκοῦ*. This name is very unlike any pure Hellenic one. See note 111 on iii. 37. One may suspect it to have come from Phoenicia through some of the Carthaginian settlements in Sicily.

<sup>424</sup> *Ἰπποκράτεος*. After this word Bekker supposes a *lacuna* to exist.

<sup>425</sup> *Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους*. STRABO says that Callipolis (which in his time was in ruins) had been a colony from Naxos (vi. p. 34). Naxos itself was the earliest of the settlements in Sicily,

καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους<sup>426</sup>, καὶ πρὸς, Συρηκουσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συγχόνους, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι πολέμοις ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος· τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολιῶν, τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων οὐδεμία πέφευγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἱπποκράτεος· Συρηκουσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρφ. ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ὅτε Ἱπποκράτει Καμάριναν<sup>427</sup> Συρηκουσίους παραδοῦναι· Συρηκουσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον. 155 Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἱπποκράτεα τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν Ἰβλῃ, στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, οὕτω δὲ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἱπποκράτεος παῖσι Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιητέων κατηκόνων ἔτι εἶναι, τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελῶν, ἤρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἱπποκράτεος παῖδας μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ εὖρημα, τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων (καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυριῶν<sup>428</sup>) ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ

and on his death succeeds him as king of Gela, to the exclusion of his sons.

founded at the same time with Megara, according to ΕΡΜΟΔΟΣ, in the fifteenth generation after the Trojan war. THUCYDIDES (vi. 3) says that the original founders, who were Chalcidians from Euboea under Theocles, erected the altar of *Apollo Archegetes* outside the city, on which in his day sacrifices were always made before the *theori* set sail from Sicily. But it seems that the coins universally have either the head of Dionysus on them, with Dionysiac emblems on the reverse also, or a Dionysiac emblem (a Silenus) on the reverse, where the laurel-crowned Apollo is on the obverse. (HOFFMANN, *Griechenland*, ii. p. 1987.) See note 432, below.

<sup>426</sup> Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους. The original settlement of Zancle was by some pirates from Cuma in Italy. The name is Oscan, and signifies 'a sickle.' Afterwards a new settlement of Chalcidians was made partly from Cuma in Italy, partly from Chalcis the metropolis of Cuma. This population again was expelled by Samians and other Ionians driven from their homes by the Persian invasion. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 5.) The Samian invasion is the one described by

Herodotus above (vi. 23). See note 62 on that passage, and note 64 on vi. 24. Leontini was a colony from Naxos five years after its own settlement.

<sup>427</sup> Καμάριναν. It was the land belonging to Camarina that Hippocrates received, according to THUCYDIDES (vi. 5), as a ransom for his Syracusan prisoners. The town was a colony from Syracuse 135 years after the foundation of Syracuse itself, and the Syracusans had destroyed it in consequence of its revolting from their authority. Hippocrates rebuilt it and colonized it. It was again destroyed by Gelon, and by Gelon again re-settled. (THUCYDIDES, l. c.)

<sup>428</sup> Κυλλυριῶν. The manuscripts M, K have Κυλλυριῶν. HESYCHIUS: ΚΥΛΛΥΡΙΟΙ· οἱ ἐπεισελθόντες γεωμόροι [Valcknaer emends γεωμόροις] δούλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ τοὺς κυρίους ἐξέβαλον. Hence Valcknaer would read *Κυλλυριῶν* in this passage. If this conjecture be well founded, we may expect that the root *κλ* was the Greek pronunciation of an Oscan root. As the Oscans said 'pitpit' for 'quidquid,' and 'petora' for 'quatuor,' it seems not unlikely that 'pel,' the root of the Latin 'pello,' was the form in question.

δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐπιόντι Γέλωνι παραδιδόι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν. Ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλως 156  
 μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποίητο<sup>429</sup>, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν  
 Ἰέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἑωυτοῦ ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ ἦσαν  
 ἅπαντά οἱ Συρήκουσαι<sup>430</sup>. αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ  
 ἀνέβλαστον<sup>431</sup>. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς  
 Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολίτητας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ  
 κατέσκαψε· τοῦτο δὲ Γελῶν ὑπερρημίσεας τῶν ἀστών τῶντῷ  
 τοῖσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς  
 πολιορκέομενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν  
 παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκούντας ἀπο-  
 λέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἄγων ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολίτητας ἐποίησε  
 τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων, οὐκ ἔοντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου  
 τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ  
 τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης.  
 τῶντῷ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε<sup>432</sup>, διακρίνας

He becomes king of Syracuse, and effects an entirely new combination of civil interests.

<sup>429</sup> Γέλως μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποίητο. Schweighäuser interprets this phrase as if instead of ἐπικρατέων the author had written ἐπικρατεῖν: "he made it a matter of less importance to add Gela to his dominions." I should rather say that it was a compression into one of two clauses, Γέλως ἐπικράτειε καὶ αὐτῆς λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποίητο, and render it: "he made Gela a mere accession to his dominion, and cared less for it," i. e. he transferred the seat of government to Syracuse, in which consequently he might be said κρατεῖν, all outlying possessions being regarded as *additions* to his empire, so that the term ἐπικρατεῖν became applicable to them.

<sup>430</sup> ἦσαν ἅπαντά οἱ Συρήκουσαι. This is the conjecture of Valcknaer. Compare i. 122: ἦν οἱ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνά. iii. 157: πάντα δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζάπυρος. THUCYDIDES, viii. 96: Εἰβόια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλημένης τῆς Ἀττικῆς πάντα ἦν. The MSS have αἱ Συρήκουσαι, which Gaisford prints.

<sup>431</sup> αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον. Compare i. 66, where speaking of the Lacedæmonians, the author says: ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθνήθησαν.

<sup>432</sup> τῶντῷ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε. The object of Gelon, as

of Hippocrates before him, seems to have been to get rid as much as possible of the Chalcidian element in the population, and to foster the Peloponnesian, derived from Corinth and Megara. Hence the populations of Naxos, Callipolis, Zancle, Leontini, and Eubœa (a colony from Leontini) were reduced to slavery; but the aristocracy of Megara, who naturally would be the descendants of the original settlers, Dorians from Megara in Peloponnesus, were brought to Syracuse. The place of the Chalcidians would be naturally supplied by settlers belonging to the favoured race; and hence Hermocrates was able to say, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, in opposition to the Athenian arguments: καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ταῦτα παρόντα σοφίσματα, Λεοντινῶν τε ἐγγυγνῶν κατοικίσεις καὶ Ἐγισταίων ἐνμάχων ἐπικουρίας, οὐ ἐυστραφέντες βουλόμεθα προθυμότερον δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἴωνες τὰδε εἰσὶν . . . ἀλλὰ Δωριῆς ἐλευθέροι ἀπ' αὐτονομίου τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκούντες. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 77.) This policy explains the readiness of Hippocrates to accept the mediation of Corinth and its colony Corcyra (§ 154). The pride felt by the Syracusans of even three centuries later in their Corinthian blood and Doric brogue is humorously brought out by THEOCRITUS:—

ἐποίεε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους, νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συν-  
οίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον. τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε  
μέγας ὁ Γέλων.

157  
Address of  
the commis-  
sioners to  
Gelon.

Τότε δέ, ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπῆλθοσαν εἰς τὰς Συρη-  
κούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ εἰς λόγους ἔλεγον τάδε· “ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι<sup>433</sup> καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι, παραλαμφομένους  
σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντως  
κου πυνθάνεαι· ὅτι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλησ-  
ποντον καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἥφον στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρα-  
τηλατήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιούμενος ὡς ἐπὶ  
Ἀθήνας ἐλαίνει, ἐν νόφῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ’ ἐνωτῷ  
ποιήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ δυνάμειός τε ἥκεις μεγάλης, καὶ μοιρά τοι τῆς  
Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μετὰ ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης βοήθει τε τοῖσι  
ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ συνελευθέρου. ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν γὰρ  
γινόμενη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς χεῖρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι  
γινόμεθα τοῖσι ἐπιούσι· ἦν δὲ ἡμέων οἱ μὲν καταπροδιδῶσι οἱ  
δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ὀλίγον,  
τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέσῃ πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς. μὴ γὰρ  
ἐλπίσης, ἣν ἡμέας καταστρέψῃται ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ κρατήσας, ὡς  
οὐκ ἤξει παρὰ σέ γε· ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι· βοηθέων γὰρ

ΞΕΝΟΣ. ταύσασθ, ὃ δόσανοι, ἀνάντα  
κατῆλλοισαι,  
τρυγόνες· ἐκκραισεύντι πλατειάζουσιν  
ἅπαντα.

ΓΟΡΙΓΩ. Μᾶ· πόθεν ὄνθρωπος; τί δὲ  
τίν, εἰ κατῆλαι εἰμὲς;  
πασάμενος ἐπίτασσε· Συρακοσίαις ἐπιτάσ-  
σεις·

ὡς εἶδῃς καὶ τοῦτο, Κορίνθιοι εἰμὲς ἄνωθεν,  
ὡς καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφῶν Πελοποννησιαστὶ  
λαλεῖμεν·

δωρίσθεν δ’ ἔξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριέεσσι.  
(*Idyll.* xv. 87—93.)

It seems not unlikely that the altar of *Apollo Archegetes* at Naxos, which *THEOPHRASTUS* attributes to the original colo-  
nists (see note 425, above), received in-  
creased honours at this time; and also  
that to the same revolution is to be  
ascribed the substitution of the head of  
*Apollo* for that of *Dionysus* on its coins.  
Gelon also professed an anxiety to revenge  
the death of the Lacedæmonian *Dorieus*  
 (§ 158).

<sup>433</sup> Λακεδαιμόνιοι. After this in V fol-

low the words καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, and in S  
τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, which Gaisford adopts.  
Bekker reads Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι,  
which brings the text into a conformity  
with the usage of language, but seems a  
perfectly arbitrary change. All the rest  
of the MSS have the reading I have  
adopted. The problem seems rather to  
be, to account for the variations found in  
S and V, than to disturb the evidence of  
the other MSS. And it appears not un-  
likely that the words καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι crept  
in from a marginal note, written by some  
one who observed that in § 161 an Athe-  
nian commissioner was mentioned. I do  
not believe either that at the time of the  
embassy any other people would be cou-  
pled with the Lacedæmonians as of co-  
ordinate rank in the confederacy, or that  
at the time at which Herodotus wrote  
such a representation would be made.  
This perhaps might have been when the  
archetypal MS from which S is derived  
was written; and this was perhaps the  
feeling of the editor who inserted the  
copula τε.

ἡμῖν σεωντῷ τιμωρέεις· τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι πρήγματι τελευτῇ  
ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ ἐθέλει ἐπυγίνεσθαι.” Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον  
Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο<sup>434</sup> λέγων τοιάδε· “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, λόγον  
ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην ἐτολήμισατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον  
παρακαλέοντες ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ, ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρ-  
βαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπάφασθαι ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νείκος  
συνῆπτο, ἐπισκίπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew πρὸς  
Ἑγεσταίων<sup>435</sup> φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια  
συνελευθεροῦν<sup>436</sup>, ἀπ’ ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλα ὠφελία τε καὶ ἐπαυρέσεις  
γεγόνασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἦλθετε βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος  
φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι, τό τε κατ’ ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβά-  
ροισι νέμεται· ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη·  
νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπύκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω  
δὴ Γέλωνος μνήστις γέγονε. ἀτιμίας δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας οὐκ  
ὁμοιώσομαι ὑμῖν ἀλλ’ ἐτοίμός εἰμι βοηθεῖν, παρεχόμενος διη-  
κοσίας τε τριήρεας καὶ δισφυρίους ὀπλίτας, καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον,  
καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας, καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας, καὶ δισχιλίους  
ἵπποδρόμους ψιλούς· σῆτόν τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ ἔστ’  
ἂν διαπολεμήσωμεν ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ τοιῷδε τάδε  
ὑπίσχομαι· ἐπ’ ᾧ στρατηγός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι  
πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἐπ’ ἄλλῃ δὲ λόγῳ οὗτ’ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθοίμιν οὗτ’

158

Reply of  
Gelon, spe-  
cifying his  
resources,  
and claim-  
ing the com-  
mand of the  
confede-  
rates.

<sup>434</sup> πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο. See note 346 on i. 98.

<sup>435</sup> πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων. Several of the MSS both here and in v. 46 have *Διγεσταίων* or *Διγεστίων*.

<sup>436</sup> ἐμεῦ πρότερον . . . τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν. It is curious that in the account which Herodotus gives of Dorieus's adventures (v. 42—46), there is no hint whatever of any connexion with Gelon, who here represents himself as having been anxious to undertake a war for the sake of avenging him. Neither is there any mention of the policy which is here asserted to have been proposed, of driving out the Carthaginians from the ports of Sicily. It seems likely therefore that the two stories come from different localities,—this (probably) from Magna Græcia, the other from Lacedæmon. Still there are points which serve to connect the two. (1) Dorieus is at Sparta the representative of the Heraclide or Cadmeo-dorian interests, against Cleo-

menes the champion of the Achæan (see notes 100 on v. 41; 108 on v. 44; 111 on v. 45; 189 on v. 72; 172 on vi. 74); while the policy of Gelon (see above, note 432) seems to have been exclusively favourable to the Dorian Greeks in the Sicilian towns. (2) Dorieus, both in Libya and at Segesta, is opposed by Carthaginians (v. 42 and 46), the same parties with whom Gelon asserts himself to have been at war. (3) Dorieus sails on his expedition to Sicily by the counsel of a soothsayer, who expounded to him “the oracles of Laius” (v. 43). This circumstance, and his connexion with Thera (from whence he procured pilots to carry him to Libya), would suggest the conjecture that he participated in the religious traditions of the temple of the *Ἐρινυες Λαίου καὶ Οἰδipίδew* which existed at Sparta (iv. 149), i.e. in the Cadmeo-dorian form of the worship of the *χθόνια θεά*, the priesthood of which was hereditary in the family of Gelon (above, § 163).



- 159 *Indignation of the Spartan commissioner Syagrus.* *ἀν ἄλλους πέμψαιμ.* Ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε ἡνέσχετο ὁ Σύαγρος εἰπέ τε τὰδε “ἦ κε μέγ’ οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων<sup>437</sup>, πυθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τε καὶ Συρηκουσίων ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς, ὅκως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν ἀλλ’, εἰ μὲν βούλεαι βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ’ ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἀρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μὴ βοηθεῖν<sup>438</sup>.” Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὦρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους<sup>439</sup> τοῦ Συνάγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαυε λόγον “ὦ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιῆτα, ὀνειδέα κατιόντα<sup>440</sup> ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν· σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, σὺ με ἔπεισας ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι· ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἰκὸς καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρατῆρ τε εἶντα πολλαπλασίης ἡγεμόνα καὶ νηῶν πολὺ πλεύνων ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου· εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς ἡγήσοιθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγὼ· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ θέλω· καὶ ἡ τούτοισι ὑμέας χρέων ἐστὶ ἀρέσκεσθαι<sup>441</sup>, ἥ ἀπίεναί· συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους.”

<sup>437</sup> μέγ’ οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων. The expression is a parody on the Homeric verse: ἦ κε μέγ’ οἰμώξειε γέρον ἱκκηλᾶτα Πηλεΐς. (*Iliad*. vii. 125.) It will be observed that Syagrus, although he does not absolutely profess, like Cleomenes, to be “not a Dorian, but an Achaean” (v. 72), yet rests the dignity of Lacedæmon on its connexion with the Achaean or ante-dorian dynasty of the *Pelopids*. The party of Cleomenes therefore was obviously represented in his person. That it should at the time be predominant at Lacedæmon, in spite of Cleomenes’s own death, is not wonderful, as his daughter and heiress, Gorgo, was the wife of Leonidas (v. 48; vii. 205 and 239), and her celebrity for shrewdness indicates a woman of influence.

<sup>438</sup> σὺ δὲ μὴ βοηθεῖν. Compare iv. 126: σὺ δὲ στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάγης μάχεσθαι. iii. 134: σὺ δὲ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι.

<sup>439</sup> ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους. Wes-seling suspects that the true reading is ἐπεστραμμένους, a form which occurs below in viii. 62: λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα (where see the note). But the reading

in the text gives a fair meaning, “that Syagrus’s views were averse to the proposal,” although undoubtedly the remark of Gelon in reply is a reproof of violence, which would be implied in the word ἐπεστραμμένους.

<sup>440</sup> κατιόντα. Compare κατιόντος τοῦ σίνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα (i. 212). The word ἀνθρώπῳ must be taken both with what goes before and what follows.

<sup>441</sup> ἀρέσκεσθαι. The manuscripts Sand V have ἀρέεσθαι, which is adopted by Bekker. Either word would give a good sense; but the reading in the text has more of caustic bitterness in it, which accords better with the spirit of Gelon’s answer. “You must either contrive to make yourself happy under these conditions, or take yourself off without the assistance I have described.” And the word ἀρέσκεσθαι is several times used by Herodotus: οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσει (iii. 34). διατῆρ οὐδαμῶς ἡρέσκετο Ἰκνυθικῇ (iv. 78). οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς πρήγμασι τοῖς ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιεύμενοις (ix. 66). But the other expression occurs in ix. 33: οὐδ’ οὕτω ἐφη ἔτι ἀρέεσθαι τοῖς τοῖσι μοῖνοις.

Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προτείνεταιο φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος 161  
 τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀμείβετό μιν τοῖσδε “ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκου-  
 σίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπέπεμψεν ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, is repelled  
 ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς· σὺ δὲ ὅπως μὲν στρατιὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος by the  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις, ὥς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς γλίτχει Athenian  
 ὅσον μὲν νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ ἐδέου ἡγέεσθαι, commis-  
 ἐξήκει ἡμῖν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοισι ὥς ὁ sioner.  
 Λάκων<sup>43</sup>· ἱκανὸς τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπο-  
 λογούμενος<sup>44</sup>. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπάσης ἀπελαινόμενος δέεαι τῆς ναυ-  
 τικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐδ’ ἦν ὁ Λάκων ἐπὶ τοι ἄρχειν  
 αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐπήσομεν ἡμετέρῃ γὰρ ἐστὶ αὕτη γε, μὴ αὐτῶν  
 βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τούτοις μὲν ὦν ἡγέεσθαι βουλο-  
 μένοισι οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἀλλὰ παρήσομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχέειν  
 μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάραλον<sup>45</sup>· Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλείστον εἴημεν  
 ἐκπημένοι, εἰ Συρηκουσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχαρήσομεν τῆς  
 ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι μῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες  
 οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων<sup>46</sup>. τῶν καὶ Ὀμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα  
 ἄριστον ἔφησε ἐς Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι, τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι  
 στρατὸν οὕτω οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ λέγειν ταῦτα.” Ἀμεί- 162  
 βετο Γέλων τοῖσδε “ξείνε Ἀθηναῖε, ὑμεῖς οἴκατε τοὺς μὲν  
 ἄρχοντας ἔχειν τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔχειν ἐπεὶ τοῖνον οὐδὲν  
 ὑπιάτες<sup>47</sup> ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην  
 ὀπίσω ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ

Gelon puts  
 an end to  
 the confer-  
 ence with  
 a sneer.

<sup>43</sup> ὁ Λάκων, “the Laconian commis-  
 sioner.” See note 611 on i. 162.

<sup>44</sup> σὺ δὲ ὅπως . . ἀπολογούμενος. This  
 entire paragraph is wanting in F.

<sup>45</sup> πάραλον. The manuscripts S and  
 V have μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε γε παρ’ ἄλλων.  
 It seems to me not unlikely that the  
 iambic line: μάτην γὰρ ὧδε πάραλον Ἑλ-  
 λήνων στρατὸν is taken from some trage-  
 dian.

<sup>46</sup> μῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται  
 Ἑλλήνων. The point of being aborigines  
 was a favourite topic with the Athenians,  
 although they had little more reason to  
 despise foreign blood than those to whom  
 Dr Fox addressed his satire of “The  
 true-born Englishman.” But they were  
 probably right in considering that in At-  
 tica alone no invasion had altogether  
 changed the character of the population.

(See note 179 on i. 56.) In this sense  
 may be justified what EURIPIDES (*ap.*  
*Plutarch, de Exilio*, § 13) says of  
 Athens:—

\*Ἡ πρῶτα μὲν λεῖψ οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἔλλοθεν,  
 αὐτόχθονες δ’ ἐφύμεν· αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι πόλεις,  
 πεσσῶν ὁμοίως διαφορηθεῖσαι βολαῖτ,  
 ἔλλαι παρ’ ἑλλων εἰσὶν ἐξαγγέμοι.

<sup>47</sup> οὐδὲν ὑπιάτες. Some MSS have  
 οὐδὲν ἐπιάτες. But ὑπιάται is used by  
 Herodotus in several places: *ὑπὲρ τῆς*  
*δρηγῆς* (i. 156; iii. 52); *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγνω-*  
*μοσύνης* (ix. 4); and the only reason of  
 the genitive being used in those passages  
 is that a merely partial remission is con-  
 templated, such as would be expressed if  
 the particle *τι* had been introduced. (See  
 note 523 on i. 156, and 347 on iv. 136.)

ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαίρηται<sup>441</sup>. οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήματος, τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν· δῆλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἐνωτοῦ στρατιῇν στερισκομένην ὦν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἐνωτοῦ συμμαχίης εἴκαζε, ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαίρημένον εἴη.

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Gelon's  
temporizing  
policy after  
the depar-  
ture of the  
commissioners.

His agent  
was Cad-  
mus, son of  
Scythes  
tyrant of  
Coe,

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοσαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα, δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴ οὐ δυνέωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δειῶν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὁ δὲ ἄλλης εἶχετο· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσῃν διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ Κάδμῳ τὸν Σκύθῳ, ἄνδρα Κῶν, ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, παραδοκῆσονται τὴν μάχην ἢ πεσέεται· καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ δίδοναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων ἦν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.

164

celebrated  
for his pro-  
bity.

Ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος, πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρός τὴν τυραννίδα Κῶν εὐ βεβηκυῖαν, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι<sup>442</sup> καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης, ἐς μέσον Κῶϊσι καταθεῖς τὴν ἀρχήν, οἶχετο ἐς Σικελίην· ἐνθα μετὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην<sup>443</sup> τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὐνομα.

<sup>441</sup> ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαίρηται, "that out of her year springtide has been cut away." ARISTOTLE, in two passages (*Rhetoric*, i. p. 1365, and iii. p. 1411), quotes this illustration as one of Pericles's in his funeral oration, but its employment there is much more appropriate: τὴν νεότητά ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνηρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαίρεθείη. EUSEBIUS compares the young and ardent citizens to the *spring growth* of plants (*Suppl.* 447—9):

πῶς οὖν ἔτ' ἂν γένοιτ' ἂν ἰσχυρὰ πόλις,  
ὅταν τις, ὡς λειμῶνος ἡρινου στᾶχυν,  
τόλμας ἀφαιρῇ κάπολατίζῃ νέους;

and the orator DEMADES appears to have called the ephebi: ἔαρ τοῦ δήμου (*ap. Athen.* iii. p. 99).

<sup>442</sup> ἐκὼν τε εἶναι. See note on viii. 30.

<sup>443</sup> ἐνθα μετὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην. This seems undoubtedly to be the enterprise described in vi. 22—24, but the sources of the two narratives can hardly be the same. Here Scythes appears as tyrant of Coe, leaving the sovereignty firmly established in the hands of his son; while in the other passage Scythes is the tyrant of Zancle, and being expelled by these very Samians whom his son Cadmus is here represented as joining, takes refuge at the Persian court, and dies there in a good old age and perfect prosperity. It is also curious that both Scythes and Cadmus should be celebrated for their probity (*δικαιοσύνη*), exhibited in the one instance in the shape in which that virtue would be most appreciated in a monarchy (vi. 24); in the other in that which would be most valued

Τούτον δὴ ὦν ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπικό-  
μενον, διὰ δικαιοσύνην τήν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδεε εὐόσαν, ἔπεμπε  
ὅς ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δικαίοις τοῖσι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοις, καὶ  
τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλείπετο· κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων  
χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεὼν κατασχέσθαι, οὐκ  
ἐθέλησε, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, καὶ  
Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπύκετο ἐς τὴν  
Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων, ὡς ὅμως καὶ 165  
μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι  
Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θέρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου<sup>430</sup> Ἀκραγαντίνων  
μουναρχοῦ ξελασθεῖς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου, τύραννος  
ἐὼν Ἰμέρης, ἐπήγγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τούτου Φοινίκων καὶ  
Λιβύων καὶ Ἰσβήρων καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Ἐλισύκων<sup>431</sup> καὶ Σαρδονίων  
καὶ Κυρνίων<sup>432</sup> τριήκοντα μυριάδας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν  
τὸν Ἀννῶνος Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα· κατὰ ξεινίην<sup>433</sup> τε τὴν  
ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλειω<sup>434</sup>  
τοῦ Κρητίεω προθυμίην, ὃς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος, τὰ ἑωυτοῦ  
τέκνα δοὺς ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκα ἐπήγγε μιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην, τιμωρέων  
τῷ πενθερῷ Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλειωσ τῇ οὐνομα

Account of  
the policy  
of Gelon as  
given by  
the inha-  
bitants of  
Sicily,

by republican Greece. (See note 164 on vii. 46.) Respecting the Samians mentioned in the text, see note 64 on vi. 24.

<sup>430</sup> *Θέρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου*. This Theron is the subject of the second and third Olympic odes of PINDAR. His father Aesidemus is mentioned above (§ 154) Theron derived his descent from Thersander, son of Polynices (*Olymp.* ii. 76—80); and this was also the case with Theras, the eponymous colonizer of Thera (iv. 147). Thersander's daughter *Argeia* was, according to pure Lacedæmonian traditions (vi. 52), the progenetrix of the Lacedæmonian Heracleid dynasty.

<sup>431</sup> *Ἐλισύκων*. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (on the authority of Hecataeus) says that this is a Ligurian tribe.

<sup>432</sup> *Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων*. These are mountaineers from Sardinia and Corsica in the Carthaginian service. See note 307 on v. 106.

<sup>433</sup> *κατὰ ξεινίην*. Most probably Terillus was supported by the influence of Carthage, between which and the Syracusan dynasty a continual struggle for the

possession of all Sicily lasted, until both fell before the power of Rome. Hamilcar would be his 'patronus,' and the great influence of that chief would cause him to be popularly considered by the Sicilians as the 'king' of Carthage. The Aleuadae are called "kings of Thessaly" in § 6, above.

<sup>434</sup> *Ἀναξίλειω*. This Anaxilaus is the person who persuaded the Samians to seize upon Zancle, which at that time was in alliance with Hippocrates, the predecessor of Gelon. (See note on vi. 23.) It may be reasonably supposed that the connexion of Terillus with him sprang out of political relations, for Himera was a colony from Zancle, and its inhabitants were mainly Chalcidians, intermixed with exiles from Syracuse; and the institutions were mainly Chalcidian, although the dialect was a mixture of Chalcidian and Doric. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 5.) Rhegium also was colonized by Chalcidians; so that here also the struggle appears to be between the two races. (See above, note 432, on § 156.)

166  
and of the  
battle in  
which he  
defeated  
Hamilcar,  
on the  
same day  
as the ac-  
tion at  
Salamia.

167  
Carthagi-  
nian ac-  
count of  
the matter.

They sacri-  
fice to  
Hamilcar  
as a hero.

ἦν Κυδίππη· οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἶόν τε γενόμενον βοηθέειν τὸν Γέλωνα τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης<sup>455</sup> ἐν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἔοντα πρὸς πατρός μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκούσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα. Ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὁδε ὁ λόγος λεγόμενος εἰκότι χρωμένων<sup>456</sup>, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίης (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν) ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλιρέετο, ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων<sup>457</sup>, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἐαυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὥσε ἐαυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἶτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοῖνικες λέγουσι, εἶτε ἐτέρῳ ὡς Συρηκούσιοι, Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλεσι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι. τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα.

<sup>455</sup> τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης. Diodorus says that the action took place on the same day with that at *Thermopylae*, adding: ὥστε ἐπίτηδες τοῦ δαιμονίου περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ποιήσαντος γενέσθαι τὴν τε καλλίστην νίκην καὶ τὴν ἰσχυρότατην ἡττάν (xi. 24). ARISTOTLE mentions it as taking place about the same time (κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους) with Salamis. (*Poetic*. p. 1459.) Perhaps the exact identification of the day sprang from the disposition to draw a parallel between the Sicilian and Athenian commanders and their respective stratagems,—which Diodorus says was a favourite topic with the Sicilians.

<sup>456</sup> εἰκότι χρωμένων, "judging from probabilities." This is a conjecture of Koen, the MSS having *εἰκότι*. Gaisford prints *οἰκότι*. They had probably no direct evidence of Hamilcar having burnt himself; but only of what he was engaged in when the scale at last turned against

the Carthaginians. Diodorus says that he was destroyed, while sacrificing, by some cavalry of Gelon's, who were mistaken for a friendly detachment from Selinus.

<sup>457</sup> ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων. This was with a view of propitiating Moloch, the tutelary deity of Carthage. (See Diodorus, quoted in note 676 on i. 199.) The self-sacrifice of the general at last was an action having the same object as the devotion of the Roman consul Decius. (See note 555, below.) Diodorus, in the account he gives of the action, makes *Poseidon* the deity to whom the Carthaginian general was sacrificing. The origin of this diversity of statement is pointed out in note 130 on ii. 45. It was as foreign traders that the Sicilian Greeks knew the Carthaginians, and hence the tutelary deities of the latter would come under their notice as "domini navigantium."

Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοιάδε 168  
 ἐποίησαν καὶ γὰρ τούτους παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ οἷπερ καὶ ἐς  
 Σικελίην ἀπίκато, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς  
 Γέλωνα ἔλεγον οἱ δὲ παραντίκα μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν<sup>158</sup> τε καὶ  
 ἀμυνέειν, φράζοντες ὡς οὐ σφί περιοπτὴ ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπολ-  
 λυμένη ἦν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δουλεύουσιν τῇ  
 πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερέων ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἶν ἐς τὸ δυνατότατον.  
 ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθέειν, ἄλλα  
 νοεῦντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκοντα, μόγις δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσ-  
 ἔμξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ περὶ Πύλον καὶ Ταΐναρον γῆς τῆς  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεκάχεον τὰς νέας, καταδοκέοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν  
 πόλεμον ἢ πεσέεται· ἀελλπτεύοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλέ-  
 εσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσῃν κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν  
 πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ἐποίεον ὦν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸν  
 Πέρσῃν λέγειν τοιάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανόντων τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ  
 ἐλαχίστην, οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἂν, ἀλλὰ πλείστας  
 μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἐθελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι, οὐδέ τι  
 ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι” τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἡλιπίζον πλέον τι τῶν  
 ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πρὸς δὲ  
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας σφί σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇπερ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο·  
 αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἔφασαν πλη-  
 ρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκοντα τριήρεας ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτῆσιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλέειν  
 Μαλέην οὐκ οἰοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα,  
 καὶ οὐδεμὴ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω  
 διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Κρήτες δὲ, ἐπεὶ τέ σφεας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις 169  
 ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρό-  
 πους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων, εἰ σφί ἄμεινον γίνεταί  
 τιμωρέουσι τῇ Ἑλλάδι; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο· “ὦ νῆπιοι, ἐπι-  
 μέμφεσθε<sup>159</sup> ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενέλεω τιμωρημάτων Μίνως  
 ἐπεμψε μηνίων<sup>160</sup> δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο

Treacherous policy of the *Corcyraeans*, who were solicited by the same commissioners that applied to Gelon.

The *Creteans* consult the oracle of Delphi, and are deterred by the response from taking part in the war.

<sup>158</sup> πέμψειν. S and V have πέμψων.  
<sup>159</sup> ἐπιμέμφεσθε, “you are not content with.”

<sup>160</sup> μηνίων. The anger of Minos was excited from the circumstance that the difficulties attending the siege of Camicus

should have induced his subjects to give up his quarrel, and stop short of exacting satisfaction (οὐκ ἐκπράσσειν) from his murderers; while, on the other hand, those who went to Troy persevered,—and that in a cause where the injury was done

170

Legend of  
the death  
of Minos  
in Sicily.

Cretan  
origin of  
the Messa-  
rian Iapygians,  
who long  
afterwards  
destroyed  
an army of  
Tarentines

αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμίκῳ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ κείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπαχθείσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναῖκα." ταῦτα οἱ Κρήτες ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας. Λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων<sup>461</sup> κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλουμένην, ἀποθανεῖν βίαιᾳ θανάτῳ· ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφε ἐποτρύναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνητέων τε καὶ Πραισίων<sup>462</sup> ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην, πολιορκέειν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε πόλιν Κάμικον τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαυῖνοι ἐνέμοντο· τέλος δὲ, οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἐλεῖν, οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστωτάς, ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι· ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ἰηπυγίην γενέσθαι πλώοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χεიმῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλέειν ἐς τὴν γῆν συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομίδην ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ἑτρίην<sup>463</sup> πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναι τε, καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους<sup>464</sup>, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι<sup>465</sup> νησιώτας, ἡπειρώτας ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑτρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι· τὰς δὲ Ταραντῖνοι χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν μεγάλως· ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος διήγνετο<sup>466</sup> πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ

not to a Cretan, but to a foreigner—in prosecuting the quarrel to a successful issue, the capture and destruction of the city. Hence he was said *μνῆειν*, which is nearly the equivalent of *νεμεσάν*, although generally confined to the case of gods and heroes. (See note 226 on v. 84.) The Arcadians used the word *ἐρινύειν* in the same sense.

<sup>461</sup> *Μίνων*. Gaisford follows Schweighäuser in printing this form on the authority of two MSS only. Two others (S and B) have the anomalous form *Μίνεω*, and several more *Μίνεων*. Below (§ 171) almost all have *Μίνεω*.

<sup>462</sup> *πλὴν Πολιχνητέων τε καὶ Πραισίων*. From THUCYDIDES (ii. 85) it appears that the territory belonging to *Polichne* was coterminous to that of Cydonia; and that, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, there was hostility between the two towns. *Præsus*, according to STAPHYLUS (*ap. Strabon.* x. c. 4, p. 371), was a town of the *Eteocreates*, whom he considered as an aboriginal population, occupying the southern part of the island. At *Præsus* was the temple of the Dictæan Zeus. Strabo calls it sixty *stades* from the sea;

and it is placed by PASHLEY in his map nearly at the western extremity of the island.

<sup>463</sup> *Ἑτρίην*. The manuscripts M and P have, both here and below, *Ἑτρηδίην*. Others have *Ἑτρηλίην*, which is either an error for *Ἑτρηδίην*, or *Ἑτρηδίην* for it. STRABO calls the place *Οὐβρα*.

<sup>464</sup> *Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους*. HERCÆTÆUS asserted that there were two Iapygias, the one in Italy, the other in Illyria. (*ap. Steph. Byz.* v. *Ἰαπυγία*.)

<sup>465</sup> *ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι*. Bekker reads *ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ εἶναι*. But all the MSS omit the article. See note 701 on i. 210.

<sup>466</sup> *φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος διήγνετο*. It may be reasonably concluded that this passage was written before the annihilation of the Athenian expedition sent against Syracuse. Had that taken place, the writer could hardly have avoided some reference to it; and indeed the remark he makes would have been glaringly incorrect. The destruction of that armament took place in the month of September, B.C. 413. ARISTOTLE no doubt refers to this carnage of the Tarentines by the Iapygians, where he says that the de-

Ῥηγίων, οἱ ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν and Rhe-  
καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραντίνιοι, ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω<sup>467</sup>. latter com-  
αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπέην ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος<sup>468</sup>, οὐκέτης compelled to  
ἔων Ἀναξίλειω, ἐπίτροπος<sup>469</sup> Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο· οὗτος ὅσπερ serve by  
ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας, ἀνέθηκε ἐν Miccythus,  
Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίους 171 who made  
τε καὶ Ταραντίνους τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε· ἐς δὲ τὴν are now at  
Κρήτην ἐρμωθεῖσαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους Olympia.  
τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλληνας· τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνωα Crete was  
τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωϊκά· ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτους twice depo-  
φαίνεσθαι ἔοντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς Μενέλεω· ἀντὶ τούτων δέ σφι through the  
ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμὸν τε καὶ λοιμὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῖσι· wrath of  
καὶ τοῖσι προβάτοισι· ἐς τε, τὸ δεύτερον ἐρμωθεισῆς Κρήτης, before the  
μετὰ τῶν ἵπολολῶν τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἡ μὲν present race  
δὴ Πυθίῃ ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα, ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμαρτέειν τοῖσι came in.  
Ἑλλῃσι.

Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμῆδισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν 172

struction of the γνῶριμοι on the occasion was so great as to cause the Tarentine constitution to be changed from the form of a polity to that of a democracy. (*Polit.* v. p. 1303.) He assigns it to a period soon after the Persian expedition against Greece. DIODORUS, who puts it in the fourth year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad, relates that the division from Rhegium, after its defeat, was so closely pressed by the Iapygians, as to be unable to prevent the pursuers from entering the town at the same time with themselves and capturing it (xi. 52).

<sup>467</sup> ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω, "fell to the number of three thousand on the spot." For this use of the word οὕτω, see note 238 on vi. 104. The words τῶν ἀστῶν appear to me to have been inserted in the wrong place by some transcriber who had omitted them from their proper one,—which I take to be after ἀπέθανον.

<sup>468</sup> ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος. PAUSANIAS, who calls this individual *Smicythus*, quotes this passage of Herodotus, as stating: ὡς Ἀναξίλειω τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ τυραννήσαντος γενόμενος δοῦλος καὶ ταμίης τῶν Ἀναξίλειω χρημάτων, ὁσπερ τοῦτων ἀπὸν οἰχοῖτο εἰς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος Ἀναξίλειω (v. 26. 4). The statues were by two Argive artists; and from their numbers must have cost a great deal. Pausanias says

the inscription on them related that they were set up as a thank-offering for the recovery of a son from consumption.

<sup>469</sup> ἐπίτροπος. The relation of Miccythus to Anaxilaus seems to have been somewhat the same as that of Mæandrius to Polycrates. (See note 392 on iii. 142.) Mæandrius is called in one passage the γραμματιστής of Polycrates (iii. 123), as Miccythus is called the ταμίης χρημάτων of Anaxilaus by PAUSANIAS. (See the last note.) From the word οὐκέτης one may conjecture that he was originally a freed-man,—a position which would not, in a monarchy, prevent him from holding the highest offices, although the Greek republicans would not fail to describe it in the most offensive terms. STRABO calls Hermias the slave of Eubulus of Atarneus (xiii. p. 126). DIODORUS represents Miccythus as being regent for the children of Anaxilaus, who had left him guardian during their minority, he himself dying in the first year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad, consequently three years before the battle related in the text (xi. 48). When they came of age he gave so faithful an account of his stewardship, that the young men pressed him to continue holding the reins of government;—which however he refused, and emigrated to Tegea (xi. 66).



The Thes-  
salians at  
first take  
part with  
the allies,

and at their  
request

173  
a Lacedae-  
monian and  
Athenian  
force takes  
up a posi-  
tion at  
Tempe ;

ὅτι οὐ σφί ἦνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμχανέωντο<sup>470</sup>. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐπυθέατο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέερσιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ<sup>471</sup> ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἀγγελοὶ ἔλεγον “ ἄνδρες Ἕλληες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν<sup>472</sup>, ἵνα Θεσσαλίη τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἢ Ἑλλάς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου<sup>473</sup>. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐτοῖμοι εἰμεν συμφυλάσσειν πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ οὐ γάρ τοι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, μούνους πρὸ ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι, ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἰοί τέ ἐστε προσφέρειν οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφν ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοὶ τινα σωτηρίην μηχανεώμενοι<sup>474</sup>.” ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν, φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολὴν. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἔπλεε δι’ Εὐρίπουν ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἐς Ἄλον<sup>475</sup>, ἀποβάς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν καὶ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν, ἥπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν, μεταξὺ δὲ Οὐλύμπου τε οὖρεος ἔοντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπλῖται συλλεγόντες<sup>476</sup>. καὶ σφί προστὴν ἢ τῶν

<sup>470</sup> τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμχανέωντο. For a notice of this powerful family, see note 20 on § 6, above.

<sup>471</sup> ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. See note on § 145, above.

<sup>472</sup> τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν. By these words the Thessalians meant, I conceive, not only the entrance to Thessaly by Tempe, but also the road over the mountains which Xerxes really did take. The entrance by Tempe would not have required any great force to defend it ; but in the time of Xerxes the pass over the mountains might perhaps have done so (see note 351 on § 128, above), and hence the demand of the Thessalians on the Hellenic confederates: πέμπειν χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν. But the congress, as Herodotus tells the story, seems

to have imagined that the only pass into Thessaly was the one along the bank of the Peneus.

<sup>473</sup> ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. See note 487 on i. 143.

<sup>474</sup> ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα . . . μηχανεώμενοι. See note 405 on § 148, above.

<sup>475</sup> Ἄλον. One MS (d) has Σάλον.

<sup>476</sup> ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο . . . συλλεγόντες. The army seems to have taken up its position *along the bank of the Peneus*, as the most convenient point from which it could, when required, be moved to occupy the neighbourhood of the pass at *Gonnus*. The following extract from the journal of HAWKINS shows plainly that such numbers were not required (and indeed could not be brought into action) for the defence of the defile

Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἔων οὐ τοῦ βασιλῆου, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος. ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα· ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω, ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης<sup>471</sup>, συνεβούλευόν σφι ἀπαλῶσσεσθαι, μὴδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος· σημαίνοντες τὸ πλήθος τε τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας· ὡς δὲ οὗτοί σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, (χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλευεῖν, καὶ σφι εὖνοος ἐφαίνετο ἔων ὁ Μακεδὼν,) ἐπείθοντο· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδίῃ ἦν τὸ πείθον, ὡς ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην ἐούσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλούς· κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν<sup>472</sup>. τῆπερ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ Ξέρξεω καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ὅπισω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. Αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην<sup>174</sup> στρατηγή, βασιλέος<sup>473</sup> τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην and the Thessalians,

of Tempe itself. "The road through the *Bogaz* [the gorge of Tempe] is chiefly the work of art, nature having left only sufficient room for the channel of the river. [This at the end of May, the time at which Hawkins visited it, is generally about fifty yards across.] The road is, nevertheless, broad enough for the use of wheel carriages, and in some parts of its course consists of a paved causeway, which has been laid on the bank of the river; whilst in others it is a solid terrace of rock, hewn out of the base of the mountain. It is carried on for a great way, at the height of twenty or thirty feet above the river; but towards the eastern end of the vale it rises much higher, in order to surmount the brows of some promontories which fall there precipitately, and without any basement, into the water." The *Bogaz* "answers to our description of a rocky dell; and is in length about two miles." The scenery "is distinguished by an air of savage grandeur, rather than by its beauty and amenity; the aspect of the whole defile impressing the spectator with a sense of danger and difficulty, not of security and indulgence." (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. pp. 519—522.)

<sup>471</sup> ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης. It is striking that the heir apparent of the Macedonian king should be thus simply described, especially after the prominent part he has already occupied in the earlier part of the history (v. 19—22). Yet that he is the

person here mentioned seems not to admit a doubt. The Macedonian prince was the *πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης* of the Athenians (viii. 136); and the part of magnifying the Persian power is that for which his services were especially used (viii. 140). The most obvious solution of the difficulty is, in my opinion, the hypothesis that the last three books of Herodotus's history were, in the original design, an independent work. See note 1 on § 1, above, and that on viii. 104: *ὅς ἦδη ἐγένετο*.

<sup>472</sup> ὡς ἐπύθοντο . . . κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν. That the reason assigned by Herodotus for the retreat of the allies was their real one may be doubted. The only real danger was, lest the enemy, having a navy as well as an overwhelming army, should land in large numbers at Alus in the Thermaic gulf, where they had left their transports, and thus take them in a trap if they remained in the defile. "The enormous numbers of the land force and the ships," of which news was brought, would have been quite unavailable (and the latter entirely inapplicable) for forcing the passes over Olympus and along the gorge of the Peneus. But by cutting them off from their base of operations, the enemy would infallibly have destroyed them.

<sup>473</sup> βασιλέος. For the principle upon which the article is omitted, see the note on ix. 110: *ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς*.

unsup-  
ported, join  
the side of  
Persia.

ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ ἐόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ· Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρημωθέντες  
συμμάχων, οὕτω δὲ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστώσ' ὥστε  
ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρησιμώ-  
τατοι.

## 175

The allies  
determine to  
make their  
stand at  
Thermo-  
pylae, with  
a fleet sup-  
porting  
them at Ar-  
temisium.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ τε ἀπύκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, ἐβουλευόντο  
πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἥ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον  
καὶ ἐν οἷσι χώροις· ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο, τὴν ἐν Θερμο-  
πύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στενωτέρη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εὐῶσα τῆς ἐς  
Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μίλα<sup>480</sup>, ἀγχοτέρη τε τῆς ἐωυτῶν τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν  
δι' ἣν ἤλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾗδεσαν  
εὐῶσαν πρότερον ἥπερ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχι-  
νίων ταύτην ὧν ἐβουλευσάντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν, μὴ  
παρίεναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν  
πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰσθμιαῖδος<sup>481</sup> ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ  
τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἐκατέρους ἔοντα.

## 176

Description  
of the site.

Οἷ τε χώροι οὕτως ἔχουσι· τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον<sup>482</sup> ἐκ τοῦ  
πελάγους τοῦ Θρηϊκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στενὸν πόρον, τὸν  
μεταξὺ ἔοντα νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίης· ἐκ δὲ  
τοῦ στενοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός· ἐν  
δὲ, Ἀρτεμίδος ἰρόν· ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
ἔστι, τῇ στενωτάτῃ, ἡμίπλεθρον οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γ' ἔστι τὸ  
στενωτάτον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθὲ τε Θερμοπυλέων  
καὶ ὀπισθε· κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνηοὺς ὀπισθε ἔοντας εὐῶσα ἀμαξιτὸς  
μοῖνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν, ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθηλῆς  
πόλιος, ἀμαξιτὸς ἄλλη μοῖνη· τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς  
ἐσπέρας, ὄρος ἁβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατείνειν ἐς  
τὴν Οἶτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ  
τενάγεια· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρος  
καλέουσι<sup>483</sup> οἱ ἐπὶχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἵδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι

<sup>480</sup> καὶ μίλα. This is the reading of S and V. The rest of the MSS have καὶ ἄμα, which Gaisford adopts.

<sup>481</sup> γῆς τῆς Ἰσθμιαῖδος. The *Histiæotis* here meant is the northern part of the island Eubœa; but above, i. 56, a portion of Thessaly is intended.

<sup>482</sup> τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. The *strait* is, according to Larcher, intended by this name; and it is not impossible that the term,

proper to the beach, should in common language also be given to the neighbouring roadstead. The English "Spithead" is a somewhat similar case.

<sup>483</sup> τὰ Χύτρος καλέουσι. In the time of PAUSANIAS a large plunging bath (κολυμβήθρα) was formed to receive the water which issued from these springs, and the name of them was χύτροι γυναικείοι. Pausanias says the water was the brightest

ἐδεδμητο δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπήσαν· ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τείχος δέισαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκῆσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τήνπερ νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαί σφεας<sup>44</sup>, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὡς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖ ὁ χώρος· πᾶν μηχανεώμενοι ὅπως μὴ σφί ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν. τὸ μὲν νυν τείχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδεδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλεον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι δὲ, αὐτὶς ὀρθώσασι, ἔδοξε ταύτη ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δέ ἐστι ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ, Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.

Οἱ μὲν νυν χώροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεον· 177  
ἅπαντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει  
ἔξουσι χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφί ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι  
τὸν ἐπώντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ὡς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐόντα  
ἐν Πιερῇ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ<sup>45</sup>; ἔστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ  
μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτε-  
μίσιον.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθειον διαταχθέντες. Δελφοὶ 178  
δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ, ὑπὲρ ἐωντῶν καὶ  
τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρωδικοτές· καὶ σφί ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὖ-  
χεσθαι<sup>46</sup>. μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους.  
Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήιον, πρῶτα μὲν, Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι  
βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρῆσθέντα αὐτοῖσιν·  
καὶ σφί δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαντες, χάριν  
ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι  
βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ<sup>47</sup>, τῇπερ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς

blue (γλαυκῶτατον) of any he had ever seen (iv. 35. 9).

<sup>44</sup> ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαί σφεας. It was apparently at this time that the Melians discovered the mountain pass which enabled Xerxes to take Leonidas in the rear. See § 215, below.

<sup>45</sup> διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ. The army of Xerxes was detained for some time in Pieria, for the purpose of carrying out the pioneering operations which were

requisite to make the pass into Thessaly available (§ 131, above). It may therefore be supposed that the allies were able to take up their position before it was again put in motion.

<sup>46</sup> ἀνέμοισι εὖχεσθαι. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Stromm.* vi. c. 3, § 29) gives as the actual words of the oracle the hexameter line: ὦ Δελφοί, λίσσεσθ' ἀνέμους, καὶ λάϊον ἔσται. (See note 172 on i. 53.)

<sup>47</sup> ἐν Θυίῃ. Thyia is mentioned by

The allies take up their position on hearing of the arrival of Xerxes in Pieria.

The Delphians, consulting their oracle, are ordered to pray to the Winds.

Θυίης τὸ τέμενός ἐστι, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει καὶ θυσίῃσι σφεας μετήϊσαν. Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἰλάσκονται.

179

A Persian  
advanced  
squadron  
of ten  
ships sur-  
prises three

180

Hellenic  
vessels  
posted in ob-  
servation at  
Sciatthus,

181

Ὁ δὲ ναυτικός Ξέρξεω στρατὸς, ὀρμεώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος, παρέβαλε<sup>488</sup> νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσιν νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροϊζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναιή καὶ Ἀττική προιδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. Τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροϊζηνίην, τῆς ἤρχε Πηρξίνος, αὐτὴν αἰρέουσι ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύοντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης<sup>489</sup> τῆς νηὸς ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιούμενοι<sup>490</sup> τὸν εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὐνομα ἦν Λέων τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιτο<sup>491</sup>. Ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναιή, τῆς ἐπιτηράρχεε Ἀσωνίδης, καὶ τινὰ σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενοῦ ἐπιβατεύοντος ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ ναὺς ἡλίσκετο, ἐς τοῦτο ἀντείχε μαχό-

PAUSANIAS (x. 6. 2) as being made, in some of the local traditions of Delphi, the daughter of *Castalius*, an autochthonous inhabitant of the place. She was first of all a priestess of Dionysus (and from her the bacchantes are called *Thyiades*), and she afterwards bore *Delphus* to Apollo. This is manifestly a mere frame-work pedigree to connect the different portions of the Delphic ritual,—the Pelasgian or autochthonous element-worship (see note 164 on i. 52), the orgies of the northern Dionysus (see note 15 on v. 7), and the anthropomorphism of the Dorian Apollo. Pausanias does not mention the genealogy of *Thyia* recorded in the text; but he does say that some accounts made *Delphus* the son of one *Meleena*, a daughter of *Cephisus*. And the name *Thyiades* was given to certain *Attic* women, who every year proceeded to Delphi and joined the Delphic women in bacchic orgies (x. 4. 2). It is not wonderful, therefore, that in *Athenian* traditions the Delphic *Thyia* should receive an *Athenian* parentage. But as she is here connected with an altar of the winds, perhaps she may have been identified with *Orithyia*, “the *Athenian* damsel,” carried off “by boisterous rape” in the arms of the north wind. See below, § 189.

<sup>488</sup> παρέβαλε, “made a cast.” The phrase is appropriate to a direct voyage

from point to point,—which, from the habits of navigators in ancient times, always had something of the nature of a *venture* in it. See note 493 on § 182, below.

<sup>489</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης. S and V have ἐπὶ τὴν πρώρην.

<sup>490</sup> διαδέξιον ποιούμενοι, “securing a good omen for themselves.” The maxim, “Who spills the foremost foeman’s life, That party conquers in the strife,”

seems to have prevailed very generally among the Indo-Germanic nations. TACITUS relates of the Germans of his time: “Est et alia observatio auspicionum, quæ gravium bellorum eventus explorant: ejus gentis, cum quæ bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur.” (*Germania*, § 10.) And PROCOPIUS says of the Scandinavians (*Thulitæ*): τῶν ἱερῶν σφισι τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἂν δοριέλκον ποιήσαιντο πρῶτον. (*De Bello Gotthico*, ii. 15.)

<sup>491</sup> τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιτο, “and perchance he will gain something from his name,” i. e. his fate will the more remain in the memories of men, from the circumstance that he bore that name.

μενος, ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας· ὥς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οὔπερ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιῆσαι μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποιήσαντο, σμύρνησί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι<sup>492</sup> κατελίσσοντες· καὶ μιν, ὥς ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλόμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ, περιέποντες εὐ τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ περιείπον ὥς ἀνδράποδα. Αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν ἡ δὲ τρίτη, 182 τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Φόρμος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ<sup>493</sup>. καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφους ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ· ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες, κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας. ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύομενοι πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιᾶθου πυνθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρωδήσαντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετωρμίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάζοντες μὲν τὸν Εὐριπον, λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκοπούς περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίης. Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρ- 183 βάρων τρεῖς ἐπέλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὼν Σκιᾶθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ στηλὴν λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ, ἑνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης· τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο<sup>494</sup>, εὖν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα, Πάμμων Σκύριος πανημερὸν δὲ πλώοντες<sup>495</sup> οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξα-

but the crew of one of the three escapes by beaching their ship at the mouth of the Peneus.

Three of the ten Persian ships strike on the *Asi* shoal; and the whole navy moves southward to the *Magnesian* shore.

<sup>492</sup> *σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι*. This phrase has been used before (ii. 86) of the bandages in which the mummies were swathed in Egypt.

<sup>493</sup> *ἐς τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ*. It is impossible that the Athenian galley should have taken such a course in order to escape the enemy's ships, unless these had come upon Sciathus from the seaward, so as to be, when descried, farther from the main than the Hellenic vessel was; and in order so to make Sciathus, they must have stood out a long way from the main. See above, note 488 on § 179. Several of the MSS have *ἐμβολὰς* instead of *ἐσβολὰς*.

<sup>494</sup> *κατηγήσατο*, "pointed out," no doubt while sailing with them as a pilot. See note 141 on ii. 49. STRABO mentions

an individual named *Salgapeus*, employed by the Persians to take the fleet along the coast on this occasion. His tomb stood by the side of the Euripus on the Chalcidian shore, and the story ran that he was put to death by his employers while they were under the erroneous impression that there was no passage; and that while pretending to carry them through a strait, he was really running their ships on shore at the head of a gulf. On the Sicilian promontory there was a "tomb of *Pelorus*," to which a similar legend attached (i. c. 1, p. 15).

<sup>495</sup> *πανημερὸν πλώοντες*. The distance from Therme would be about ninety geographical miles, or 900 *stadæ*. Elsewhere Herodotus makes 700 *stadæ* a long

νύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναλῆς τε πόλιος ἔοντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

184

Estimate of the numbers of the Persians brought into service at *Sepias* and *Thermopylae*.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τοῦτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν, ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατὸς, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ἔτι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τόσον τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἑουσέων ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλίεων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἔθνέων ἔοντα ὄμιλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, καὶ πρὸς, χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζόμενοι ἐν ἐκάστη νηϊ ἐπεβάτευσον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν, χωρὶς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐπιβατέων<sup>496</sup> Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες· οὗτος ἄλλος ὄμιλος γίνεταί τρισμῦριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι, καὶ πρὸς, διηκόσιοί τε καὶ δέκα· προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας<sup>497</sup>, ὃ τι πλέον ἦν αὐτέων ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν' ὀγδώκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνεῖναι· συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια· ἤδη ὦν ἄνδρες ἂν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐὼν πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες τε ἔπεισι ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι ἑπτὰ, καὶ πρὸς, ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ, καὶ δεκάς. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ἐγίνοντο· τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὀκτὼ μυριάδες· προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοις τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαίνοντας Ἀραβίους, καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα Δίβυας, πλῆθος ποιήσας δισμυρίους ἄνδρας. καὶ δὴ τό τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον γίνεταί διηκόσιαί τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα

The contingent from Asia amounted to 517,610 on board the fleet, and 1,800,000 land troops,

day's run for a vessel (iv. 86). But here he is apparently speaking of war-galleys, not, as in the other case, of merchantmen, whose rate of progress would be much slower than that of a trireme.

<sup>496</sup> ἐπιβατέων. Gaisford puts the comma after this word. But ἐπιβάται are "marines,"—not "crews" (see above, § 96: ἐπεβάτευσον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι); and it is impossible to suppose that this service was performed by the nations who supplied the crews, in addition to the thirty Persians whose special duty it was. In each of the Attic galleys which fought at Salamis the number of marines was only eighteen,—four archers and fourteen hoplites. (PLUTARCH, *Themist.* § 14.) Moreover, the calculated

sum total does not allow for more than 230 in each ship. There is no doubt as to inelegance in the expression ἐπεβάτευσον τριήκοντα ἄνδρες ἐπιβατέων, but not such as to give offence in this writer.

<sup>497</sup> ποιήσας. The word ποιεῖν is here used as the Latin *facere* often is,—in the sense of "to suppose for the sake of argument." CICERO, *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 18: "Fac sane esse summum bonum non dolere." See below, § 186: καὶ δὲ σφας ποιεῖν ἴσους ἐκείνοις εἶναι. DEMOSTHENES, *Lept.* p. 279: εἰς τῶν ξένων ἀτελεῖς, δέκα θῆσω . . . καὶ μὴν τῶν γε πολιτῶν οὐκ εἰσι πάντε ἢ ἑξ' οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρων ἐκκαίδεκα; ποιήσωμεν αὐτοὺς εἴκοσιν.

καὶ μία, καὶ πρὸς, χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς.  
 τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσῆς στράτευμα ἐξαναχθὲν εἴρηται,  
 ἄνευ τε τῆς θεραπηίδος τῆς ἐπομένης καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων,  
 καὶ ὅσοι ἐνέπλεον τούτοις. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγόμενον  
 στράτευμα ἔτι προσλογιστέα τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ<sup>498</sup>.  
 δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν<sup>499</sup>. νέας μὲν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρηίκης Ἑλληνες,  
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμένων τῇ Θρηίκῃ, παρείχοντο εἴκοσι  
 καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐκ μὲν νυν τουτέων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ  
 δισμύριοι<sup>500</sup> γίνονται. πεζοῦ δὲ, τὸν Θρηίκης παρείχοντο, καὶ  
 Παίονες, καὶ Ἑορδοὶ, καὶ Βοττιαῖοι, καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος<sup>501</sup>,  
 καὶ Βρύγοι<sup>502</sup>, καὶ Πίερες, καὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ Περραιβοί, καὶ  
 Ἐνιήνες<sup>503</sup>, καὶ Δόλοπες, καὶ Μάγνητες, καὶ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς  
 Θρηίκης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων τριήκοντα  
 μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι αὐταὶ ὧν αἱ μυριάδες κείνησι προσ-  
 τεθεῖσαι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσῆς γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι  
 μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τέσσερες<sup>504</sup>, ἔπεισι δὲ ταύτησι  
 ἑκατοντάδες ἑκαίδεκα<sup>505</sup> καὶ δεκάς. Τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἑόντος  
 ἀριθμὸν τοσούτου, τὴν θεραπηὶν τὴν ἐπομένην τούτοις, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι ἀκάτοις ἑόντας, καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις  
 πλοίοις τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατῇ, τούτους τῶν μαχίμων  
 ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσσονας, ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας· καὶ δὴ σφεας  
 ποιέω ἴσους ἐκείνοις εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε πλεῦνας, οὔτε ἐλάσσονας  
 οὐδὲν ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὗτοι τῷ μαχίμῳ, ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἴσας  
 μυριάδας ἐκείνησι· οὕτω πεντηκοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ  
 ὀκτὼ, καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς, καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο, καὶ δεκάδας δύο  
 ἀνδρῶν ἦγαγε Ξέρξης<sup>506</sup> ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπτιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυ-

185

in addition  
to the  
European  
Hellenes,  
24,000 in  
number,  
afloat,  
and the  
Thracian  
auxiliaries,  
probably  
300,000.

186

The com-  
missariat  
was at least  
as nume-  
rous,

<sup>498</sup> τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης . . . ἐξη-  
ριθμημένον, "but now there is the army  
brought from Europe still to be added to  
all this number which has been calcu-  
lated." See note 6 on i. 1.

<sup>499</sup> δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. The manu-  
script P has δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν, and M,  
δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν, which is prob-  
ably an union of two variants. SOPHOCLES  
uses the expression δόκησιν εἰπεῖν  
in opposition to ἐξακριβῶσαι λόγον. (Tru-  
chitiae, 432.)

<sup>500</sup> δισμύριοι. S and δ have τρισμύριοι,  
and F μύριοι.

<sup>501</sup> τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος. See note on

viii. 127: τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει.

<sup>502</sup> Βρύγοι. See the note 113 on vi.  
45, and 231 on § 73, above.

<sup>503</sup> Ἐνιήνες. One manuscript (S) has  
Αἰνιήνες.

<sup>504</sup> τέσσερες. S has πέντε.

<sup>505</sup> ἑκατοντάδες ἑκαίδεκα. S has χιλιά-  
δες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ.

<sup>506</sup> οὕτω πεντηκοσίας . . ἦγαγε Ξέρξης.  
The manuscript S has for these words:  
ὡς συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατὸν  
μυριάδας πεντακοσίας καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ  
χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ  
δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν, τὸν ἦγαγεν ὁ Ξέρξης.



187 λέων. Οὔτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός· γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιέων, καὶ παλλακέων, καὶ εὐνούχων, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμὸν οὐδ' αὖ ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων<sup>567</sup>, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθους οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμὸν. ὥστε οὐδὲν μοι θῶμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ῥέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι τῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε, θῶμά μοι

Their daily consumption of corn may be calculated at 111,340 *medimni*.

Xerxes himself was the handsomest man in the whole host.

188

The fleet, while riding off *Sepias*, is terribly crippled by a storm,

μυριάσι τοσαύτησι· εὗρισκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ἔνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελομένης ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη, καὶ πρὸς, τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα<sup>568</sup>. γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοισι καὶ ὑποζυγίοισι καὶ κυσὶ, οὐ λογιζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐουσέων τοσούτων μυριαδέων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικός στρατὸς ἐπεὶ τε ὀρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε, καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησιῆς χώρας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναιῆς τε πόλιος ἔοντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὤρμεον πρὸς γῆν, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἔοντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέοντο ἐς πόντον, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας<sup>569</sup>. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω ἅμα δὲ δρῶν, ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσε σφί χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἀνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντιήν καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μὲν νῦν

<sup>567</sup> κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων. See note 347 on § 124, above.

<sup>568</sup> ἔνδεκα μυριάδας . . . τεσσαράκοντα. This quantity of corn, reckoning the *medimnus* at 48 *chalcics*, would give 5,296,320 rations daily, which is 13,100 more than the numbers adopted in the text require. It seems hopeless to attempt to discover the source of the miscalculation,—which likewise occurs in several other instances in which numbers are concerned in the course of the work.

<sup>569</sup> πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέοντο ἐς πόντον, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας, "they rode at anchor head out seaward, and eight ships deep." The word *πρόκροστος* has occasioned a good deal of discussion; but the derivation of it from *πρὸ* and *κόρη* (= κεφαλὴ) seems to give a sufficient clue to its meaning.

The griffin-heads which encircled the bronze bowl in the Heraeum at Samos (iv. 152) stood out in relief (the VENETIAN SCHOLIAST on *Iliad*. xii. 258, says that some of the commentators explained *κρόστος* as τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἐξέχοντας λίθους); and the expression of AGATHOCLES (*ap. Athen.* i. p. 30), relative to the Cyzicenes (that they *ἐβοηθῶντο, πρόκροσσοι φερόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον*), seems exactly to answer to the English "rushing headlong into the thick of the battle." That the vessels should be arranged with alternate intervals is indeed very likely from the nature of the case, but it does not appear to be implied in the word *πρόκροσσαι*. See note 520 on iv. 203, and note 409, above. See also *Iliad*. xiv. 35: *πρόκροστας ἔρυσαν*.

αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τοῖσι οἴτῳ εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἐφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους<sup>110</sup> καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλῷ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρήμα ἀφόρητον. Λέγεται δὲ λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορῆν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος, σφί ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν<sup>111</sup> ἐπικούρου καλέσασθαι· Βορῆς δὲ, κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον, ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν Ὀρειθίαν τὴν Ἐρεχθεὺς κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φάτις ὤρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφί τὸν Βορῆν γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, (ἡ καὶ πρὸ τούτου,) ἐθύνοντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορῆν καὶ τὴν Ὀρειθίαν, τιμωρήσασθαι σφί καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθων. εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβάροις ὀρέμευσι ὁ βορῆς ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοι σφί λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορῆν πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι· καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ιδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν<sup>112</sup>.

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι, 190 τετρακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλήθος ἀφθονον ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλεί τῷ Κρητίνῳ ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι, γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα, μεγάλως ἡ ναυηγίῃ ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὅς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα· θησαυροὺς τε τῶν Περσέων εὗρε, ἄλλα τε χρύσεια ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλλετο. (ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν

189  
which is, in a tradition, connected with an oracle given to the Athenians.

190  
Four hundred galleys at least perished in the gale, and a vast amount of property.

<sup>110</sup> πρὸς Ἴπνους. One manuscript (V) has πρὸς Ἰπνους, and in some MSS of ΣΤΡΑΒΟ (ix. c. 5, p. 316) the reading πρὸς Ἰπνοῦντα has a variant, πρὸς Ἰπνοῦντα. But the reading in the text is apparently the only genuine one.

<sup>111</sup> τὸν γαμβρὸν. This word is used in the general sense of *κηδεστής*, "connexion by marriage."

<sup>112</sup> παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. PLATO makes Socrates, in his conversation with Phædrus, speak of an *altar* set up to Boreas in this spot, where, according to the tradition, the damsel was carried off.

(Phædrus, § 6.) On the other side of the river there was a spot called Ἀγρὰ (or Ἀγραι), and a fane of Artemis Agrotæra (PAUSANIAS, i. 19. 6), to which, in the time of Pausanias, the legend attached, that in that spot the goddess first commenced hunting on her arrival from Delos, and the image was therefore represented with a bow in the hand. But Socrates speaks of Ἀγρὰ as the name of the goddess herself. Another Athenian legend made Orithyia carried off from the Areopagus. (Phædrus, § 7.)

191

Of trans-  
ports, the  
number  
lost is not  
known.

The storm  
lasts for  
three days.

192

On hear-  
ing of the  
enemy's  
loss, the  
allied fleet  
moves to  
*Artemi-  
sium*.  
The sur-  
name *Pre-  
aerner* is  
from this  
time given  
to Posci-  
don.

193

The Per-  
sian fleet  
sails to  
*Apheta*, in  
the Pelas-  
gian gulf,

τάλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων, εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τούτον ἄχαρις συμφορὰ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος<sup>512</sup>.) Σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός· ὥστε δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μή σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλουτο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε<sup>514</sup> τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ, ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταεῖδοντες γόησι<sup>515</sup> τῷ ἀνέμφ οἱ Μάγοι, πρὸς τε τούτοισι, καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ· ἢ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθνον, πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπτιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμῶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην· οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι Σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι, καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες, τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἡπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμίσιον· ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινας σφι ἀντιξοὺς ἔσεσθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες, περὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχουν, Ποσειδέωνος Σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε νομίζοντες.

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὥς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς νῆας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον κάμφσαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἰθείαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἐνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργούς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ

<sup>512</sup> συμφορὰ . . παιδοφόνος, "a misfortune by which a child of his was killed;"—not however necessarily by himself, as some both in ancient and modern times have assumed.

<sup>514</sup> ἐχείμαζε, "there was stormy weather." See notes on viii. 113 and 133 for the use of this word, and of χειμερί-  
ζειν, by Herodotus.

<sup>515</sup> καταεῖδοντες γόησι. If this reading is sound, the expression must be interpreted, "laying the wind by means of chants of sorcerers," the Magians not themselves reciting the sacred spells, but employing other subordinate functionaries for this purpose. Reiske proposed to read χοῆσι for γόησι, and Bekker γοῖσι in the sense of γόοισι.

τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὐνομα γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐποιοῦντο.

Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νηῶν τουτέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται πολλὸν 194  
 ἐξαναχθεῖσαι, καὶ κως κατείδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῃ τῶν Ἑλλήνων with the  
 νῆας, ἔδοξάν τε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ πλέοντες exception  
 ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν ἐστρατιγγεεὶς ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς of fifteen  
 Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίον τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων vessels,  
 βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ἐπ' αἰτῇ τοιγῆδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε, ἔοντα τῶν which were  
 βασιλῆϊων δικαστέων<sup>516</sup>. ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην captured by  
 ἐδίκασε· ἀνακρεμασθέντος ὦν αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὐρέ οἱ the allies  
 πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεπονημένα<sup>517</sup> ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασι- at Artemi-  
 λῆϊον εὐρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ sium.  
 σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἶη, ἔλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω Anecdote of  
 διαφυγῶν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, περιῆν· τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας κατα- Sandoces.  
 πλώσας, ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγῶν ἔσεσθαι· ὡς γὰρ σφεας  
 εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ Ἑλληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γινομένην  
 ἀμαρτιάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες, εὐπετέως σφέας εἶλον. Ἐν τουτέων μὲν 195  
 Ἀριδωλῆς πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ· ἐν  
 ἐτέρῃ δὲ, ὁ Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, δς ἦγε μὲν  
 δινώδεκα νῆας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφεων τὰς ἑνδεκα τῷ  
 χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μὲν τῇ περιγενομένη κατα-  
 πλέων ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦλω. τούτους οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἐξιστορήσαντες  
 τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι  
 δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων Ἴσθμόν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς, παρέξ τῶν πεν- 196  
 τεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν εἶπον Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν, ἀπῆκετο ἐς  
 Ἀφέτας. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ  
 Ἀχαΐης, ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιέας· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ  
 μὲν ἄμειλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἐνωτοῦ, ἀποπειρώμενος καὶ  
 τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἶη τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσιν·  
 ἔνθα δὴ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλίποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν  
 Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν, Ὀνόχωνος μῶνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιᾷ  
 Xerxes  
 arrives,  
 after a  
 march of  
 three days  
 through  
 Thessaly  
 and Achæa,  
 in Melis.  
 He finds th  
 Thessalian  
 cavalry very  
 inferior to  
 his own.

<sup>516</sup> τῶν βασιλῆϊων δικαστέων. Of these  
 functionaries, answering pretty nearly to  
 the *Ulemah* of the modern Turkish mo-  
 narchy, see iii. 31, above.

<sup>517</sup> εὐρέ οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημά-  
 των πεπονημένα. See note 421 on iii.  
 154.

τὸ ῥέεθρον, πινόμενος τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιῇ ποταμῶν ῥεόντων, οὐδὲ  
δοσις ὁ μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἡπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε, εἰ μὴ  
φλαύρας.

197

Local  
legend  
respecting  
the temple  
of Zeus  
*Laphystius*  
told to  
Xerxes.

Ἐς Ἄλουν δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἀπικομένην Ξέρξῃ, οἱ κατηγεμόνες  
τῆς οδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγήεσθαι<sup>518</sup>, ἔλεγόν οἱ ἐπιχώριον  
λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Λαφυστίου<sup>519</sup> Διός· ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ  
Αἰόλου ἐμμηχανήσατο Φρίξῳ μόνον, σὺν Ἰνοῖ βουλευσας με-  
τέπειτα δὲ, ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου  
ἀπογόνοισι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε· ὃς ἂν ἦ τοῦ γένεος τούτου πρεσ-  
βύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ πρυτανήτου, αὐτοὶ  
φυλακὰς ἔχουσι· (λήϊτον δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήτιον οἱ Ἀχαιοί)  
ἦν δὲ ἐσέλθῃ, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως ἔξεισι πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλῃ. ὥστε  
ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, πολλοὶ ἤδη τῶν μελλόντων τούτων θύσεσθαι,  
δείσαντες, οἶχοντο ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώραν χρόνου δὲ προ-  
ϊόντος ὀπίσω κατελθόντες, ἦν ἀλίσκωνται ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ πρυτα-  
νήτιον, ὡς θύεται τε, ἐξηγγέοντο, στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεῖς<sup>520</sup> καὶ  
ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεῖς· ταῦτα δὲ πάσχωσι οἱ Κυτισσώρου τοῦ  
Φρίξου παιδὸς ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας ποιευμένων<sup>521</sup>  
Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου, καὶ μελλόντων  
μὴν θύειν, ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτισσώρος<sup>522</sup> ἐξ Αἰῆς τῆς Κολ-  
χίδος ἐρρύσατο· ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, τοῖσι ἐπιγενομένοις ἐξ ἐνωτοῦ  
μήνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε<sup>523</sup>. Ξέρξῃ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ὡς κατὰ

<sup>518</sup> οἱ κατηγεμόνες . . . . . ἐξηγήεσθαι. These words are omitted in S.

<sup>519</sup> Λαφυστίου. Some of the MSS have the form Ἀφλυστίου.

<sup>520</sup> στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεῖς. This was an essential part of the particular ritual, with which the Athenians were so familiarized through SOPHOCLES'S play of *Athamas*, as to suggest the allusion in ARISTOPHANES:—

ΞΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. κάθιζε τοῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερὸν σκιμποδα.

ΣΤΡΕΨΙΑΔΗΣ. ἰδοὺ κάθημαι. ΞΟΚ. τούτῳ τοῖνον λαβέ.

τὸν στέφανον. ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἐπὶ τί στέφανον; οἶμοι, Ξόκρατες, ὅσπερ με τὸν Ἀθάμανθ' ὅπως μὴ θύσεται. (*Clouds*, 256.)

The Scholiast on this passage says that Sophocles represented Athamas as sitting crowned and ready to be sacrificed at the

altar, and saved by Heracles just as the fatal blow was about to be given.

<sup>521</sup> καθαρμὸν . . . ποιευμένων. He was to be slain for the purpose of removing the plague of drought which had been brought upon the land by his injurious treatment of *Nephele*, the mother of his children Phrixus and Helle. (SCHOLIAST on *Aristoph.* *Nub.* 256.)

<sup>522</sup> ὁ Κυτισσώρος. This personage appears in the local legend to take the part filled by Heracles in Sophocles's play.

<sup>523</sup> μὴνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. He brought upon himself the anger of the deity by interrupting the course of vengeance. At *Peyllis* or *Phyllis* in Bithynia, the legend prevailed that Phrixus first landed there with the ram, and there also sacrificed him on the altar of *Zeus Laphystius*. (SCHOLIAST on *Apollonius Rhodius*, ii. 652.) The Scholiast adds: καὶ μέχρι τῶν νόμος εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐν

τὸ ἄλσος ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τε ἔργετο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πάσης παρήγγειλε· τῶν τε Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίην ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαΐῃ ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων 198  
τῶν χώρων ἦε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ Topography  
ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεταί· περὶ δὲ τὸν of the coast  
κόλπον τούτον ἐστὶ χώρος πεδινὸς, τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα of the Me-  
στείνος· περὶ δὲ τὸν χώρον οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληθεῖ lian bay.  
πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαι πέτραι καλεόμεναι· πρώτη  
μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαΐης, Ἀντικύρη Anticyra  
παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχήσιος ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν on the  
ἐκδιδοί· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, διὰ εἰκοσὶ κου σταδίων, ἄλλος ποταμὸς, Spercheus;  
τῷ οὖνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καιομένῳ twenty  
λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, δι' ἄλλων εἰκοσι σταδίων, brook  
ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ, ὃς καλεῖται Μέλας. Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ Dyrae;  
τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ 199  
εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασ- twenty  
σαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχίλιά τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια stades fur-  
πλήθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί· τοῦ δὲ οὐρεὸς τὸ περικληθεῖ τὴν γῆν τὴν ther, the  
Τρηχινίην, ἔστι διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος· διὰ δὲ τῆς Blackwater;  
διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην τοῦ οὐρεὸς. five stades  
Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοίνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ 200 beyond  
Ἀσωποῦ· ὃς ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέων, ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοί· which is  
κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα ποταμὸν στενωτάτον ἐστὶ· ἀμαξιτὸς γὰρ μία Trachis, in  
μοῖνη δέδμηται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια the widest  
ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερ- part of the  
μοπυλέων κώμη τέ ἐστὶ, τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη κεῖται, παρ' ἣν δὴ plain.  
παρarrέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτὴν  
εὐρὺς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἵδρυται, καὶ ἔδραι  
εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτυόσι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνος ἱρὸν.

τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ  
Διὶ. The ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM gives  
Λαφύστιος as a name of Dionysus. This  
must have been the Dionysus ὡμωστής  
or ὡμάδιος, to whom in ancient times a  
man used to be offered as a victim in  
Chios and Tenedos, the mode of sacrifice  
being the tearing him in pieces (POE-  
RYRY, de Abstinētiā, ii. 55); and to

whom Themistocles was said to have im-  
molated three nephews of Xerxes imme-  
diately before the action at Salamis. (PHA-  
NIAS, ap. Plutarch. Themist. § 13.) The  
ritual of Ζεὺς Ἀρκαῖος in Arcadia was of  
the same kind with that mentioned in the  
text, and is coupled with it in the pseudo-  
platonian dialogue *Minos*, § 5.

201

Phoenix is the village *Anthele*, and the temple of *Demeter Amphictyonis*.  
Position of the Persians and Greeks.

*Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ· οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες, ἐν τῇ διόδῳ· (καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι.)* ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις· ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορρῇν ἀνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων, τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου.

202

Roll of the troops assembled at Thermopylae,

Ἦσαν δὲ οἷδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ· Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλίται, καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδώκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν, Θεσπιδέων τε ἑπτα-

203

κόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. Πρὸς τούτοις ἐπικλήτοι ἐγένοντο<sup>324</sup> Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφεας ἐπεκαλέσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἰεν ἡμέρην ἢ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἴη δευὼν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα, οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη· τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα ὀφείλειεν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς ἔοντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσέειν ἄν· οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθηον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα.

204

under Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, king of Lacedaemon. His pedigree up to Heracles.

Τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστων· ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδῃ, τοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδῃ, τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου, τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος, τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος<sup>325</sup>, τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω, τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω, τοῦ Δορύσσου<sup>326</sup>, τοῦ Λεωβότῃ, τοῦ Ἐχέστράτου<sup>327</sup>,

<sup>324</sup> ἐπικλήτοι ἐγένοντο. See note 201 on v. 75.

<sup>325</sup> τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος. These two names are omitted in S.

<sup>326</sup> Δορύσσον. Some of the MSS have Δορνάγον.

<sup>327</sup> Ἐχέστράτου. One manuscript (δ) has Ἀρχεστράτου.

τοῦ Ἥγιος<sup>528</sup>, τοῦ Εὐρύσθενος, τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ Κλεοδαίου, τοῦ Ὑλλου, τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιλιήν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου. Διζῶν γὰρ οἱ ἔοντων 205  
 πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιλιῆς· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἔοντος ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ<sup>529</sup>, οὕτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλιή καὶ διότι πρότερός ἐγεγόνει Κλεομβρότου, (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς,) καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα<sup>530</sup>. ὃς τότε ἦν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους<sup>531</sup> καὶ τοῖσι ἐτίγχανον παῖδες ἔοντες· παραλαβὼν δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου<sup>532</sup>. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούνουσ Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίξειν<sup>533</sup>. παρεκάλεε ὦν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσι, εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἑλληνων συμμαχίην· οἱ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.

Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρώτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρ- 206

<sup>528</sup> Ἥγιος. S and some other MSS have Ἥγησιος.

<sup>529</sup> τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ. See v. 42—46.

<sup>530</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. By marrying the daughter, the only surviving child (v. 48) of his half-brother, Leonidas doubtless conciliated the party to which the family of his father's second wife belonged. If he were, as some accounts stated (v. 41), born a twin with his brother Cleombrotus, this marriage would decisively turn the scale in his favour. The importance of the fact is suggested by the particles καὶ δὴ καί. (See note 6 on i. 1.) Although the author here distinctly states that Cleombrotus was the youngest of the brothers, it is remarkable that where he mentions the report of the twins, he puts him *before* Leonidas. It seems therefore not improbable that Leonidas, when asserted to be a twin at all, was represented as the last born. His absence from Lacedæmon at the time of the festival of the *Carnea* (see note 534, below) was perhaps not an unwelcome compliment to the Achæan party.

<sup>531</sup> ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους. The guard of honour for a Lacedæmonian king seems to have been three hundred; and while acting in this capacity they were probably called his *knights*. See viii. 124, and compare THUCYDIDES, v. 72, where they form the body guard of the king Agis. What Leonidas appears to have done on this occasion was, to select his "regular guard" (ἄνδρας τοὺς κατεστεῶτας), to the number of three hundred, taking none for the purpose but men who had children. See note 130, a, on vi. 56.

<sup>532</sup> Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧ (de Malign. Herodoti, § 33) states on the authority of Aristophanes, the Alexandrine grammarian, that the commander of the Theban detachment was named, not *Leontiades*, but *Anasander*. This he does simply for the purpose of shaking the credit of Herodotus in what he says of the temper of the Thebans.

<sup>533</sup> ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίξειν, "because strong charges of sympathy with Median interests had been brought against them."



Cause assigned why only a small force was sent forward under Leonidas.

τιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρώντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται· μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνονται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδὼν<sup>554</sup>, ἐμελλον ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, κατὰ τάχος βοηθείην πανδημεῖ. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνευῶντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσῃν ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸντὸ Ὀλυμπιάς<sup>555</sup> τούτοις τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὐκ ὡς δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενευῶντο ποιήσῃν οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες, ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς· τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε, ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχέοντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ<sup>556</sup>, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθεῖν, ὥς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τῶν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι.

208

A horseman sent by Xerxes to reconnoitre finds the Lacedaemonians exercising, and combing their hair in front of their lines.

Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἵππέα, ιδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὃ τι ποιεῖεν; ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι ἔων ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὥς ἀλισμένη εἴη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἔων γένος Ἑρακλειδῆς· ὥς δὲ προσέλασε ὁ ἵππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηνεῖτό τε καὶ κατῶρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγ-

<sup>554</sup> Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδόν. There was an especial reason why this festival should not have been interrupted. In it Apollo was celebrated under the title of "Leader of the army" (ἡγήτωρ), with a particular reference to the voyage from Naupactus to the Peloponnese on the occasion of the great invasion. To cut short the ritual of a deity viewed in such a relation would be more than an act of irreverence; it would be in itself an ill omen for the very expedition about to be undertaken. And for the extreme importance of this point, see notes on viii. 132 and ix. 92. But the absence of Leonidas from this festival was possibly not

undesigned in the existing crisis. See note 530, above, and note 555, below.

<sup>555</sup> ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸντὸ Ὀλυμπιάς. Hence the answer of the Arcadian refugees, below, viii. 26.

<sup>556</sup> περισπερχέοντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ. Valcknaer proposes to read περισπερχθέντων, EO being substituted for ΘΕ by the negligence of the copyist, on the ground of the active form σπέρχω being nowhere used by Herodotus, but always the passive σπέρχεσθαι. Thus: ἐσπέρχετο τῇ Ἀριστογόρῃ (v. 33). Κρείσας δὲ σπερχθεῖς εἶπε (i. 32). SUIDAS says: σπερχθεῖς παρ' Ἡροδότῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ ταρᾶσθαι, θυμωδῶς.

μένοι· τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενίζομένους· ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐμάνθανε, μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην οὔτε γάρ τις ἐδίωκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε<sup>537</sup> πολλῆς ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα τάπερ ὀπώπее πάντα. Ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοντο ὡς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοία γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποικίην, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθέειν τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ἤκουσας μὲν μεν καὶ πρότερον, εὔτε ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἀκούσας δὲ, γέλωτά με ἔθεν<sup>538</sup> λέγοντα τάπερ ὥρων ἐκβησόμενά πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθινήν ἀσκέειν ἀντὶα σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι· ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπικάται μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται· νόμος γάρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμεύονται· ἐπίσταο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σέ, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομένει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλῆην τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι προσφέρειαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους.” κάρτα τε δὴ ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεῦτερα ἐπειρώτα ὄντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἔοντες τῇ ἐωντοῦ στρατῇ μαχεσονται; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη<sup>539</sup>, ἣν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω.”

Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα· τέσσαρας μὲν δὴ παρ- 210  
εἴηκε<sup>540</sup> ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσεσθαι πέμπτῃ δὲ, Xerxes, after four

<sup>537</sup> ἐνεκύρησε. The use of the compound verb ἐγκύρειν in the regimen of the simple verb κυρεῖν is not easily explained. Perhaps the preposition has the force of the English “withal,” as it sometimes does when used without a case, in the manner of a conjunction. See note 63 on vi. 23, above. Bekker reads ἐκύρησε from conjecture.

<sup>538</sup> γέλωτά με ἔθεν. Compare iii. 29: ἀπὸρ τοι ὅμεις γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε.

<sup>539</sup> ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ. In the Persian view, falsehood was the lowest vice in the scale of depravity; so that the imprecation of the Spartan king on himself was as strong as if he had said ἀνοσιωτάτῳ. See i. 138: ἀσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι γενόμεσται· δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρεός, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἶνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεύδος λέγειν.

<sup>540</sup> παρεῖηκε. S and V have παρήκεν.

209  
Conversa-  
tion be-  
tween  
Xerxes  
and De-  
maratus  
on the sub-  
ject of the  
Spartan  
character.

days' delay,  
orders an  
attack on  
the pass,

211  
which en-  
tirely fails

212

ὥς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μῆδους τε καὶ Κισσίου θυμωθεὶς, ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ· ὥς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσήσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελαύνοντο καί περ μεγάλως προσπταίνοντες· δῆλον δ' ἐποίησεν παντὶ τεφρῇ καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρης. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιερίποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήϊσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἡρχε Ἰδάρνης<sup>341</sup>, ὥς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι· ὥς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στενωπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροις χρεώμενοι ἥ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πληθεῖ χρήσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅπως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρέωντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῃ ἐπήϊσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πληθεῖ ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρεώμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τέλεα<sup>342</sup> καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαινον ὀπίσω. ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοις τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρεῖς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου<sup>343</sup>, δέισαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. Τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντες σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἶους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν

<sup>341</sup> Ἰδάρνης. See note 254 on § 83, above.

<sup>342</sup> κατὰ τέλεα, "by squadrons." See note on ix. 24, below.

<sup>343</sup> ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. This act expresses sudden consternation. So Darius

is described as ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας when Zopyrus presents himself mutilated before him (iii. 155). With the grave orientals nothing could so completely indicate an all-engrossing feeling of fear or horror as a gesture of this kind.

φυλάζοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ <sup>for two</sup>  
Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνῶρων, ἀπήλαινον. <sup>whole days.</sup>

Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέως ὃ τι χρῆσεται <sup>213</sup>  
γματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδῆμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεύς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, <sup>The per-</sup>  
ὥς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέως δοκέων οἴσεσθαι· ἔφρασε τε τὴν <sup>plexity of</sup>  
ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος φέρουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ <sup>Xerxes is</sup>  
διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον δὲ δέσας <sup>put an end</sup>  
Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην· καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν <sup>to by the</sup>  
Πυλαγῶρων (τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων) <sup>treachery of</sup>  
ἀργύριον ἐπεκρύνθη· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατήλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντι- <sup>a Melian,</sup>  
κύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου· ὃ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης <sup>who shows</sup>  
οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτῃ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι <sup>him a path</sup>  
ὑπισθε λόγοισι <sup>over the</sup>  
σημανέω· ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων <sup>mountains.</sup>  
οὐδὲν ἦσσαν. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε.

Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὥς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω <sup>214</sup>  
ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσὶ οἱ εἴπαντες  
πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους, καὶ περιγηγασμένοι τὸ οὖρος  
τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, οὐδαμῶς ἐμοί γε πιστός· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρή  
σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγῶροι ἐπεκρύναν οὐκ  
ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῷ ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ  
Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως καὶ τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ,  
φεύγοντα τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν εἰδείη μὲν  
γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεύς, ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης  
εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμιληκῶς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἐστὶ  
ὁ περιγηγασμένος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον  
γράφω.

Ἐρέξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρεσε <sup>215</sup>  
σεσθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ἰδάρνεα, καὶ τῶν  
ἐστρατήγεε Ἰδάρης· ὠρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρα-  
τοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεύρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μη-  
λίεες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκίας τότε,  
ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράξαντες τείχεϊ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ  
<sup>Hydarnes</sup>  
<sup>and his</sup>  
<sup>division are</sup>  
<sup>despatched</sup>  
<sup>with Ephialtes by the</sup>  
<sup>mountain</sup>  
<sup>pass.</sup>

<sup>213</sup> χρῆσεται. Gaisford has given this reading on the authority of one manuscript (S). The others are divided between χρῆσται and χρῆσται. See note 34 on v. 12.

<sup>214</sup> ἐν τοῖσι ὑπισθε λόγοισι. Herodotus does not fulfil this promise. See note 620 on i. 184.

<sup>215</sup> Ἐρέξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρεσε. S has Ἐρέξῃ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἤρεσε.

216  
Description  
of it.

πολέμου<sup>547</sup>. ἔκ τε τόσου δὴ κατεδέδεκτο εἴουσα οὐδὲν χρηστή  
Μηλιεῦσι<sup>548</sup>. "Ἐχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὐτῇ ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ῥέοντος· οὐνομα δὲ  
τῷ οὐρεὶ τοῦτ' αὖ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὸντὸ κείμεναι Ἀνόπαια· τείνει δὲ ἡ  
Ἀνόπαια αὐτῇ κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ οὐρεος· λήγει δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλπηνὸν  
πόλιν, πρώτην εἴουσιν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ  
Μελάμπυγόν τε καλούμενον λίθον<sup>549</sup> καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας·

217  
They reach  
the top of  
the moun-  
tain at day-  
break.

τῇ καὶ τὸ στενωτάτον ἐστί. Κατὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ  
οὕτω ἔχουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες ἐπορεύοντο  
πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὐρεα τὰ Οἰταίων ἐν  
ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων· ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε<sup>550</sup>, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ'  
ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐρεος ἐφύλασσον, ὥς  
καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὄπλῃται, ῥνόμενοι τε  
τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἢ μὲν γὰρ  
κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφύλασσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρητῶν· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος  
ἀτραπὸν ἐβελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον.

218 Ἐμαθον δὲ σφεας οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας ἀναβαίνοντες  
γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὐρος πᾶν ἐὼν δρυὼν ἐπίπλεον ἦν  
μὲν δὴ ιηνεμὴν, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ ὥς οἶκος ἦν φύλλων  
ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ  
ἔδυντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν<sup>551</sup>. ὥς δὲ εἶδον

<sup>547</sup> ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. See note 487 on i. 143.

<sup>548</sup> ἔκ τε τόσου . . . Μηλιεῦσι, "from so long back had the Melians been made aware of its capabilities for mischief." The euphemism of οὐδὲν χρηστή in the sense of "extremely pernicious" is very common. There seems no record of any particular occasion on which the Thessalians succeeded, by means of this path, in turning the position of the Phocians. It was doubtless in the very early times, when the Thessalian tribes came first into the region which they inhabited in the time of Herodotus (above, § 176). The wall, said to be built by the Phocians on that occasion, had fallen with age.

<sup>549</sup> Μελάμπυγόν τε καλούμενον λίθον. *Melampyrgus* seems to have been a surname of Heracles, who is represented as having in wrath slain two brothers called Cercopes for ridiculing him. The term *κέρκωψ* appears to have been the name of a kind of monkey (into which one version

of the legend made the brothers to be metamorphosed: ZENOBIOUS, *Proverb.* iv. 50), and hence the term is used both to denote a person of extreme cunning, and one who delights in mischievous annoyance. ÆSCHINES (*De falsâ legatione*, § 43) uses it in the former sense: *ὅ τι μὲν οὖν ποθ' ὁ Κέρκωψ, ἢ τὸ καλούμενον παιδάλημα, ἢ τὸ παλὺβολον, ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥήματα, οὐκ ἴδμεν πρότερον*. Another version of the legend made the brothers changed into stone, a form of the story which probably prevailed in the locality described in the text, although the catastrophe is laid in Lydia at the court of Omphale. (See Gaisford's *ΠΑΡΑΕΜΙΟΓΡΑΦΗ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΝ: Bodleian Proverbs*, No. 537.)

<sup>550</sup> ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, following P, F, and b, omits *δὴ*. S has *ἡὼς τε δὴ ἐφαινε*.

<sup>551</sup> ἀνά τε ἔδραμον . . . οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν, "just as the Phocians got on the

ἄνδρας ἐνδυομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπίμενοι γὰρ οὐδὲν σφί φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξουν ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῶ· ἐνθαῦτα Ἰδάρνης καταρρωδῆσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἶρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτεα ποδαπὸς εἶη ὁ στρατός; πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην· οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὡς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξέυμασι πολλοῖσι τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν<sup>552</sup>, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτεα καὶ Ἰδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τάχος.

Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις 219  
Μεγιστίνης ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρά ἐφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα  
ῥοῖ σφί θάνατον ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν  
Περσέων τὴν περίοδον· οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν τρίτοι δὲ  
οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἤδη διαφαινούσης  
ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφῶν ἐσχίζοντο  
αἱ γνώμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀν-  
έτεινον μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ  
διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα  
Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρασκευάδατο. Λέγεται δὲ ὡς αὐτὸς 220  
σφῶν ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλυνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ  
Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρούσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν  
τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἡλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχὴν<sup>553</sup>. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ  
γνώμῃ πλείστος εἰμι<sup>2</sup>, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεὶ τε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους  
έοντας ἀπροθύμως καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελείσαι  
σφῶν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν. μένουσι  
δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξ-

The Greeks  
in the pass  
learn the  
passage of  
the moun-  
tain by the  
enemy

220  
and Leonidas  
sends  
away most  
of his  
troops.

alert, and armed themselves, on that instant the barbarians were upon them." The synchronism of the two facts is indicated by the particles τε—καὶ, which connect the clauses; just as above: ἡ δὲ τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἄκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος, "just as day broke, now, they arrived on the summit of the mountain." See note 472 on iv. 181.

<sup>552</sup> ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, "that they were making an attack upon them in the first instance," i.e. that the crushing the Phocian force was the first object of the movement. See the next note.

<sup>553</sup> ἐς τὴν ἡλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχὴν. The use of the word ἀρχὴν here and above (§ 218) is nearly, but not exactly, the same as that in i. 9; ii. 96, and iii. 39, which is illustrated in note 42 on i. 9. In these the English, "in the first instance," or "at all events," is an appropriate translation. Leonidas puts forward the duty of maintaining his post as the first thing which had to be done, whatever else might follow.

<sup>2</sup> ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστος εἰμι. Compare i. 120: καὶ αὐτὸς, ὃ μάγοι, ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμην εἰμί.

λείφετο· ἐκέχρητο<sup>554</sup> γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιύτῃσι, χρωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένοι, ἡ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἀπολέεσθαι<sup>555</sup>. ταῦτα δὲ σφί ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμείπτουσι ἔχοντα χρῶν, λέγοντα ὧδε·

Ἵμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκῆτορες εὐρυχόροιο,  
ἡ μέγα ἔστω ῥικυδὲς ἐπ' ἀνδράσι Περσεΐδῃσι  
πέρεσται· ἡ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀπ' Ἑρακλείους δὲ γενέθλης  
πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.  
οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων  
ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδὲ ἔφημι  
σχῆσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος καταθέσθαι μῦνον<sup>556</sup> Σπαρτιυτέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον, ἢ γνώμῃ διενεχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχεσθαι τοὺς

<sup>554</sup> ἐκέχρητο. Here all the MSS, with scarcely an exception, have this form instead of the more usual ἐκέχρηστο. But see the note 437 on ii. 147.

<sup>555</sup> ἡ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον . . . ἀπολέεσθαι. The notion which gave rise to this oracle seems to be the one, that in a dire extremity the anger of the deity was only to be propitiated by a most costly offering. (See note 676 on i. 199.) Leonidas is the Hellenic Decius, who, as LIVING describes it, seemed "sicut cœlo missus, piaculum omnis deorum iræ, qui pestem a suis aversam in hostes ferret." Compare the case of Hamilcar (above, § 167). It was no doubt this superstitious feeling, and not mere vanity (as some have interpreted the proceeding), which determined him to stay after his position was turned. Some of the stories which were current in after days proceed on the supposition that at the time he left Sparta he never expected to return. PLUTARCH, for instance, says that his wife asked instructions for her conduct in her widowhood from him; and that funeral games were performed, as over him, in his presence. (*De Malign. Herod.* § 32.) It may be observed that these human sacrifices belonged to a primeval system of religion, as may be seen by the formula with which the elder Decius devotes himself. (LIVING, viii. 9.) Now the attachment of Leonidas's father-in-law and half-brother Cleomenes to this religious system has been above remarked.

(See especially note 189 on v. 72, and notes 172, 177, 186, and 190 on Book vi.) And it is a curious circumstance, that to Leonidas it was allowed as a special favour by the Thebans to pass the night in their temple of Heracles, where he consulted the deity *by a dream*. (PLUTARCH, *Ibid.* § 31.) The mode of consultation proves that the religious ideas on which the service was originally founded belonged to the same system (see note 164 on i. 52), so that in the fact of the privilege conferred on Leonidas there is presumptive evidence that he shared the religious predilections of his half-brother, and on this account was perhaps allowed access to a temple which would have been otherwise closed against him. On the same principle we may perhaps account for his absence from the Carneia, the festival especially appropriate to the Dorian Apollo, and commemorative of the successful invasion of the Peloponnese. See notes 530 and 534, above.

<sup>556</sup> μῦνον. PLUTARCH (*de Malign. H.* § 31) quotes this passage as if he found μῦνον in his copy, and censures Herodotus for attributing such unworthy motives to his hero. But all the MSS have μῦνον, and the sense afforded by that reading is more in accordance with the context. Leonidas wished the glorious story of the Spartan deed to remain pure and unmixed with any discordant incidents, such as those of flight or recusancy on the part of their companions.

οἰχομένους. Μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τότε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου 221  
 περὶ γέγονε· οὐ γὰρ μούνον τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν δς  
 εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστήν τὸν Ἀκαρινῆνα λεγόμενον  
 εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τούτου εἴπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν  
 τὰ μελλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων,  
 ἵνα μὴ συναπόληται σφι· ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ  
 ἀπελίπετο, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον ἔοντα οἱ μουνογενέα  
 ἀπέπεμψε.

Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἰχοντό τε ἀπιόντες, 222  
 καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ· Θεσπίες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν  
 μόνου παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι· τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες  
 ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι κατεῖχε γὰρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων  
 λόγῳ ποιούμενος· Θεσπίες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα<sup>517</sup>, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν  
 ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ  
 καταμείναντες συναπέθανον· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος  
 Διαδρόμεω.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν 223  
 χρόνον, ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθῶρην πρόσδοον ἐποιέετο· καὶ  
 γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἑπιδάμω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὐρεος ἡ κατὰ  
 βασίς συντομωτέρη τέ ἐστι, καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χώρος πολλὸν,  
 ἥπερ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἱ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ  
 Ξέρξεα προσήσαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ  
 θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιούμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
 ἐπεξήσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ  
 τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιώντες ἐς  
 τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὴ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν,  
 ἐπιπτον πληθεῖ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες  
 τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας, ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα αἰεὶ ἐς  
 τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν  
 θάλασσαν, καὶ διεφθείροντο· πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῖνες κατεπατέοντο

<sup>517</sup> Θεσπίες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα. In  
 later times the credit of a share in the  
 action was attributed at Athens, not to  
 the Thespians, but the Plataeans. The  
 author of the *Oration against Neera* says  
 of these: *μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν* . . .  
*μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Λεωνίδου ἐν Θερ-*  
*μύλαις παρατάξιμοι τῷ βαρβάρῳ ἐπ-*  
*ώντι συναπόλοντο*. Half of the adult  
 citizens, according to the orator, perished

in the pass; the other half embarked on  
 board the Athenian galleys, and fought at  
 Artemisium and Salamis (§ 126). Com-  
 pare equally varying statements of facts  
 which must have been notorious, in note  
 213 on i. 63, and 138 on iii. 47. PAU-  
 SANIAS, possibly by a slip of the me-  
 mory, makes, instead of the Thespians,  
 eighty Mycenians participators in Leoni-  
 das's exploit (x. 20. 1).



- ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρῶμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες<sup>558</sup>. Δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι
- 224 πλεόνεσιν αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγγανε κατεργότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα· ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων<sup>559</sup>. καὶ δὴ καὶ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης<sup>560</sup>, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρεῖω· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης<sup>561</sup> Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀδελφεὸς, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεω παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδούς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρεῖω, τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνου οἱ εὐσύης ταύτης τέκνου. Ξέρξῳ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοί<sup>562</sup> ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχεόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαι-
- 225

<sup>558</sup> ἀτέοντες. The meaning of this word appears to be something like "frantic," i.e. acting as if possessed by an *ἄτη*, a spirit of self-destruction. The true reading of *Iliad*. xx. 332 is probably *ἀτέοντα*, used in this sense. So too *παραχρᾶσθαι* is to act as having no care about the result: *ἐκ παύρργον χρᾶσθαι*. It is applied to the Egyptian soldiers, who, never having come into contact with Hellenes, thought they could overwhelm them without any difficulty (iv. 159), and to the conduct of the Lacedæmonians in not scrupling to force a dynastic form of government on their allies, although in their own case they would shrink from such a thing: *παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους* (v. 92).

<sup>559</sup> ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. In the time of PAUSANIAS there was a column standing at Sparta on which the names of all the combatants, together with those of their fathers, were inscribed (iii. 14. 1). This can hardly have existed in the time of Herodotus, or he would not have mentioned his knowledge of the names in the way he does. According to Pausanias (l. c.) the bones of Leonidas were brought to Sparta forty years after he fell at Thermopylæ.

<sup>560</sup> Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης. These

names, like *Phætime* (iii. 88), are obviously of Hellenic origin. The former of them is the name of the hero in the novel of XENOPHON OF ERNESTUS. It is however just possible that they may be the translation of Persian names or surnames.

<sup>561</sup> Ἀρτάνης. Some of the MSS have Ἀτάρνης. In § 66, above, three of the MSS have Ἀρτάνης in the place of Ἀζδάνης, which is the reading of the rest.

<sup>562</sup> Ξέρξῳ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοί. These "brothers" of Xerxes cannot be brothers by both parents; for of the *four* sons of Atossa (vii. 2), Masistes was put to death by Xerxes after his return to Susa (ix. 113), and Achaemenes was killed by Inarus in Egypt at a much later period (iii. 12). Yet the way in which they are mentioned seems to indicate that in the mind of the narrator they were regarded as different persons from Abrocomas and Hyperanthes; and if so, it seems strange that they should not be described, like those, as *sons of Darius*, rather than simply as *brothers of Xerxes*. It is not impossible that Herodotus is here uniting, without suspecting the fact, two different versions of the same story. For the complete pedigree of the family of Darius according to Herodotus, see *Excursus*.

μονίων ὠθισμὸς ἐγένετο πολλός· ἐς δὲ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὐ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο· ὥς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος<sup>383</sup>. ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στευνὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμεινῆσθαι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἵζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Θηβαίων· ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ· ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ<sup>384</sup> ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγγανον ἔτι περι- and are all  
εῖναι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, slain.  
οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τεύχεος συγχώ-  
σαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθε περισταδόν.

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων, ὅμως 226  
λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τότε Anecdote of  
φασὶ εἶπαι τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθό- the bravest  
μενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπείωσι τὰ of the three  
τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν ὀιστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσιν· hundred,  
τοσοῦτό τι πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις, who was  
εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλήθος, ὥς πάντα remarkable  
σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν for his good  
Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ saying.  
ἐν ἡλῳ. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιοντότροπα ἔπεά φασι Διηνέκεα  
τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀρι- 227  
στεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ  
Μάρων, Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμειε μάλιστα  
τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew.

<sup>383</sup> ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος. Similarly below, ix. 102: ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα.

<sup>384</sup> ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ. DIODORUS (xi. 9) and PLUTARCH (*de Malign. H.* § 32) give an entirely different account of the particulars of the death of the Greeks. According to them, they, on finding themselves taken in the rear, broke up from their lines at night and advanced into the midst of the Persian camp, hoping to reach the quarters of the Persian king and to slay him. It is plain that such a proceeding is incompatible with the circumstances of time as given by Herodotus. But all the details of the affair must ne-

cessarily have been very uncertain if really none survived; and it is only to be expected that they should be varied in the current accounts. A parallel instance, singularly instructive as showing how the kernel of a true story remains while almost every particular is altered, is afforded by the heroic feat of the centurion, who alone preserved his fidelity to Galba at the time when he was assassinated. The accounts given by TACITUS (*Hist.* i. 43) and PLUTARCH (*Galb.* § 26) both seem to rest on the authority of actual eye-witnesses; and yet they differ remarkably from each other.

228

Inscriptions  
over the  
dead.

Θαφθεῖσι δέ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇπερ ἔπεσον<sup>565</sup>, καὶ τοῖσι πρό-  
τερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπι-  
γέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιᾶδες τέτορες<sup>566</sup>.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται· τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτῃσι  
ιδίῃ·

ᾧ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε  
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο· τῷ δὲ μάντι, τόδε·

Μῆνιμα τόδε κλεινοῦ Μεισιτία, ὃν ποτὲ Μῆδοι  
Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψόμενοι,  
μάντιος, ὅς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχόμενας σάφα εἶδώς,  
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπί-  
γραμμα, Ἀμφικτυόνες εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ  
μάντιος Μεισιτίεω, Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπείος ἐστὶ κατὰ ξεινίην  
ὁ ἐπιγράφας.

229

Story of two  
individuals  
among the  
three hun-  
dred Spar-  
tans.

Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστό-  
δημον, παρὸν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῶ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι, ἢ  
ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς μεμετιμένοι<sup>567</sup> τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ  
στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω, καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλ-  
μῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἢ, εἴγε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανέειν  
ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις· παρὸν σφι τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν, οὐκ  
ἐθελῆσαι ὁμοφρονέειν ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας, Εὐρυτόν μὲν  
πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ  
ἐνδύντα, ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεύσαι τὸν εἰλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους·  
δῶκας δὲ αὐτὸν ἡγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν  
δὲ ἐσπεύοντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀριστόδημον δὲ  
λειποφυχέοντα<sup>568</sup> λειφθῆναι. εἰ μὲν νυν ἦν μόνον Ἀριστόδημον

<sup>565</sup> αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇπερ ἔπεσον. The bones of Leonidas were carried to Sparta forty years afterwards. See above, note 559.

<sup>566</sup> χιλιᾶδες τέτορες. See viii. 25, below.

<sup>567</sup> μεμετιμένοι. See note 309 on v. 108.

<sup>568</sup> λειποφυχέοντα. This word appears to be used in the sense of "failing in courage," not in its usual meaning of "fainting" from physical exhaustion.

ἀλγήσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφο-  
 τέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοί, οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιήτας  
 μὴν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ, τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου,  
 τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος δὲ  
 ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μηνίσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ.  
 Οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ 230  
 διὰ πρόφασιν τοιούτου· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα <sup>569</sup> ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-  
 πέδου, ἐξεδὺν αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ ἐβελήσαι  
 ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον  
 αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν. Ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς 231  
 Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος θνείδός τε εἶχε καὶ ἀτιμίην, πάσχω-  
 ν δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε <sup>570</sup> Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε  
 διελέγετο, θνείδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλούμενος· ἀλλ'  
 ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσαν  
 οἱ αἰτίην <sup>571</sup>. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς 232  
 Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι  
 Παντίτην νοστήσαντα δὲ τούτου ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο,  
 ἀπάγξασθαι.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ 233  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς  
 τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων  
 γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων  
 ἐπευγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων, χεῖράς τε  
 προέτεινον καὶ ἤϊσαν ἄσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀλη-  
 θέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν

Fate of the  
Thebans  
who were  
with Leo-  
nidas.

<sup>569</sup> ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα. PLUTARCH (l. c.) relates that Leonidas, desirous of saving the lives of two persons of his own family who were with him, ordered them to take a report home of the state of things. The one answered that his office was that of a soldier, not a courier; the other took his arms, saying that the facts would report themselves. The ethopoeic character of these stories is obvious. Who survived to report them?

<sup>570</sup> οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε. This act symbolized the cutting him off from the people. (See note 187 on v. 72.) To refuse fire or water, or to show the right road to one who had lost it, or to pass by

a dead body without aiding to bury it, were offences against which a commination (attributed to a primeval legislator, Buzyges,) was formally pronounced at Athens.

<sup>571</sup> ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσαν οἱ αἰτίην. This expression is analogous to τοῦτο τὸ τῶμα ἀνέλαβον (v. 121), and ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα (viii. 109). The metaphor is taken from a person who recalls that which he has said, or takes up again what has been laid down. Such an act undoes that which has been done. Translate: "he did away with the whole of the blame which had been imputed to him."

πρώτοις ἔδωσαν βασιλείῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικόλατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἰεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεῦ· ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες, περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας· οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὥς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα<sup>573</sup>, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδew· τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες, στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων<sup>574</sup>.

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Xerxes much struck with the bravery of the Spartans, has another conversation with Demaratus,

Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνας οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο· Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον, εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· “Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός· τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείῃ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω· νῦν δέ μοι εἶπε, κόσιοι τινές εἰσι οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσιοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες;” ὁ δ' εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὸν καὶ πόλις πολλαὶ, τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν εἰδήσεις· ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα· οἱ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισιν· οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· “Δημάρητε, τέφρῳ τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων<sup>574</sup>,”

<sup>573</sup> ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα. The tatowing of slaves to indicate the property in them probably originated in those cases in which they were dedicated to some deity. See note 319 on ii. 113. The Persian sovereign would however in the time of Xerxes be regarded as sacro-sanct; and hence a mark would be set upon his slaves,—or those who were considered as such. I do not imagine that private individuals ever put their mark upon their serfs. PLUTARCH (*de Malign. Her.* § 33) adduces this statement of Herodotus as a presumptive proof of the falsehood of his story of the Theban disloyalty. The brand of Xerxes would, he considers, never have been set upon members of a state well affected to Persian interests.

<sup>574</sup> σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων. This expression refers to that surprise of Plataea

by the Thebans, which was the first overt act of the Peloponnesian war, and which THUCYDIDES describes at length (ii. 2, seqq.).

<sup>574</sup> σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων. The same expression is used above, iii. 156. Translate: “for you are master of the ins and outs of their plans.” The words διεξοδοί, διεξελθεῖν, and διεξοδεύω all rest on the same fundamental notion of a complicated system of paths leading to a given end,—such, for instance, as those in the labyrinth described ii. 148. Hence διεξελθεῖν is the proper phrase for telling a story where there are several points to be taken up one after another, all bearing upon the main one, or for going through a scientific exposition of a theory; διεξοδεύειν, that for communicating knowledge discursively,

οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος." Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν 235  
 δὴ συμβουλευεαί μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν μὲ σοὶ ἐστὶ φράζειν τὸ who advises  
 ἄριστον. εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειαι him to oc-  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν ἐστὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ cupy Cy-  
 οὔνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων, ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος there,  
 γενόμενος, κέρδος μέζον, ἔφη, εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσ-  
 σης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ'  
 αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσσεσθαι οἷόν τι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι· οὔτι τὸν σὸν στόλον  
 προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον· ἐκ  
 ταύτης ὦν τῆς νήσου ὀρμεώμενοι<sup>515</sup>, φοβεόντων<sup>516</sup> τοὺς Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους· παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκῆτον, οὐδὲν δεινὸν  
 ἔσονται τοι, μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλίσκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ  
 βοθηέωσι ταύτῃ καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος,  
 ἀσθενὲς ἤδη τὸ Λακωνικὸν μῦνον λείπεται. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ  
 ποιῆς, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσσεσθαι· ἐστὶ τῆς Πελοποννησίου  
 ἰσθμὸς στενός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συν-  
 ομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοὶ, μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων  
 προσδέκεο ἔσσεσθαι τοι· ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητὶ ὃ τε ἰσθμὸς  
 οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρήσουσι." Λέγει μετὰ τούτον Ἀχαι- 236  
 μένης, ἀδελφεός τε ἔων Ξέρξῳ<sup>517</sup> καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ but is op-  
 στρατηγός, παρατυχῶν τε τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ δέσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ posed by  
 Ξέρξης ποιεῖν ταῦτα· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄρώ σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον Achæmenes,  
 λόγους ὃς φθονεῖ τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι, ἢ καὶ προδιδοῖ πρήγματα  
 τὰ σά· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι τοιοῦτοιςι χρεώμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι.  
 εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τῇσι παρεούσῃσι τύχησι, τῶν νέες νευατηγῆκαςι τετρα-  
 κόσiai, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριηκοσίας ἀποπέμψεις περι-

—carrying the learner on through one path after another, hither and thither, till at last he finds himself master of the subject, —teaching διὰ μεθόδου and not δι' ἐνδείξεως, by direct manifestation. Thus CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS uses the term διέξοδος for a chain of logical reasoning, leading step by step to a conclusion. (*Strom.* iv. 25.)

<sup>515</sup> ἐκ ταύτης ὦν τῆς νήσου ὀρμεώμενοι. The Athenians fulfilled the apprehensions of Chilon in the eighth year of the Pelo-

ponnesian war by capturing the island. It was the more important to the Lacedæmonians as being exactly in the run from Libya or Egypt to Laconia. (THUCYDIDES, iv. 53.)

<sup>516</sup> φοβεόντων. Compare λεγόντων (i. 89).

<sup>517</sup> ἀδελφεός τε ἔων Ξέρξῳ. Achæmenes was the son of Atossa as well as of Darius, and therefore whole brother of Xerxes (vii. 97).

πλώειν<sup>578</sup> Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοί τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι ἀλῆς δὲ ἐὼν ὁ ναυτικός στρατὸς δυσμεταχειριστός τε αὐτοῖσι γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί τοι ἔσονται· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικός τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ, ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος· εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἔσσαι κείνοισι χρήσιμος οὔτε κείνοι σοί. τὰ σεωντοῦ δὲ τιθέμενος εὖ, γνώμην ἔχε τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων<sup>579</sup> μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, τὰ τε ποιήσουσι, ὅσοι τε πληθὸς εἰσι· ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι γε αὐτοὶ ἐωντῶν περὶ φροντίζειν εἰσὶ, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὥσαύτως. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἦν ἴωσι ἀντὶ Πέρσῃσι ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲ ἐν τὸ παρεὸν τρῶμα ἀνιένται.” Ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσδε “ Ἀχαιήμενες, εὖ τέ μοι δοκέεις λέγειν, καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμῃ μέντοι ἔσσονται ὑπὸ σεῦ οὐ γὰρ δὴ κείνῳ γε ἐνδέξομαι, ὅπως οὐκ εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσιν τε λεγομένοισι πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος, καὶ τῷ ἔοντι, ὅτι πολιήτης μὲν πολιήτῃ εὖ πρήσσοντι φθονέει, καὶ ἔστι δυσμενὴς τῇ συγῇ· οὐδ’ ἂν, συμβουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ, πολιήτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστα οἱ δοκέοντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι· σπάνιοι δ’ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιούτοι· ξείνος δὲ ξείνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντί ἔστι εὐμενέστατον πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλευέσσειε τὰ ἄριστα· οὕτω ὦν κακολογίης περὶ τῆς ἐς Δημάρητον, ἔοντος ἐμοὶ ξείνου, ἔχασθαι τινα τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω.”

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whose advice is followed.

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Xerxes orders the dead body of Leonidas to be decapitated.

Ταῦτα εἰπας Ξέρξης διεξήϊε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι<sup>580</sup>. δηλὰ μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἥκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμῃσε· ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώ-

<sup>578</sup> περιπλῶειν. S, V, K, F, and a have the common form περιπλέειν.

<sup>579</sup> τῶν ἀντιπολέμων. See note 364 on iv. 140.

<sup>580</sup> ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι, “to cut off the head and set it on a pole.” The practice of treating the bodies of conquered enemies in this way seems to have been common to every na-

tion of antiquity except the Hellenes. And it must be remembered how very recently even in England portions of the body of a rebel were placed on the gates of the principal cities. Xerxes, asserting a claim to universal sovereignty, would of course treat all resistance to this as a case of rebellion.

πων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίουν τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιεῖν.

Ἄνεμι δὲ ἐκέισε τοῦ λόγου, τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε. 239 ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρῶτον· καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφούς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφί ἐχρήσθη τὰ δόλγῳ πρότερον εἶπον<sup>381</sup>. ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ· Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἶκός ἐμοὶ συμμαίχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὖνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι<sup>382</sup>. πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν, εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ Ξέρξης ἔδοξε στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔων ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος<sup>383</sup> καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα, ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὲ οὐκ εἶχε σημῆναι· ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμβθεῖν· ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέος γνώμην ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρήγμα παρέχοι οἱ πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφί, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνή, Γοργῶ, ὑπέθετο, ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτῇ, τὸν κηρὸν κινᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειεν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ· πειθόμενοι δὲ εὗρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὲ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

The Spartans had the earliest intelligence of the intended expedition of Xerxes against Hellas by means of a device of Demaratus, which was discovered through the ingenuity of Gorgo.

<sup>381</sup> τὰ δόλγῳ πρότερον εἶπον. This seems a reference to the oracle which is given above (§ 230). favourably. See the citation from *Photius* in note 134 on vii. 37.

<sup>382</sup> οὐκ ἦν εὖνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι. Ctesias seems to have represented him more <sup>383</sup> ἔων ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος. See note 162 on vi. 70.

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Ζ΄.

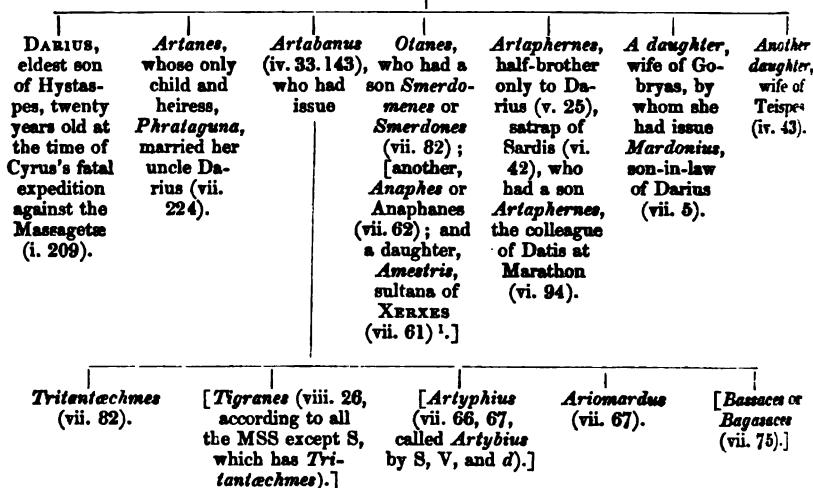


## EXCURSUS ON VII. 225.

*Ξέρξῳ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι.*

THE following tables show the pedigree of the royal family of Darius, exclusively according to the traditions embodied in the narrative of Herodotus.

### HYSTASPES (an Achæmenid, i. 209).



*Hystaspes* had also a brother, whose name is not given, but who had a son *Megabates* (v. 32). The *Megabazus* of vii. 97, is probably the son of this *Megabates*.

<sup>1</sup> Where the connexion is not positively established, brackets are used. It is not certain that the *Otanes* who was the father of *Amestris*, or the *Artabanus* who was the father of *Artyphius*, *Basaces*, and *Tigranes* (or *Tritantæchmes* of viii. 26) are identical with the sons of *Hystaspes* who bore these names.

DARIUS, before his accession to the imperial throne, married a daughter of Gobryas, by whom he had issue—

(1) *Artabazanes* (vii. 2).

(2) *Ariabignes* (vii. 97).

(3) A son, perhaps named *Arsamenes* (vii. 68).

After his accession he married—

First, *Atossa*, daughter of Cyrus, who had been before sultana of Cambyses, and of the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 88), and who was at the time immediately before his death (36 years afterwards), all-powerful (vii. 3, 4).

By her he had issue—

(1) *Xerxes*, his successor in the empire (vii. 2. 4).

(2) *Hystaspes* (vii. 64).

(3) *Masistes* (vii. 82), put to death by his brother Xerxes (ix. 107).

(4) *Achæmenes*, satrap of Egypt (vii. 7), and commander of the Egyptian naval contingent in the expedition against Hellas (vii. 97), subsequently destroyed by Inarus at the time of the revolt of Egypt (iii. 12).

(5) *Artazostra*, who married her cousin Mardonius, son of Gobryas (vii. 5), a young man five years before the battle of Marathon (vi. 43).

Secondly, *Artystone*, daughter of Cyrus (iii. 88), his favourite wife (vii. 69); by whom he had issue—

(1) *Arsames* (vii. 69).

(2) *Gobryas* (vii. 72).

Thirdly, *Parmys*, daughter of the true Smerdis (iii. 88), by whom he had issue—

(1) *Ariomardus* (vii. 78).

Fourthly, *Phædime*, daughter of Otanes (son of Pharnaspes) the conspirator, previously an inmate of the harem of the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 88), by whom it does not appear from Herodotus whether he had, or had not, issue.

He also married, either before or after his accession, his niece *Phrataguna*, heiress of his brother Artanes, by whom he had issue two sons, *Abrocomas* and *Hyperanthes*, who fell at Thermopylæ (vii. 224).

Besides the above-named, he had a daughter married to *Daurises*

(v. 116), another to *Hymeas* (v. 116), a third to *Otanes* (v. 116), a fourth to *Arsamenes* (vii. 68), a fifth to *Artochmes* (vii. 73), and some others to some other officers in high command (v. 116); but there are no *data* for identifying the mothers of these with one another, or with any of the individuals who are more particularly specified.

The pedigree of the family down to *HYSTASPES* is given in vii. 11, and is explained in note 59 on that passage. If that explanation be well grounded, *Atossa* and *Artystone* will appear to have been second cousins of Hystaspes.

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΟΓΔΟΗ.

### ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ.

ΟΙ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε <sup>1</sup>  
 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν, νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑπτὰ<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Roll of the  
naval force  
of the Hel-  
lenic con-  
federates  
 ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς  
 ἔόντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας· Κορίνθιοι δὲ  
 τεσσαράκοντα νέας παρέχοντο· Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ Χαλ-  
 κιδέες<sup>2</sup> ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας·  
 Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα· Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ δυῶδεκα· Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 δὲ δέκα· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ· Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτὰ· Τροιζήνιοι δὲ  
 πέντε· Στυρές<sup>3</sup> δὲ δύο· καὶ Κεῖοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέ-

<sup>1</sup> ἑπτὰ. One of the manuscripts (d) has ὀκτώ.

<sup>2</sup> Χαλκιδέες. These will no doubt be the Athenian settlers established upon the Chalcidian land (v. 77). Their number (four thousand) would give the exact complement for twenty galleys, at the rate at which the author reckons (vii. 184). They had retreated from Euboea at the time of the invasion by Datis and Artaphernes (vi. 100), and there is no account of their having returned to the island, although they probably did so. But at the time of the former invasion they seem to have been regarded in the light of outlying Athenians; for when the Eretrians demanded aid from Athens, the Athenians οὐκ ἀπέπειντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην,

ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους κληρουχίοντας τῶν ἱπποβοτίων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν, τοὺτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωροὺς (vi. 100). The notice of DIONORUS SICULUS (xv. 78), where he makes Epaminondas speak of the two hundred vessels furnished by the Athenians in the war against Xerxes, and the boast of Themistocles (§ 61, below), will be brought into exact harmony with the account of Herodotus by reckoning these Chalcidians as Athenians; for their whole contingent will then be 127 + 20 + 53 (see § 14, below).

<sup>3</sup> Στυρές. Styra is a small town in the immediate neighbourhood of Carystus (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*). A little island belonging to the inhabitants

ρους δύο Λοκροὶ δὲ σφί οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβώθεον<sup>4</sup>, πεντηκοντέ-  
ρους ἔχοντες ἐπτά.

2 Ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον εἰρήται  
who mustered at Artemisium, in all 271 ships under Eurybiades the Spartan,  
 δέ μοι καὶ ὥς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρέλχοντο· ἀριθμὸς  
 δὲ τῶν συλληχθεισῶν νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντη-  
 κοντέρων, μία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν  
 τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρέλχοντο Σπαρτιῆται, Εὐρυ-  
 βιάδεα τὸν Εὐρυκλείδεω. οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ  
 ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεῖν, Ἀθηναίοισι ἐψέσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ

3 λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσσεσθαι στρατεύμα. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
the confederates having rejected the proposal that the navy should be under Athenian command.  
 λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν<sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὥς τὸ  
 ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἶναι ἐπιτρέπειν ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν  
 συμμάχων, εἰκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεπονημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες εἰ στασιάζουσιν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης ὥς  
 ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῖντες. [στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος  
 πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτ' ἀκρίβειον ἐστίν, ὅσ' ὅταν πόλεμος εἰρή-  
 νης<sup>6</sup>.] ἐπιστάμενοι ὧν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ' εἰκον  
 μέχρι ὅσον<sup>7</sup> κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὥς διέδεξαν ὥς γὰρ δὴ ὡσά-  
 μενοι τὸν Πέρσέα περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῖντο,  
 πρόφασιν τὴν Πausanίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι<sup>8</sup>, ἀπειλοῦντο τὴν  
 ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγέ-  
 νετο.

called Ægiles, had served as a dépôt for the Eretrian captives during the time that the Persian fleet made the attempt on Attica (vi. 107).

<sup>4</sup> ἐπεβώθεον. Gaisford prints this form on the authority of S, but the great majority of the MSS have the common form ἐπεβόηθεον. In § 72, below, the same MS has the common form βοηθήσαντες, and Gaisford retains it without the note of any variation whatever. In ix. 23, S and V have ἐβώθεε (which Gaisford adopts), but all the other MSS ἐπεβόηθεε, and in the same section, all, without exception, have the common form ἐπεβοήθησαν.

<sup>5</sup> πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν. This is the embassy to Gelon related below (vii. 157—162).

<sup>6</sup> [στάσις γὰρ . . . πόλεμος εἰρήνης]. I have placed this sentence in brackets, believing it to be an interpolation of a rhetorical common place. The στάσις

περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης was not an ἐμφυλος στάσις, for the contending parties would never have been regarded as ὁμοφύλιοι.

<sup>7</sup> μέχρι ὅσον, "until." So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS. But some have μέχρι οὐ or μέχρις οὐ, and others μέχρι ὅσον.

<sup>8</sup> πρόφασιν τὴν Πausanίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι. THUCYDIDES agrees with the author in making the offensive conduct of Pausanias the moving cause for the allies rejecting the supremacy of Sparta: παραλαβόντες [οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκόντων τῶν συμμάχων διὰ τὸ Πausανίου μῖσος (i. 96). In later times the worth of Aristides was represented as having influenced them to the step even more than the faults of the Spartan general. (DIODORUS, xi. 44. ΝΕΡΟΣ, Aristid. c. 2.) But there is no trace of such a tribute to virtue in the contemporary records.

Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι, ὡς 4  
 εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς The allies  
 ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρ- at Artemi-  
 βάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες, sium are  
 δρησμὸν ἐβούλευον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· intimidated  
 γνόντες δὲ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἐδέοντο Εὐρυ- by the  
 βιάδew προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ amount of  
 τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν the Persian  
 Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα force, and  
 τάλαντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται prepare to  
 τὴν ναυμαχίην. Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν 5 retire.  
 ὡδε ποιεῖν Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτῳ τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδού· πέντε Themisto-  
 τάλαντα, ὡς παρ' ἐωντοῦ δήθεν διδούς· ὡς δὲ οἱ οὗτος ἀν- clea, under  
 επέπειστο, (Ἀδεϊμάντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου, Κορίνθιος στρατηγός, τῶν the influ-  
 λοιπῶν ἥσπαυε μούνος<sup>10</sup>, φάμενος ἀποπλώσεσθαι<sup>11</sup> τε ἀπὸ τοῦ ence of a  
 Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν,) πρὸς δὴ τούτου εἶπε ὁ Θεμι- bribe, de-  
 στοκλῆς ἐπομόσας· “οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολεῖψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ tains the  
 μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μῆδων πέμπει ἀπολιπόντι fleet for  
 τοὺς συμμάχους” ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἡγόρευε, καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα a time,  
 τὴν Ἀδεϊμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες buying off  
 δόροισι<sup>12</sup> ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοέεσι ἐκεχάριστο· the oppo-  
 αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέκρηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων a part of it.

<sup>9</sup> ὑπεκθέωνται. Compare v. 65: ὑπεκ-  
 τίθεμαι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρας οἱ παῖδες  
 τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἦλθον, and § 41,  
 below: ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι.  
 The word ὑπεκκομίζεσθαι is used in the  
 same sense, ix. 6: οὗτος δὲ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό  
 τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμίνα.  
 The correlative of ὑπεκτίθεσθαι is ὑπεκ-  
 τίθεσθαι, which is used below, § 60: Σαλα-  
 μὺς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται  
 τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες.

<sup>10</sup> Ἀδεϊμάντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου . . .  
 ἥσπαυε μούνος. While the reputation  
 of Themistocles as a successful manager  
 of secret service money seems to have  
 been universally allowed, the details of  
 the transaction were variously reported.  
 Plutarch, following the authority of ΠΗΛ-  
 ΛΕΑΣ OF LESBOS, represents a country-  
 man of Themistocles (one Architeles) who  
 commanded the sacred ship Salamina, as  
 the principal obstacle to the plan of re-  
 maining. His crew dissatisfied at not

getting their pay, assaulted him at supper-  
 time and took his provisions. Themisto-  
 cles sent him a fresh supply in a box  
 which had a talent at the bottom, and bade  
 him make a good supper and pay his men  
 the next day, menacing him with a false  
 accusation if he did not take the hint.  
 (Themist. § 7.) Of this story there is  
 nothing in Herodotus; while, on the  
 other hand, Plutarch does not mention  
 Adimantus.

<sup>11</sup> ἀποπλώσεσθαι. This is the reading  
 of S and V. All the other MSS have the  
 common form ἀποπλέσεσθαι. See note  
 409 on iv. 156.

<sup>12</sup> πληγέντες δόροισι. This expression  
 is a very strange one, and without any  
 parallel in the classical times. The later  
 writers have something like it. PLUTARCH  
 (Demosth. § 25) has πληγῆς ὑπὸ τῆς  
 δωροδοκίας, and THEMISTIVS (ii. p. 26),  
 τάλαντοισι οὐκ ἔτρωσε.

ἀλλ' ἠπιστάτο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6 Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ, καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν.

The Persians detach a squadron of 300 ships from *Arphela* to circumnavigate Euboea and take the Hellenic fleet in the rear.

ἐγένετο δὲ ὥδε ἐπεὶ τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δέϊλῃν πρωΐην<sup>13</sup> γινομένην ἀπύκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἴ πως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλώειν οὐκ ὀφείδει τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μὴ πως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλώοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσειαν, φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνῃ καταλάβοι καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι<sup>14</sup>, ἔδει δὲ μὴδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα

7 περγενέσθαι<sup>15</sup>. πρὸς ταῦτα ὦν τὰδε ἐμχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιῶθον, ὥς ἂν μὴ ὀφθῶσι<sup>16</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλώουσαι Εὐβοίαν, κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν, ἐς τὸν Εὐρύπον ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπυκόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπιστόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ

<sup>13</sup> περὶ δέϊλῃν πρωΐην, "in the early part of the afternoon." See note on § 10, below.

<sup>14</sup> ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι. The employment of the word δῆθεν indicates a sort of irony in the writer, smiling at the fact which he is relating. See iii. 74: ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλλοντο, ὥς πιστότατῳ δῆθεν λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι. And in the last section: ὥς παρ' ἐωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδοῦς. It is used pretty much in the same way as the expression "si diis placet" by the Latin writers.

<sup>15</sup> μὴδὲ πυρφόρον περγενέσθαι, "not even a torch-bearer should escape." This proverbial expression is explained by the proverb collectors (DIOGENIANUS vii. 15. ZENOBIOUS v. 34) as originating in the practice of each army to be preceded by a seer with a wreath of laurel and a fillet on his head. He was considered under all circumstances as having a claim to quarter. The SCHOLIAST on *Euripides' Phœn.* 1386 gives another account of the matter. He says that anciently the signal to engage was given by torch-bearers throwing down a flambeau between the armies; and that the persons so employed were regarded as sacred to Ares, and consequently spared even when all others were put to death.

These explanations appear to me doubtful. There are many instances of seers perishing with their army, without any thing to intimate that such a catastrophe was a violation of the law of nations; and it seems more likely that the proverb arose from the fact, that the *πυρφόρος*, only having to carry fire, would, from the nature of the case, be less mixed up in the fray than any others; and not being encumbered with armour, would be more likely to save himself by flight than one of the rank and file. The duty of this functionary in the Lacedæmonian armies was to carry a light kindled at the altar of Zeus in Sparta along with the army. From this fire the pile was kindled on which the sacrifices were burnt. (XENOPHON, *Rep. Lac.* xiii. 3.)

<sup>16</sup> ὀφθῶσι. The MSS appear to be nearly equally divided between this reading and the optative ὀφείλοισαν. See note 40 on i. 8. The detachment rounded Sciathus in order to avoid the observation of the *ήμεροσκόποι* of the allies, who, from the high points of the north end of Euboea, would have been able to signal their movements if they had taken the direct course.

ἐν νόφ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι "Ελλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι" <sup>17</sup> παρὰ τῶν περιπλωόντων ὡς ἠκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, 8  
 ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος, δύτης τῶν *Scyllias, a celebrated diver, brings information of the enemy's design and of his severe loss by the storm.*  
 τότε ἀνθρώπων ἀριστος· ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι <sup>18</sup>, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόφ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσῃ ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε ὅτε μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη <sup>19</sup> ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως· θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐξ Ἀφετῶν δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους <sup>20</sup> ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθὼν. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἵκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοῖα μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ "Ελληνες, λόγον σφίσι 9  
 αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδουσιν· πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνίκα, τὴν ἡμέρην *The confederates resolve to make a retrograde movement by night, but finding*  
 ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μέιναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας, πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν μετὰ δὲ τούτο, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλωε <sup>21</sup>, δαίλῃν

<sup>17</sup> πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι. A similar combination of movements appears to have been attempted in Cyprus. See note 317 on v. 13.

<sup>18</sup> πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι. In the time of PAUSANIAS, a statue of this person existed at Delphi, set up by the Amphictyons,—probably on account of the service rendered to the Hellenic cause by the information he conveyed. But Pausanias, no doubt following the prevalent tradition of his time, says that the services thus rewarded were those performed by himself and his daughter Hydna (whom he had taught to dive) in assisting the destruction of the Persian vessels during the storm off

Pelium, by loosening the anchors and other holdfasts! The statue of Hydna had been carried off to Rome by Nero. Pausanias adds, that the power of diving is possessed by females who continue virgins, but by no others (x. 19. 2).

<sup>19</sup> ἤδη. Some MSS have *ἐν* instead of this word, and one or two omit both.

<sup>20</sup> τούτους. This word is omitted in S and V.

<sup>21</sup> ὡς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλωε. The adversaries whose advance they had expected were the two hundred gallees, which they learnt on the preceding afternoon had been sent on round Euboea. It is not, however, to be assumed that the allies actually made a retrograde movement to such an extent as themselves to reconnoitre the whole



the detach-  
ment is  
not near,

10  
attack  
the enemy  
in front,

11  
in which  
skirmish

ὀψίην<sup>21</sup> γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἀνέπλων ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπὸ πειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου. Ὅρέοντες δὲ σφεας οἳ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξῳ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλώνοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι, πᾶγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες, ἀνήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωυτῶν πλῆθει τε πολλαπλασίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὖνοιο τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορὴν τε ἐποיעῖντο μεγάλην, ὀρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἤδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον<sup>22</sup>, ἄμιλλαν ἐποיעῖντο ὅπως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὥς ἐσήμνη, πρῶτα μὲν, ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον<sup>23</sup>.

channel north of Chalcis: for the words of the text are compatible with the view, that the intelligence of the enemy not being in sight was telegraphed to them. See note 16, above. On the other supposition, the exhaustion from rowing so far would have quite disqualified them for fighting in the evening. LEAKE (*Appendix II. to Athens and the Demi of Attica*, p. 245) maintains that these words apply to the Persian fleet at Aphetæ, and supposes that the engagement took place on the day on which the council was held. But there is nothing in the text to imply, or to justify, a change of opinion on the part of the allies. When they formed their plan, they could not possibly have expected the squadron at Aphetæ to attack them *the same day*; and consequently could not have changed their plan (which Leake's interpretation assumes) on finding that it did not. Leake's view is also irreconcilable with the position of the Persian detachment at the time the storm caught them. See note 36, below.

<sup>22</sup> δειλὴν ὀψίην. Larcher considers this expression to mean "three o'clock in the afternoon." But it is an error to interpret such expressions as these as if the limits of the time denoted were at all de-

finitely fixed. The divisions of the day which *πρωτὶ*, *ἑσπέρα*, *μεσημβρία*, *δείλη*, and the like indicate, are such as strike the sense of the common man, not certain portions of an artificial period. The confederates watched the time when it became *late in the afternoon*, i. e. when the descent of the sun became obvious. It should not be overlooked, that one effect of the time selected would be, that the sun would shine in the eyes of the steerers of the Persian ships.

<sup>23</sup> ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον. The same construction is used below (§ 14): *ὅς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε*, and (ix. 461): *ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν . . . ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι*. So too TACITUS (*Agricola*, § 18): "*quibus autem bellum volentibus erat*."

<sup>24</sup> ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον. The operation denoted by these words seems to have been the backing the galleies in a direction which would have made their sterns (had the proceeding been continued) converge in a single point, the centre (*τὸ μέσον*) of the circle of which they occupied a segment while retreating with their beaks turned upon the advancing enemy. But when they changed this movement for a charge, it must not

δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος, ἔργου εἶχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῃ περ ἀπολαμ- they take  
φθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν gallies and  
βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέως ἀδελφεὸν<sup>25</sup>, make a pri-  
Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. soner of a  
πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος man of con-  
Λυκομήδης<sup>26</sup> Αἰσχροῦ, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήιον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' sequence.  
ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως<sup>27</sup> ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα  
διέλυσε· οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλων, οἱ  
δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι.  
ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος, μούνος τῶν σὺν βασι-  
λείῃ Ἑλλήνων ἑόντων, αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνῃ ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο 12  
δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ A storm of  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς rain and  
Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον thunder  
τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες sets in  
ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πᾶν γινώσκειν ἀπολέεσθαι, ἐς οἷα with night-  
κακὰ ἦκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαί σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης fall and  
καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίῃ alarms the  
Persians.

be supposed that they diverged, "like rays," from the same centre; but that they moved in comparatively close order parallel to one another, and thus overwhelmed the small portion of the enemy opposed to them. The Persian line of battle had been greatly extended in order to surround the Greeks; and the effect of the movement of the latter was to render its flanks useless through their position in the circumference of too large a circle. Before the mistake could be remedied, a direct charge (κατὰ στόμα) upon the central ships had overwhelmed them. LEAKE's notion of the Hellenic force forming a *complete circle*, and actually surrounded by the Persian ships, is to me inconceivable.

<sup>25</sup> Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέως ἀδελφεόν. See v. 115. Possibly Philaon, if captured alive, may be the original source of the narrative which the author has given of the proceedings in Cyprus (v. 108—115).

<sup>26</sup> Λυκομήδης. PLUTARCH considers that Themistocles was connected by blood

with the family to which persons of this name belonged, arguing from the circumstance that a τελεστήριον in Phylæ which belonged to them, and was burnt by Xerxes, had been restored and decorated with paintings by him,—a fact recorded by SIMONIDES (*Themist.* § 1). He also makes this Lycomedes sink the first ship of the enemy in the engagement at Salamis (§ 15). Of course it is possible to suppose that he gained this distinction in both engagements; but it is not likely that, if this were the case, Herodotus should only mention the one, and Plutarch only the other. See note 185 on i. 57.

<sup>27</sup> ἑτεραλκέως. This is the reading of all the MSS here; but in ix. 103: ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, S and V have ὑπεραλκέα. It has been interpreted to mean, "with doubtful issue;" but this sense seems an unsatisfactory one for a case where the one side loses thirty gallies and the other, so far as appears, none at all.

13 The detachment despatched round Euboea is totally destroyed.

καρτερή· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίας, ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὠρμημένα, βρονταὶ τε σκληραί. καὶ τοῖτοισι μὲν τοιαύτη νύξ ἐγένετο. Τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλώειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτὴ περ ἐούσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῃ ὅσῃ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε. καὶ τὸ τέλος σφί ἐγένετο ἄχαρι<sup>22</sup>. ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι<sup>23</sup> αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο, ἐούσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιέτο τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ἂν ἐξισωθεῖ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικόν, μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη.

14 The next day the allies are reinforced by fifty-three Attic ships, and make a successful attack on the Cilician squadron.

Οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας<sup>24</sup> διεφθείροντο· οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφέτῃσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφί ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας, καὶ σφί ἀπεχρέετο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι· τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ἐπεβώθεον<sup>25</sup> νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. αὐταὶ τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι, καὶ ἅμα ὠγγελή ἐλθοῦσα ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλώνοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος· φυλάξαντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλώοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι<sup>26</sup>. ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλωον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

15 On the third day the invading fleet makes the attack,

Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ, δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφί ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας· συν-

<sup>22</sup> τὸ τέλος σφί ἐγένετο ἄχαρι. Compare i. 41: συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἄχαρι, and vii. 190: ἦν γὰρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορῇ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος.

<sup>23</sup> πλώουσι. Gaisford prints this form on the sole authority of S and V, all the other MSS having the common form πλέουσι.

<sup>24</sup> τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας. This is the part of the coast between the promontories of Caphareus and Geræstus. It is this bay of which EURIPIDES speaks (*Troad.* 84): πλῆσον δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν. It may be observed with reference to the interpretation of Leake, discussed in note 21, above, that it is physically impossible for ships detached from Aphetæ in the afternoon to have gone round Sciathus and arrived off this part of Euboea in the course of the same night.

Twenty-four hours later they would naturally be there. Caphareus obtained the name of *Ευλοφάγος* (plank-swallower) from the number of ships wrecked upon it. (Tzetzes, *ad Lycophron.* 373.) The current from the Dardanelles sets on to it. But even the s.w. shores of the island are extremely dangerous. See note 227 on vi. 99.

<sup>25</sup> ἐπεβώθεον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V, although the majority of MSS have ἐπεβόηθεον.

<sup>26</sup> νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι. The Cilician contingent consisted of no less than a hundred gallees. It can hardly be supposed that the whole, or any thing like the whole, of them can be meant, as the author seems to represent them as being annihilated by the allied fleet.

ἐπιπτε δὲ ὥστε ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι· ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο, ὅκως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δ', ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες, τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. Ὡς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλων, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας 16 εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μνησοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ἐκυκλέοντο ὡς περιλάβοικεν αὐτούς· ἐνθεύτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανεπλῶν τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο<sup>33</sup>. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάλῃς τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωντοῦ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπτιπτούσῃν περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὁμως μέντοι ἀντεῖχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῖντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς φυγὴν τραπέσθαι. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες· πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλευνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων 17 ἡρίστευσαν<sup>34</sup>. οἱ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινῆς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδew, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκητὴν παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκητῇ νηϊ.

which issues in great loss to both sides.

The Egyptians in the invading fleet highly distinguish themselves, and so do the Athenians.

<sup>33</sup> παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. Not "they had equal forces," but "they came to be on an equal footing;" i. e. the invaders were so confused by their own numbers that they could not bring a superior force to bear upon their enemies. On the other hand, the same circumstance prevented the Greeks from availing themselves of their superior skill. They were hemmed in before they had made a sufficient offing to be able to manoeuvre.

<sup>34</sup> Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων ἡρίστευσαν. Diodorus (xi. 13), in relating this action, makes not the Egyptians but the Sidonians distinguish themselves above all others in the invading fleet. Possibly this is a confusion on his part with the distinction which

they obtained at the Hellespont (vii. 44), but it is more probable that he is following a distinct authority. From the description which is given of the armament of the crews of the Egyptian gallees (vii. 89), it is likely that in a mêlée (ταρασσομενέων τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπτιπτούσῃν περὶ ἀλλήλας) they would have a great advantage. And if the ships, although manned by Egyptians, were of Sidonian build, and possibly commanded by a Sidonian chief (see notes 262 and 288 on vii. 89. 98), the statement of Diodorus is readily explained, and in its turn confirms the conjecture put forward in the notes referred to, as to the cause of the divergency of Æschylus and Herodotus in the numbers of the Persian fleet.

18  
The allies,  
having suf-  
fered se-  
verely, de-  
termine to

᾽Ως δὲ διέστησαν<sup>35</sup>, ἄσμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐς ὄρμον ἡπείγοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἰ ἡμίσειαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι

19  
retreat.  
Themisto-  
cles's plan  
to keep  
up the spi-  
rits of the  
men.

ἦσαν<sup>36</sup>, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Νόφ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὡς, εἰ ἀπορραγείη ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἴωνικὸν φύλον καὶ τὸ Καρικὸν, οἰοί τε εἴησαν τῶν λοιπῶν κατ'ὑπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλανόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ταύτῃ συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς δοκέει ἔχειν τινα παλάμην τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέως συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους· ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἔλεγε· τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοικῶν<sup>37</sup> καταθύειν ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι· (κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους·) παραίνεέ τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἐωντῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν κομίδης δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἀσυνέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρσεέ σφι ποιέειν καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακανσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες<sup>38</sup> παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προεσάξαντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποιήσαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα· Βάκιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός·

20  
The Eu-  
boeans suffer  
for their  
want of  
foresight.

Φράζεο βαρβαρόφωνον θῆαν ζυγὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλῃ  
βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἴγας.

τούτοισι δὲ οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεισι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι τότε παρευούσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμοις κακοῖσι, παρὴν σφι συμφορῇ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21  
News is  
brought of  
the disaster  
at Thermo-

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπραττον, παρὴν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος, Πολύας, γένους Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, (καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατήρες ἐτοίμου.)

<sup>35</sup> ὡς δὲ διέστησαν. S and V have οἱ δὲ ὡς διέσταναν.

<sup>36</sup> τῶν αἰ ἡμίσειαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν. One cannot help suspecting considerable exaggeration here. The action off Salamis took place too soon afterwards to allow the supposition that there was time to refit their crippled vessels, and yet the Athenian contingent there was

180 strong at least.

<sup>37</sup> Εὐβοικῶν. Gaisford prints Εὐβοεικῶν, following the majority of MSS. But S and V have the form in the text, which is the reading of all in vii. 192.

<sup>38</sup> οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, κ.τ.λ. Schweighäuser well remarks, that the proper place for this section appears to be immediately following § 4, above.

εἰ παλήσειε<sup>39</sup> ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμο-  
 πύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὥς δ' αὐτως ἦν Ἀβρώνυχος ὁ Λυσικλῆς, Ἀθηναῖος,  
 καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἐτοῖμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν  
 τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. οὗτος ὢν ὁ  
 Ἀβρώνυχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδεα<sup>40</sup>  
 καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς  
 ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῖντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι  
 ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι ὑστατοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀθηναῖων 22  
 δὲ νέας τὰς ἀριστα πλωούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς  
 ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις  
 γράμματα<sup>41</sup>, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ  
 Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο· τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε· “ἄνδρες  
 Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεέτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι<sup>42</sup>, καὶ  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων  
 γίνεσθε<sup>43</sup>. εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιῆσαι, ὑμέες δὲ ἔτι  
 καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε<sup>44</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ τῶν Καρῶν  
 δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιεέω· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἷόν τε  
 γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέβευχε<sup>45</sup> ἡ ὥστε  
 ἀπίσταςθαι, ὑμέες γε ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐβелоκα-  
 κέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γέγονατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη  
 πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε.” Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ

pyla, and  
 they make  
 an orderly  
 retreat.

Device of  
 Themisto-  
 cles to sow  
 dissension  
 among the  
 enemy's  
 forces.

<sup>39</sup> παλήσειε. HESYCHIUS explains this word by διαφθείρει, which the true reading has been supposed to be διαφθαρείη. The word παλέω appears to be an Ionic form of παλαίω, used in that sense in which the word κάμων is ordinarily found. Valcknaer doubtfully puts forward the conjecture ΤΙΠΤΑΙΣΕΙΕ (τι πταίσειε) for ΠΑΛΗΣΕΙΕ.

<sup>40</sup> Λεωνίδεα. F, both here and in § 15, above, has Λεωνίδην.

<sup>41</sup> ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα. Compare iv. 87: ἐντάμνων γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσυρία ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὰ. Elsewhere the word ἐγκολάπτω is used in the same sense. i. 93: καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκόλαπτο. 187: ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. The latter word is found in the SEPTUAGINT (3 Maccab. ii. 27) and elsewhere, but the former is peculiar to Herodotus.

<sup>42</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι. See vii. 150: οὐτε ὦν ἡμῶς οἶκος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ἐκστρατεύεσθαι. A

similar plea on the part of the Phœnicians seems to have been allowed by Cambyses. (iii. 19.)

<sup>43</sup> γίνεσθε. S has ἔσεσθε, which is unquestionably no corruption, but a genuine variant.

<sup>44</sup> ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε, “be neutral.” Compare iii. 83: οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφι οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθῆστο. iv. 118: ὁμοῖς ὦν μηδενὶ τρέψω ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατῆμενοι περιῖδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, and below, § 73: αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκατάστο. For the use of ἡμῖν in combination with this phrase, see note 318 on ii. 113. It is not pleonastic, for the interests of the European Greeks were much affected by the neutrality of the Ionians.

<sup>45</sup> ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέβευχε. This expression has a very poetical colouring. Compare ÆSCHYLUS (*Prometh.* 108: ἀνδγάκας ταῖσδ' ἐπέβευμαι τάλας. SOPHOCLES (*Philoct.* 1025): κλοπῇ τε κἀνάγκῃ συγχεῖς ἐπὶ δὲ δμ' αὐτοῖς.

ταῦτα ἔγραψε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα νοέων ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλέειν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐωνυτῶν, ἢ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας<sup>46</sup> καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.

23

The next day the invading fleet advances as far as Hisiæa, and overrun the hamlets on the coast.

Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοῖα ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαιεὺς, ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀπιστίας τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νῆας δὲ ταχείας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοφρομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ<sup>47</sup> ἅμα ἡλίφ σκιδναμένῳ<sup>48</sup> πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπλῶε ἄλλης ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπλῶον ἐς Ἰστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης, γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαίης· τὰς παραθαλασσίας κώμας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

24

Xerxes allows leave of absence to visit the field of Thermopylae, after burying nineteen-twentieths of his own dead.

Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων, Ξέρξης ἐτοιμασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς, ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα· προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐωνυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες· ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς, τάφρους ὀρυζάμενος, ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμυσάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθῇσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κήρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε· “ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμῶν παραδίδωσι, ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνόητους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἠλπισαν τὴν βασιλείας δύνανιν ὑπερβαλέεσθαι.” Ταῦτα ἐπαγγεिलाμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγένετο

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πλοίων σπανιώτερον οὕτω πολλοὶ ἤθελον θεήσεσθαι· διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθήευντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστάτο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ

<sup>46</sup> ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας. See note on ix. 98.

<sup>47</sup> οὕτω δὴ, “then, at last.” See note 22 on i. 5.

<sup>48</sup> ἅμα ἡλίφ σκιδναμένῳ. The metaphor is apparently the same as that which is expressed more fully by ÆSCHYLUS: πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ ἁκτύως (*Pers.*

502); and appears yet more distinctly in LUCRETIUS's “Sol lumine conserit arva,” and MILTON's “Morn sowing the earth with orient pearl.”

<sup>49</sup> Ἰστιαίητιδος. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V, the other MSS having the form Ἰστιαιώτιδος. See note 63 on iv. 20.

Θεσπίας, ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς εἴλωτας· οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ γελοῖον ἦν τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ, πάντες ἑκάτο ἄλλες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τῶντὸ χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες<sup>50</sup>. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θένῃ ἐτράποντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραῇ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλωον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμέατο.

\* Ἦκον δὲ σφὶ αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας ὀλίγοι τινὲς, βίου 26  
 τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι· ἄγοντες δὲ τοὺς ἐς  
 ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ  
 ποίκοιεν· εἰς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτέων αὐτοὺς ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ  
 σφὶ ἔλεγον, ὥς Ὀλύμπια ἄγοιεν καὶ θεωροῖεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ  
 ἵππικόν· ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἴη σφὶ κείμενον περὶ ὅθεν  
 ἀγωνίζονται· οἱ δ' εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον<sup>51</sup>.  
 ἐνθαῦτα εἰπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρτα-  
 βάνου<sup>52</sup>, δειλίην ὥφλε πρὸς βασιλέος· πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ  
 ἄεθλον ἐὼν στέφανον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἡνέσχετο σιγῶν εἰπέ  
 τε ἐς πάντας τάδε· “παπαί, Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἥγαγες  
 μαχισσομένους ἡμέας, οἱ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῖνται,  
 ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς.” τοῦτ' αὖ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἶρητο.

\* Ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ τε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα 27  
 ἐγεγονέε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφὶ  
 ἐνέχοντες<sup>53</sup> αἰεὶ χόλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα·  
 ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιῇ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμ-  
 μαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης  
 τῆς βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἐσσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκῶν καὶ

<sup>50</sup> τέσσερες χιλιάδες. It would seem from these numbers (which are the same as those of the inscription, vii. 228), that in the apprehension of the writer, the Spartans were attended by at least the full complement of Helots, seven to each hoplite; and also—a more difficult supposition—that these were animated by the same spirit as their masters.

<sup>51</sup> τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. The use of the article is not to be overlooked, showing the notorious character of the prize. “He asked further, what the prize was which they staked? and they told him of the olive crown which

is given. See note 490 on iv. 192.

<sup>52</sup> Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. See note 251 on vii. 82. But the MSS, with the exception of S, which is followed by Valla, have Τριγάνης. I have given the reading of Gaisford, although by no means convinced that it is to be preferred to that of the majority of MSS. See note 494 on ii. 160, and 367 on iv. 144.

<sup>53</sup> ἐνέχοντες. This is the reading of S and V, and is adopted by Gaisford. The other MSS have ἔχοντες. In vii. 119, all without exception have ἐνεῖχε σφὶ δεινὸν χόλον. In i. 118 there is an equal unanimity for the anomalous form ἐνεῖχε.



περιεφθσαν τρηχέως· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Πάρνησόν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην<sup>44</sup> τὸν Ἥλειον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιούνδε γυνῶσας<sup>45</sup> ἄνδρας ἑξακοσίου τῶν Φωκῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι προεΐπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους ὦν αἱ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτῇ ἢ στρατιῇ, οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας· τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισείας ἐς Ἄβας<sup>46</sup> ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτῃ ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστέωτες<sup>47</sup>, ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι· καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἀβησι ἀνακέαται. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες, πολιορκέοντας ἐωντούς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ

28

on two occasions

<sup>44</sup> Τελλίην. There appears to have been a family of *Telliadae* at Elis, one of whom, Hegesistratus, was also a seer (ix. 37).

<sup>45</sup> γυνῶσας. It is an error to suppose that this device had no other object than that of terrifying the enemy. The instructions given: τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται τοῦτον κτείνειν, show plainly that the aim of Tellias was to give his troops the means of recognizing one another without using the watchword, which would have destroyed the *prestige* of their appearance.

<sup>46</sup> ἐς Ἄβας. See note 141 on i. 46.

<sup>47</sup> οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστέωτες. For the use of the article see note 490 on iv. 192. PAUSANIAS describes two groups of figures set up at Delphi in commemoration of the successes of the Phocians over the Thesalians. The one of these was the work of Aristomedon the Argive (whom SILLIG places in the 74th Olympiad). Its subject is not named by Pausanias, but he describes it as containing statues of Apollo and Tellias the seer, of the leaders of the Phocian force, and some of the *ἥρωες ἐπιχώριοι* (x. 1. 10). But the occasion on which this group was set up was not, according to Pausanias, the defeat described by Herodotus in the text. That,

according to him, took place afterwards (x. 1. 11). In another passage he describes a second group, likewise set up by the Phocians in consequence of their success under Tellias. Apollo and Heracles are represented as contending for the tripod; while Athene is endeavouring to moderate the anger of Heracles, and Antemis and Leto that of Apollo. The figure of Athene was said to be the work of Chionis, the others of Diyllus and Amyclæus,—all three Corinthians (x. 13. 7). Sillig cannot with any certainty fix the dates of these three artists; but he assumes that the group was put up soon after the transaction. But if Herodotus had found two monuments of the two defeats, it is unlikely he should mention one, and only one. And if he only found one, it can scarcely have been any but the work of Aristomedon. (See note on ix. 81, below.) Supposing it to have been this, it will follow that between the time of Herodotus and that of Pausanias, the story of the Delphic *ciceroni* will have varied,—the same trophy being referred to different events. That such should be the case is very natural; but its likelihood is a matter often lost sight of in estimating the historical value of temple-traditions. See note 449 on ii. 148.

ἥ ἐστὶ κατὰ 'Τάμπολιν', ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες, ἀμφορέας κεινοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιάσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ, ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας· οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας, φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν. Τούτων δὴ σφί ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον<sup>29</sup> οἱ Θεσσαλοί, 29 πέμπαντες κήρυκα ἠγόρευον τάδε· "ὦ Φωκέες, ἤδη τι μᾶλλον endeavour to extort a compensation of fifty talents from them. ἠγνώσκειτε μὴ εἶναι ὁμοῖοι ἡμῖν· πρόσθεν τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι "Ελλάσσι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἦνδανε, πλεον αἰεὶ κοτε ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτον δυνάμεθα, ὥστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῆς γῆς τε ἐστερηθῆσαι καὶ πρὸς ἠνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας· ἡμέες μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν· ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω αὐτ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποτρέψειν."

Ταῦτα σφί ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί· (οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μοῖνοι 30 τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὡς ἐγὼ The Phocians refuse, συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν<sup>30</sup>. εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ 'Ελλήνων ηὔξον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμῆδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες·) ταῦτα ἐπαγγελιομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα παρέχειν τέ σφί Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι<sup>31</sup>· προδοταὶ τῆς 'Ελλάδος. 'Επειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι, ἐγένοντο ἠγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεῶν στεινὸς<sup>32</sup> ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος 31 and the Thessalians lead the invading army from Trachis, through Doris and Phocia.

<sup>29</sup> ἥ ἐστὶ κατὰ 'Τάμπολιν. This is the high road which led from Opus in Locria over the mountains to Orchomenus in Boeotia. There was a branch from it near Hyampolis which led to Abae, lying at a short distance on the right hand. (Pausanias x. 35. 1.)

<sup>30</sup> ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον. Exactly the same expression is used below (ix. 110): τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον. The word ἔγκοτος is a substantive, exactly equivalent to κότος. See vi. 133: ἀτάρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοις.

<sup>31</sup> κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν, "in

accordance with their hatred of the Thessalians." Compare ix. 37: κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.

<sup>32</sup> ἐκόντες εἶναι. Compare ix. 7: οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἶναι, and above (vii. 104 and 164), ἐκὼν εἶναι.

<sup>33</sup> ποδεῶν στεινός, "a narrow spur." The same word (ποδεῶν) is used of the protruding corners of the wineskins (ii. 121), which, being the legs of the animal whose skin is used, jut out from the body in the same way that the ridge on which the Doric Tetrapolis lay does from the main range.

καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας, ἥπερ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς<sup>63</sup>. ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων<sup>64</sup> τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι

32 ἐμῆδιζόν τε γὰρ, καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὁμίλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἡ κορυφή κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν<sup>65</sup> κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς<sup>66</sup>. Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὲ ἀνηνέικαντο<sup>67</sup>, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν· οἱ δὲ πλεῖνεις αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισ-

The invaders over-run the whole of Phocia,

σαν πόλιν, τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκομένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἤγον τὸν στρατὸν ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά<sup>67</sup>.

33 Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν, ἐδήτουν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρύμον πόλιν, κατὰ δὲ Χαράδρην, καὶ Ἐρωχον, καὶ Τεθρώνιον, καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν<sup>68</sup>, καὶ Νέωνα, καὶ Πεδίεας, καὶ Τριτέας, καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, καὶ Ἱάμπολιν<sup>69</sup>, καὶ Παρα-

and taking the line of the valley of the Cephissus, burn the towns

<sup>63</sup> Δρυοπίς. The manuscripts S and V have Δρυοπίης. But in i. 56 the form in the text is supported by all the MSS.

<sup>64</sup> ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων. The meaning of the writer is, apparently, not that this district was the primitive seat of the Peloponnesian Dorians, but that they came into Peloponnesus from thence. Any stricter interpretation would be quite incompatible with the ethnographic notice in i. 56, from which it would appear that the reputed primitive seat of the Dorian race was Phthiotis in Thessaly. Compare too the expression: ὑστατα ὁρμηθέντες, § 43, below.

<sup>65</sup> κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν. PAUSANIAS, who in his description of Phocia continually refers to this part of Herodotus's work, remarks, that in the "oracles of Bacis" the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are called *Tithoreans*: and he conjectures that the town Tithorea (which existed in his time) was formed by the aggregation of their hamlets, and that its name extruded the one of *Neon*. As Neon was burnt by the invaders, this is not an improbable conjecture; but the expression of Herodotus indicates that the town Neon existed in his time. In the time

of Pausanias there was a fair held here twice a year in honour of *Isis*,—a circumstance which indicates considerable communication with Egypt. The staple of the place seems to have been perfumes made from the oil and the herbs grown in the vicinity (x. 32. 8—19).

<sup>66</sup> κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, "insulated." Compare ii. 2: ἐν στέγγι δὲ ἐρήμῳ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν κέεσθαι.

<sup>67</sup> ἀνηνέικαντο. The words τὰ χρήματα, or τὴν οὐσίαν, or some analogous expression, are understood. Compare iii. 148: ἀπικόμενος δ' ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενεκάμενος τὰ ἔχον ἐξεχώρησε. A similar ellipse of the accusative appears below (§ 36).

<sup>68</sup> καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά. Instead of these words, S has κατέκαιον.

<sup>69</sup> Ἀμφίκαιαν. PAUSANIAS calls this town Ἀμφίικεια, but intimates that it was corrupted by the local pronunciation into *Orphitea*, which Amphicea might, but Amphicea hardly could have been. A legend was given for this corrupted name, connected with the worship of a Dionysus-Æsculapius (x. 33. 9).

<sup>69</sup> καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, καὶ Ἱάμπολιν. The road from Elatea to Hyampolis and Abae was a mere mountain-path. It is scarcely

ποταμίους<sup>70</sup>, καὶ Ἀβας ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, and temple, among  
 θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον ἦν δὲ which is the  
 καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ, χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν Δαε.  
 συλήσαντες ἐνέπρῃσαν<sup>71</sup>· καὶ τινὰς διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων  
 πρὸς τοῖσι οὖρεσι· καὶ γυναικάς τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ  
 πλήθεος.

Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀπίκοντο ἐς 34  
 Πανοπέας· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἤδη<sup>72</sup> διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν The main  
 ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἅμα enters Boe-  
 αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας, ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἐς ticia by Or-  
 γῆν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμῆδιξε· τὰς δὲ chomenus,

conceivable that more than a detachment of the Persian army could have accompanied the Thessalians through Phocis. PAUSANIAS mentions the very great scarcity of water both at Charadra and at Hyampolis. In the latter place there was only one spring, and at the former the people were obliged to fetch what they wanted from the *Charadrus*, three *stadæ* off. The Panopeans likewise had no spring (x. 4. 1).

<sup>70</sup> Παραποταμίους. PAUSANIAS questions the fact of there ever having been a town of this name, and says that the people called by the name were the inhabitants of the banks of the Cephissus,—by far the most fertile land in all Phocis. He adds, that neither are there any ruins of *Parapotamia*, nor any tradition of its former site (x. 33. 7). But the description of Herodotus does not seem to imply a town. Probably the invaders burnt all the hamlets.

<sup>71</sup> τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρῃσαν. This outrage was perhaps mainly owing to the hatred of the Thessalians, who remembered the defeat they had suffered in the neighbourhood (§ 27, above). But the temple may also have had some importance as a military position; for in the sacred war some fugitive Phocians took refuge in its ruins, and the Thebans burnt them, temple and all, which they would hardly have been obliged to do, had not the place proved a strong fortification. The emperor Hadrian built a smaller temple by the side of the old one. (PAUSANIAS, x. 35. 3.)

<sup>72</sup> ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἤδη. It is not easy to conceive that this statement is exactly a correct one. See note 69, above. The

greater part of the army must have moved by the sea-road for the sake of supplies. Perhaps at the time Herodotus is now speaking of, we may conceive the front of the invading army extended along the line from Panopeus through Hyampolis to Opus. A portion of this,—that which Herodotus has been describing,—would have come into position at Panopeus by marching through Doris and Phocis. From this portion the expedition sent against Delphi would necessarily be detached. It seems possible that the real object of the expedition was rather to get the temple into the hands of the Thessalians than to destroy it. The Delphic oracle had, at any rate in later times, the reputation of not having been ill-affected towards the Persians. When Themistocles was desirous of making an offering at Delphi out of his share of the Persian spoils, the priestess desired him to take the offering out of the temple, saying:

μή μοι Περσῆος σκύλων περικαλλέα  
 κόσμον  
 νηφ' ἐγκαταθῆς· οἰκόνδ' ἀπόπεμπε τά-  
 χιστα.

Two accounts were given of this; the one, that the deity, being aware that Themistocles would at a future time become a suppliant of the Persian king, wished to prevent him from committing the offence of making an offering from Persian spoils; the other, that, if those who made offerings from this source had, like Themistocles, asked the deity's permission beforehand, every one would have been equally rejected. (PAUSANIAS, x. 14. 5.)

35 while a detachment proceeds against Delphi, Xerxes having heard much of the treasures there, especially of the offerings of Ctesus.

πόλις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἔσωζον δὲ, τῇδε βουλόμενοι δῆλον ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονόειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο. Ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, ὀρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρηγιστὸν ἀπέργοντες· ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσινάμωρεον καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ Δαυλίων, καὶ Αἰολιδέων<sup>73</sup>. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅπως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδίδειν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἡπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

- 36 Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωδίην ἀπῆκατο· ἐν δέσματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες, ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν; ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι<sup>74</sup>. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, σφέων αὐτῶν περὶ ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιὴν διέπεμψαν αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρηγιστοῦ τὰς κορυφάς, καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον<sup>75</sup> ἀννείκαντο· οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον πάντες δὲ ὦν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ
- 37 τοῦ προφήτεω. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρεον τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνευγμένα ἱρὰ, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἄπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί·

The detachment is repulsed miraculously from the temple,

<sup>73</sup> Αἰολιδέων. This (or Αἰολιδων) is the reading of all the MSS, but it is certainly corrupt. Valcknaer conjectures very ingeniously that the true word is ΑΙΛΑΙΕΩΝ.

<sup>74</sup> προκατῆσθαι. The metaphor is taken from a sentinel on duty, who takes up his position in front of the post over which he is watching. In ix. 106 the full expression is used: Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας.

<sup>75</sup> ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον. RAIKES describes the entrance of the Corycian cave

as being very low and narrow, and opening out of a steep and bushy slope which is the northern boundary of a high table land, spreading out to a breadth of five or six miles. On getting in, the visitor finds himself at once in a large chamber 330 feet long by 200 wide, abounding in stalactites and stalagmites. A narrow, wet passage in a descending direction led out of this, but Raikes was deterred from going further by fear of the failure of his torch (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 313).

ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρϑοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας<sup>16</sup>. οἱ δὲ  
 βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Προνηΐης  
 Ἀθηναίης, ἐπυγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου  
 τέρεος· θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὅπλα ἀρήϊα αὐτό-  
 ματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωυμάσαι  
 μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν  
 τῆς Προνηΐης<sup>17</sup> Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ  
 αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο  
 κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῶ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ κατέλαβον  
 συχνοὺς σφρων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλα-  
 γμὸς ἐγένετο. Συμμυγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρ- 38  
 βάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε· μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφας,  
 ἐκικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πληθὸς τι αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ περιέοντες ἰθὺ<sup>18</sup>  
 Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων  
 θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέζοντας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας<sup>19</sup>  
 ἔπεσθαι σφι, κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο 39  
 Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φυλάκον τε καὶ Αὐτό-  
 νοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἶρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν  
 τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας  
 τῆς Κασταλῆς, ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥαμπεῖ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σοοί, ἐν τῷ τεμένει  
 τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρ-

38

39

two local  
 heroes, *Phy-*  
*lactus* and  
*Autonous*,  
 taking part  
 in the con-  
 flict.

A memorial  
 of the event  
 remains in  
 two huge

<sup>16</sup> ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦε, κ.τ.λ. When the Thebans were hesitating whether or not to give battle to the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, their courage was raised by intelligence brought them from Thebes, that the doors of all the temples had opened of their own accord, and that the sacred arms had disappeared from the Heraeum. (XENOPHON, *Hellenic*. vi. 4. 7.) They drew the same inference from this fact that the Delphians did from the statement of Aceratus. Valcknaer takes some pains to argue against the notion of Aceratus's act being a wilful imposture, and considers him to have been under the influence of enthusiasm. In such matters it is impossible exactly to draw the line where fanaticism ends and imposture be-

gins. THIRLWALL has some admirable remarks on this particular transaction (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 292).

<sup>17</sup> Προνηΐης. The MSS authorities do not enable one to decide between Προνηΐης and this reading, which seems undoubtedly the correct one in i. 92. Gaisford prints Προνηΐης in both passages.

<sup>18</sup> ἰθὺ. Several MSS have εἰθὺ.

<sup>19</sup> ἔχοντας. This is the reading of all the MSS. Matthiae changes it into ἐόντας, which certainly makes the construction smoother. But if the passage be corrupt, I should rather be inclined to correct it by reading μέζονας instead of μέζοντας, above.

stones fallen *βάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ*  
 from a sum- *ιροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται."*

40 *ναῶν δεθéntων, ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νῆας. τῶνδε δὲ*  
 nassus, with- *εἵνεκα προσεδεθήσαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι,*  
 in the pre- *ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς,*  
 cinct of *πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσῶνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ*  
 Athens *τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἐμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὡς*  
 Pronæa. *ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης· δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους*  
 The allied *πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν*  
 fleet falls *εὖρον οὐδὲν ἔδον, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας,*  
 back on *καὶ<sup>81</sup> τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου ποικευμένους περιεῖναι τε*  
*Salamis, to*  
*cover the*  
*evacuation*  
*of the Athe-*  
*nian terri-*  
*tory.*

41 *Σαλαμίνα. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα,*  
 Most of the *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπιξιν κήρυγμα*  
 Athenians *ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς*  
 fly to Træ- *οἰκέτας· ἐνθάυτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίζην<sup>82</sup> ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ*  
 zene, but  
 some to  
 Ægina and

<sup>80</sup> αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνε-  
 ται. Considerable difficulty has been oc-  
 casioned by the circumstance of PLU-  
 TARCH (*Numa*, § 9) incidentally men-  
 tioning the fact of the sacred fire in  
 the temple of Delphi having been ex-  
 tinguished τοῦ ναοῦ κατακρησθέντος  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Μήδων. But in all probability  
 the catastrophe in question was the one  
 when the temple was destroyed by fire  
 long before the Persian war, on which  
 occasion the Alcæonidæ got so much  
 reputation by rebuilding it. Either the  
 words ὑπὸ τῶν Μήδων are an interpolation  
 from the gloss of a mistaken commentator,  
 or Plutarch's memory failed him, and he  
 confused the times of the two events.  
 It is however possible that the rumour of  
 the temple having been burnt by the  
 Pisistratids (see note 154 on v. 62) after-  
 wards became transmuted into an account  
 of its being burnt by the Persians at their  
 instance.

<sup>81</sup> καί. I have followed the authority  
 of S. Gaisford prints ἐς with the majority  
 of MSS. On the same ground he puts  
 the particle τε after πλείστου instead of  
 περιεῖναι.

<sup>82</sup> οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίζην. The

feeling no doubt would have prevailed  
 that within the *isthmus* the safety for  
 refugees would be greater. But besides  
 this, Troezen was sacred to Poseidon, the  
 deity who (under the name of Erechtheus)  
 was—prior to the time of Pisistratus—  
 perhaps the most important tutelary deity  
 of Athens; and the sentiment would be  
 strong, at any rate among a part of the  
 population, that in going to Troezen they  
 would be falling back upon the protection  
 of the god of their forefathers. For the  
 little island Calauræa, only four *stadæ*  
 from the coast, was to the Poseidon-wor-  
 shippers as sacred as Delos was to the  
 Apollo-worshippers. It contained a tem-  
 ple of Poseidon, to which were attached  
 rights of sanctuary; and the legend ran  
 that Poseidon had given Pytho to Apollo  
 in exchange for Tænarus, and Delos to  
 Latona in exchange for Calauræa. (STRABO,  
 viii. c. 6, p. 203.) This legend is a  
 symbolical way of representing a religi-  
 ous union between two races, so far at  
 least as to produce a reciprocal reverence  
 for their chief sanctuaries. ERPHORUS  
 gives a reputed oracle embodying this  
 principle:—

ἐς Αἴγινα, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα<sup>53</sup>. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι<sup>54</sup>, *Salamis, principally induced to leave Athens by a portent which occurred in the acropolis.*  
 τῷ χρηστηρῷ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἦκιστα λέγουσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιατείεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ λέγουσι τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἔοντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες<sup>55</sup>. τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστιν αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτόεσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισισμούμενη, τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος σημηγνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελουπλῆς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν<sup>56</sup>. ὡς δὲ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

<sup>53</sup> ἴσον τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαυρεῖαν τε νέμεσθαι,

Πυθὸν τ' ἡγαθήν καὶ Ταΐραρον ἡμεμέντα,

and the device of "Arion on his dolphin" was apparently a representation to the eye of the same kind of thing. (See note 85 on i. 24.) In the island Calauria there was anciently an Amphictyonic gathering of deputies from the seven cities, Hermione, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, Prasie, Nauplia, and Minyean Orchomenus. Argos in after times stood in the place of Nauplia, and Lacedæmon of Prasie. (ΣΤΡΑΒΟ, viii. p. 204.)

<sup>54</sup> οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγινα, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. These would probably be in a great measure the members of the tribe *Æantis*. See note 168 on v. 66.

<sup>55</sup> ὑπεκθέσθαι. Some of the MSS have after this word *πειθόμενοι*, which Schweighäuser has supposed with much plausibility to be a mere gloss of βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν.

<sup>56</sup> ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες. The supposition that the offering thus regularly made served as the food for the tutelary deity may be paralleled by the similar superstition at Babylon relative to *Bel*, which the prophet Daniel so successfully detected. But this was not the case in many instances of the like kind which appear in pagan antiquity. At Alexandria certain cakes, which went by the name of *ἐγκρυφίαι*, and were dedicated to Cronus, were set out in his temple for every one that liked to partake of. (DIOCLAS, *ap. Athenæum*, iii. p. 110.) The fish that were daily offered to Atergatis were consumed by the priests as a matter of course. (MNASSEAS, *ap. eund.* viii. p. 346.) Likewise the shew-bread (*ἄρτοι*

*προθέσεις*) of the Israelites seems to have been the ordinary sustenance of the officiating priests, after remaining a certain time upon the table where it was offered. Compare *Exod.* xiv. 30 with 1 *Sam.* xxi. 4—6.

<sup>56</sup> ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελουπλῆς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. The prevailing feeling of antiquity was that the tutelary gods of a town must abandon it before it could be destroyed; and that if they did abandon it, its destruction would inevitably follow. Hence the prayer of the panic-stricken Chorus in *ÆSCHYLUS (Theb. 203)* :—

μή ποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶνα λίποι θεῶν  
 ἔδε πανάγυρις, μήδ' ἐπιδοίμι τάνδ'  
 ἀστυδρομούμενην πόλιν καὶ στρατεύμ'  
 ἀπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐφ.

So *Æneas (Æneid. ii. 351)* announces the capture of Troy to his companions in the words—

"Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis  
 Dī quibus imperium hoc steterat,"

a catastrophe which EURIPIDES makes the tutelary god Poseidon declare for himself :—

ἐγὼ δὲ—νικῶμαι γὰρ Ἀργείας θεοῦ  
 ἥρας Ἀθῶνας θ', αἱ συνεξείλον Φρύγας,  
 λείπων τὸ κλεινὸν Ἴλιον βωμοῦς τ' ἑμοῖς.  
 (*Troad. 23.*)

A formula for *evoking* the gods of a hostile city was in use by the Romans in the earliest times, which MACROBIUS has extracted from "the very ancient book" of one *Furius*. (*Saturnalia*, iii. 9.) In it the deities are promised that no less honours than they have been accustomed to shall be paid them if they will consent to migrate to Rome. (See also VERGIUS



42

On the allied fleet arriving at Salamis, fresh succours come in of the contingents

'Επεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροίξηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πάγωνα τὸν Τροίξηνίων λιμένα προεῖρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῶ πλευνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχουν, καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πλευνῶν. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὴν ὧντὸς ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιύτης οὐ μέντοι γένεός γε τοῦ βασιλῆτου ἑὼν νέας δὲ πολλῶ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωούσας

43

from the Peloponnesian states, making eighty-nine ships in all.

παρεῖχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἷδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκαδέκα νῆας παρεχόμενοι· Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι τὸ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ πεντεκαδέκα παρεῖχοντο νῆας· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα· Τροίξηνιοι δὲ πέντε· Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς· ἐόντες οὗτοι, πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων, Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρинеοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες<sup>87</sup>. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰςὶ Δρύοπες<sup>88</sup>, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες. οὗτοι μὲν νυν Πελοποννησίῳν ἐστρατεύοντο. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἑξω ἡπείρου Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν, πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους<sup>89</sup> παρεχόμενοι νῆας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν<sup>90</sup>,

These states, except Hermione, which is Dryopian, are all Dorian.

44

List of contingents

οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἑξω ἡπείρου Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν, πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους<sup>89</sup> παρεχόμενοι νῆας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν<sup>90</sup>,

FLACCUS, *ap. Plin. N. H.* xviii. 2.) To capture a town without evoking the tutelary gods in due form was considered a horrible sacrilege, which brought a judgment with it; and consequently the real name both of Rome and of the tutelary deity was kept carefully concealed, lest an invader should take advantage of it. (MACROBIUS, l. c.)

<sup>87</sup> Ὑστατα ὀρμηθέντες. See note 64 on § 31, above.

<sup>88</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰςὶ Δρύοπες . . ἐξαναστάντες. The ancient city of Hermione was situated on a promontory about seven stades long, and not more than three in its broadest part (PAUSANIAS, ii. 34. 9); and the temples which Pausanias found there—all surrounded with cyclopeic walls—were sacred to Demeter, Athene, Helios, and the Charites; all of them, therefore, as well as one of Poseidon lower down, belonging to a different religious system from that of the Heraclide Dorians. There was also a stadium, with the tradition that the sons of Tyndarus had run there. In the more modern town, besides other deities proper to a

maritime population, there were temples of Apollo, one under the name of Pythaeus. But the non-Dorian population obviously predominated; and the traditions of former hostilities doubtless kept up a hatred of race. Asine in Laconia, which is coupled with Hermione as Dryopian (below, § 73), was founded by refugees from the town of the same name in Argolis, which was utterly destroyed by the Argives in revenge for its inhabitants having joined the Lacedaemonians in laying waste their territory. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 36. 4.) ARISTOTLE made the eponymous founder *Dryops* an Arcadian (*ap. Strabon.* viii. c. 6, p. 203), an origin which indicates a close ethnical affinity between the Argolic Dryopians and the primitive population of the Peloponnese. See more in note 270 on vii. 90.

<sup>89</sup> πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους. Compare ii. 35: ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χάρην. iii. 94: φόρον ἀπαγίρειον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους.

<sup>90</sup> ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. THUCYDIDES makes the Athenians boast to the Lacedaemonians of having furnished

μοῦνοι<sup>91</sup>. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ συνενναυμάχησαν Πλαταιεὺς Ἀθη- from the  
ναίοισι, διὰ τοιούδε πρήγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ other states,  
τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὥς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιεὺς ἀπο-  
βάντες ἐς τὴν περαιὴν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώρας<sup>92</sup> πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν  
ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετῶν. οὗτοι μὲν νῦν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλείφθη-  
σαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα  
καλεομένην, ἦσαν Πελασγοὶ οὐνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέ-  
κροπος βασιλεὺς ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι<sup>93</sup>. ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ  
Ἐρεχθεὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ  
ἑοῦθου στρατάρχου γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι, ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου  
Ἴωνες. Μεγαρεὺς δὲ τὸντὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο τὸ καλὸν ἐπ' 45  
Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Ἀμπρακῖώται δὲ ἐπὶ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβώθησαν  
Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς· ἔθνος ἑόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου<sup>94</sup>.

"nearly two-thirds of the whole fleet of 400 gallees" which fought at Salamis (i. 74). Herodotus gives as the aggregate 378; so that the Athenian contingent in his view was something less than the half (below, § 48). The sum of the separate squadrons which he gives amounts to only 366; but this perhaps admits of an explanation. (See note 101, below.) Ctesias puts the Hellenic fleet at 700, but there must certainly be some error in this number (*ap. Photium*, p. 39).

<sup>91</sup> μόνον, "by themselves," i. e. independently of the Plataeans. It is a striking circumstance that the Athenians should have been able to bring so large a number of ships into action, if there be not a great exaggeration in the former statement (§ 18), that one-half their gallees were crippled in the last battle which took place at Artemisium. Doubtless the Athenians bore the brunt of that engage-  
ment.

<sup>92</sup> ἐς τὴν περαιὴν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώρας, "into the Boeotian territory on the opposite shore." One manuscript (V) has the reading *περιήν* for *περαιήν*, an obvious corruption, although adopted by Valla's translation.

<sup>93</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν . . . Κεκροπίδαι. Koen, in a letter to Valckner, argued that there was an extensive corruption in this passage, from the circumstance that Cecrops is placed by Apollodorus before Cranaus (*Biblioth.* iii. 14. 1—5). Assuming that the pedigree, as given by the Alexandrine grammarian, must possess absolute authority,

he proposes as a conjecture in the text : ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν . . . ἦσαν Πελασγοὶ οὐνομαζόμενοι· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλεὺς ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, καὶ ἐπὶ Κραναοῦ Κραναοί. But, independently of the violence of the change, it is plain that its desirability rests entirely upon forgetfulness that the mythological genealogies of Apollodorus are a factitious arrangement, without any real pretension to historical correctness. In numberless instances, of which this is one, particular local traditions were quite opposed to them, and nothing has conduced so much to obscure Hellenic archaeology as the neglect to recognize this fact. (Compare note 415 on ii. 139.) It so happens that SCYMNIUS CHIUUS (*Perieg.* vv. 558—564) shows by his quotation of the substance of this passage, that he found the text of Herodotus in the same condition as that of the present day.

<sup>94</sup> ἔθνος ἑόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου. This refers both to the Ambraciots and the Leucadians. Ambracia is said to have been founded by Tolgus, a son of Cypselus, and consequently brother of the celebrated Periander. (STRABO, vii. 7, p. 120.) See note 264 on v. 92. THUCYDIDES calls Leucadia a Corinthian colony (i. 30); and its foundation probably belongs to the time of the Cypselid dynasty, which appears to have had influence over the whole west of European Hellas as far as Corcyra. (See above, iii. 52.) It is observable that Herodotus does not speak of Leucadia as an island, although it was at one time made so by

- 46 Νησιωτέων δὲ, Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα<sup>95</sup> παρείχοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμένοι νῆες· ἀλλὰ τῆσι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον<sup>96</sup>, τριήκοντα δὲ τῆσι ἄριστα πλωούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσι Δωριεῖς ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου τῇ δε νήσῳ πρότερον οὖνομα ἦν Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινῆτας, Χαλκιδεῖς τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἑρετριεῖς τὰς ἐπτά· οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνές εἰσι. μετὰ δὲ, Κεῖοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐὼν Ἴωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας<sup>97</sup>, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰπερ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπικατο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Δημοκρίτου<sup>98</sup> σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσι Ἴωνες, ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρεῖς δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νῆας τὰς καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύνιοι<sup>99</sup> δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον ἔοντες συναμφοτέροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες· καὶ Σερίφιοι τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδωσαν μῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρ-  
 47 βάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γάρ εἰσι ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτῃσι καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἳ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων, Κροτωνῆται μῦνοι ἦσαν οἳ ἐβώθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ,

digging through the isthmus, and is so at the present day. In the time of STRABO a bridge connected it with the main-land (x. c. 2, p. 332).

<sup>95</sup> τριήκοντα. Larcher proposes to read δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, in order to make the numbers square with the total of Herodotus. PAUSANIAS states that the Æginetans furnished the largest contingent next to the Athenians (ii. 29. 5). As the Corinthians contributed forty, the Æginetans must (Larcher thinks) have furnished some number greater than this. But Pausanias perhaps followed some other authority in the number he gives; and the total may be otherwise accounted for. See note 101 on § 48, below.

<sup>96</sup> τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον. The island Ægina was well protected against an enemy by the submarine rocks and shoals which surrounded it; and of all the Hellenic islands was the most difficult to make. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 29. 6.) Hence only a small number of vessels was re-

quired to defend it, and this appears not improbably to have been *twelve* on the present occasion.

<sup>97</sup> παρείχοντο τέσσερας. PLUTARCH (*de Malign. Herod.* § 36) read *τρεῖς* in the MS he used. HELLANICUS, he says, had related that the Naxians voluntarily sent *six* to the aid of the Hellenic confederates.

<sup>98</sup> Δημοκρίτου. According to an epigram of SIMONIDES (*ap. Plutarch. de Malign. Herod.* § 36), this individual highly distinguished himself in the action:—

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρε μάχης, ὅτε παρ' Σαλαμῖνα

Ἕλληνας Μήδοις σύμβalon ἐν πελάγει, πέντε δὲ νῆας ἔλεν θηῶν, ἔκτην δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν ῥύσατο βαρβαρικῶν Δωρίδ' ἀλίσκομένην.

<sup>99</sup> Κύνιοι. See note 270 on vii. 90.

νηὶ μῆϊ, τῆς ἥρχε ἀνὴρ τρεῖς πυθιονίης, Φαῦλλος. Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί<sup>100</sup>. Οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι 48 ἐστρατεύοντο, Μῆλιοι δὲ, καὶ Σίφνιοι, καὶ Σερίφιοι, πεντηκοντέρους· Μῆλιοι μὲν, γένος ἔοντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος, δύο παρείχοντο· Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι, Ἴωνες ἔοντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, μίαν ἑκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, παρέξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσαιοι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ<sup>101</sup>.

making the whole fleet up to 378 sail, besides a few penteconters.

<sup>100</sup> Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί. This notice is rather remarkable, although it is confirmed by ZENOBIOUS (*Proverb. Centur.* iii. 42), who calls Myscelus, the founder, a *Rhypean*. But on the other hand a coin of Crotona gives *Heracles* as the *οἰκιστής*; and OVID not only makes Myscelus set out on the expedition at the risk of his life under the special direction of *Heracles*, but calls him the son of Alemon of Argolis. (*Metamorph.* xv. 19.) Perhaps these discordant accounts may be reconciled by supposing the colony (which DIONYSIUS places in the second year of the seventeenth Olympiad) to be somewhat of the nature of that under Phalantus to Tarentum, i. e. to consist, as far as its chiefs were concerned, of the issue of a marriage of disparagement between the Heraclide invaders of Argolis and the Achæan population they found there, the great bulk being pure Achæans. The remaining members of the family of Alemon (*the wanderer*) may very probably have formed part of the exiles from Peloponnese who found refuge in the twelve towns of Achaia, and thus the *gens* may in after times have existed among the Rhyopes. At Sybaris the population was partly Achæan and partly Troezenian, and the city was founded only ten years before Crotona. The two neighbours appear to have lived amicably with one another until shortly before the total destruction of Sybaris related above (v. 44). The war which then broke out, was, according to ARISTOTLE (see note 108 on v. 44), connected with the expulsion of the non-Achæan by the Achæan part of the population. The presumption therefore would be that, contrariwise, in the hostile Crotona the Heraclide element prevailed over the Achæan. And this is confirmed by the coins, which in the case of Crotona have the infant *Heracles*, Here, and the *laurel-crowned* Apollo, while those of Sybaris bear the head of an ox, or the horned human head. (HOFFMANN, *Griech-*

*enland*, pp. 1938—41.) If this supposition be true, the war will have been exactly of the kind to attract the Lacedæmonian *Dorieus*. (See note 107 on v. 44.) It will have been a war of races, whose mutual antipathy finally burst forth in Sybaris by the expulsion of the Doric Troezenians, and the march of the Achæan population *en masse* upon Crotona, after massacring thirty Crotonian commissioners and casting their bodies to the dogs (PHYLARCHUS, *fr.* 45, ed. Didot.), a ferocity paralleled by the conduct of Cleomenes at Argos (vi. 79). Under such circumstances of mutual exasperation, it was not unnatural that Sybaris should be by the victorious Crotonians so entirely destroyed as to leave its very site obscure. It seems not impossible that *Phayllus*, the commander of the solitary galley which fought at Salamis, was himself descended from the Achæan portion of the original settlers of Crotona, and was as much disgusted with the predominance of the Dorian interest there, as the Spartan *Dorieus* had been with the triumph of the Achæan party at Lacedæmon. In this case, the statement that the Crotonians are Achæan may be a generalization from the crew of his ship and himself. PAUSANIAS speaks of Phayllus in terms which might induce one to believe he was actually living away from his own city: *ἐναυμάχησε καὶ ἐναντία τοῦ Μήδου, ναῦν τε παρασκευασάμενος οἰκίαν, καὶ Κροτωνιατῶν ὁπδοσοὶ ἐπεδήμουν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνεβίβασε* (x. 9. 2). If the crew were exiles of the Achæan party, the whole matter is explained.

<sup>101</sup> τριηκόσαιοι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ. The manuscripts S and V and Valla's version have the number 358, but neither sum agrees with the aggregate of the several contingents, which amounts to 366 *triremes* and 6 *penteconters*. The number 378, however, can hardly be a corruption; for another reference is made to it below (§ 82). Larcher considers

49 Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα συήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

A council of war is held, and it is proposed to give battle to the enemy's fleet at the isthmus.

εἰρημένων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέοντας Εὐρυβιάδew γνῶμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκέει ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσὶ· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀφείτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν περί προετίθεε· αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται συνεξέπιπτον, πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχεῖν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς, ἣν νικηθῶσι<sup>101</sup> τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἔοντες, πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται· πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται<sup>102</sup>.

50 Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων,

News comes that the whole of Attica is being wasted by the enemy.

ἐλήλυθε<sup>104</sup> ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἦκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπείων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότες ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὥσαύτως, ἠκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδήτουν· ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θεσπιάν<sup>103</sup> τε καὶ Πλαταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον.

51 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι

They enter Attica in the archonship of Calliades, just four months after commencing the

ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρέψαντες μῆνα, ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην<sup>106</sup>, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μῆνεσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδew ἄρχοντας Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἐρήμουν τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ

that the error is in the numbers assigned to the Æginetans (§ 46), which he would make 42 instead of 30, as PAUSANIAS (ii. 29. 6) asserts the Æginetan contingent to have been the most numerous next to the Athenian. I should rather consider that the balance of twelve is made up of those vessels with which the Æginetans are said to have guarded their own island, and which may have been regarded as a detachment from the allied fleet.

<sup>102</sup> ἣν νικηθῶσι. The majority of the MSS have εἰ νικηθῶσι, but S and V support the reading in the text. Εἰ with the subjunctive has a very different sense from that which is required here. See note 170 on i. 53, and note 151, a, on ii. 52.

<sup>103</sup> ἐξοίσονται. A similar use of the word is found below (§ 76): ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισόμενοι τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων.

<sup>104</sup> ἐλήλυθε. This is the reading of all

the MSS, but the conjecture of Matthiæ (ἐτλήλυθε), or of Bekker (ἐτλήλυθε), seems necessary.

<sup>105</sup> Θεσπιαν. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford follows the majority of MSS, which have Θεσπειαν.

<sup>106</sup> ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρέψαντες . . . ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. The actual time occupied by the transit of the Hellespont was seven days and seven nights (vii. 56). This passage therefore must not be construed too strictly. The month perhaps included the whole time from the arrival of the vanguard on the shore of the straits to the commencement of the march into Hellas after the review at Doriscus (vii. 59). It was not till then that the whole force of the army appears to have been ascertained, and the line of march assigned to each division. (See vii. 60, *ad fin.*)

έόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ<sup>107</sup> καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους· οἱ φραξά-  
 μνοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόν-  
 τας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα,  
 πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ  
 σφί ἐχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τείχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο  
 εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον, καὶ οὐ τὰς νῆας. Οἱ δὲ 52  
 Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος δ'χθον, τὸν  
 Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρῆιον πάγον<sup>108</sup>, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε·  
 ὅκως στυπεῖον περὶ τοὺς οἰστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ  
 φράγμα· ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἡμύνοντο,  
 καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι, καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προ-  
 δεδωκότος· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ  
 ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο· ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμνηχανέοντο καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ὀλοιτρόχους  
 ἀπίεσαν ὥστε Ξέρξεα ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι, οὐ  
 δυνάμενόν σφεας ἐλεῖν. Χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις 53  
 ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι· ἔμπροσθε ὦν  
 πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ  
 οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε, οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα  
 ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς  
 Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου<sup>109</sup>, καίτοιπερ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ  
 χώρου· ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω, καὶ  
 διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον· τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ

passage into  
Europe, and  
capture  
Athena.

Mode in  
which they  
attacked the  
fortification.

The gar-  
rison baffled  
them,

53  
but at last  
are surprised  
by escalade  
in a part of  
the rock  
which was  
thought in-  
accessible,

all de-  
stroyed, and  
the temple

<sup>107</sup> ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ, "treasurers of the temple." See SMITH'S *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*, sub v.

<sup>108</sup> Ἀρῆιον πάγον. The Areopagus was nearly opposite to the grotto of Pan spoken of above (vi. 106). The Aglaureum (or Agrauleum) must have been very near to this last, if not originally identical with it. See the next note.

<sup>109</sup> κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου. Two manuscripts (b, d) have Ἀγραύλου, which is perhaps not a corruption,—for this latter is etymologically connected with Ἀγρα and Ἀγροτέρα, the local names of the Attic Artemis, and it is the form used by EURIPIDES in the *Ion*: Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι (v. 54).

All the other MSS however have the form Ἀγλαύρου, and so has PAUSANIAS where he speaks of the legend of the nymph in question (i. 18. 2). LEAKE says that about seventy yards to the eastward of the cave of Pan (see note 241 on vi. 106) there is, in the midst of the Long Rocks and at the base of a precipice, a remarkable cavern. (*Athena and the Demia of Attica*, i. p. 266.) This he supposes to be the site mentioned in the text. Pausanias, however, represents the τέμενος of Aglaurus as above the *Anaceum*, or temple of the Dioscuri, and says that it was there the Persians scaled the acropolis (i. c.).

plundered  
and burnt.

ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες, τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐφόνεον ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστρωντο <sup>110</sup>, τὸ ἱρὸν συλίσαντες, ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν <sup>111</sup>.

Xerxes, on  
the next  
day, orders  
the exiles  
to offer the  
proper sacri-  
fices to the  
local dei-  
ties,

54 Σχὼν δὲ παντελῶς τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σούσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνφ ἄγγελέοντα τὴν παρεούσάν σφί εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τροπῇ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρά <sup>112</sup> ἀναβάοντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὄψω τιμὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθυμίων οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντα <sup>113</sup> τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν

and they  
discover the  
sacred olive  
to have  
made a new  
shoot of  
a cubit  
long.

55 Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. Τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς <sup>114</sup>, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἐν τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελεύόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὧρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος <sup>115</sup> ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

<sup>110</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστρωντο. The same expression is used in ix. 76, below: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι.

<sup>111</sup> ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. CICERO (*de Legg.* ii. 10) says that the *Magi* induced Xerxes to burn the temples of Greece on the ground that it was a wickedness to pretend to inclose deities within walls, the whole world being their proper habitation. In another passage (*De Repub.* iii. 9) he applies this particularly to the case of Athens. But although Cambyses might have acted on an iconoclastic feeling,—and probably did so in Egypt,—yet it seems unquestionable that a great deal of toleration for temple-worship, and perhaps for foreign religions, had grown up in the Medo-Persian court by this time. See the note 321 on vii. 114, and the *Excursus* on vii. 74, p. 435. Mardonius too consulted the oracle of the Ismenian Apollo, the Apollo Ptōus, the Apollo at Abœ, and also the shrines of Amphiaraus and Trophonius (viii. 134).

<sup>112</sup> τροπῇ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρά. See note 138 on ii. 49, and note 86 on § 41, above.

<sup>113</sup> ἐμπρήσαντα. This is the reading of P, K, F, b. Gaisford, with the rest of the MSS, reads ἐμπρήσαντι. Either is legitimate, but it is more likely that the symmetrical construction should have been introduced by a transcriber than the converse.

<sup>114</sup> νηός. This is the old Erechtheum. See note 208 on v. 77. The θάλασσα is a mineral spring of salt-water within the sacred precinct, which the tradition attributed to a blow of the trident of the Attic Poseidon, Erechtheus. (PAUSANIAS, i. 27. 6. APOLLODORUS, iii. 14. 1.)

<sup>115</sup> βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος. The sacred olive's character of indestructibility is probably what is alluded to in the verses of SOPHOCLES (*Œd. Col.* 688, seqq.):—

φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον αὐτόποιον  
ἐγχείων φόβημα δαῖων,  
ὃ τᾷδε θάλλει μέγιστα χώρα,  
γλαυκᾶς παιδοτρόφου φύλλον ἐλαίας,

Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληες, ὥς σφι ἔξαγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ 56  
 περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο On the  
 ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκειμένον news of  
 πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νῆας ἐσέπιπτον, καὶ ἰστία αἰέροντο ὡς a panic seizes  
 ἀποθευσόμενοι τοῖσι τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρέθη πρὸ τοῦ the allies.  
 Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ  
 συνεδρίου, ἐσέβαιων ἐς τὰς νῆας. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα 57  
 ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος<sup>116</sup>, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, Mnesiph-  
 ὃ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον; πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη Athenian,  
 δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νῆας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελο- represents  
 ποννήσου ναυμαχεῖν, εἶπε “οὔτοι ἄρα ἦν ἀπαίρωσι τὰς νῆας ἀπὸ to Themis-  
 Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ tocles the  
 πόλιν ἕκαστοι τρέφονται· καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν ruin that  
 δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος, ὥστε οὐ μὴ διασκεδασθῆναι would fol-  
 τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπολέται· τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλῆσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις low their  
 ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρώ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνῃ retreat from  
 ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ὥστε αὐτοῦ μενέειν.” Salamis,  
 Κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλείῃ ἤρесе ἡ ὑποθήκη· καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα 58  
 ἀμειψάμενος, ἦγε ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη and The-  
 θέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμίζειν· ὃ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νῆα ἐκέλευε misticles  
 ἐσβάντα λέγειν εἴ τι θέλει· ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενός induces  
 οἱ καταλέγει κείνᾳ τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἐαυτοῦ to call a  
 ποιούμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθεὶς· ἐς δ' ἀνέγνωσε χρητῶν fresh coun-  
 ἕκ τε τῆς νηὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συν- cil of war.  
 ἔδριον. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα προ- 59  
 θεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὺς ἦν He is in-  
 ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος· λέγοντος, insulted by  
 δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος<sup>117</sup> ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε, Adimantus,  
 “ὦ Θεμιστοκλέες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ραπί- the Corinth-  
 ζονται.” ὁ δὲ ἀπολλόμενος ἔφη “οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ and makes  
 a witty  
 reply.

and by EURIPIDES (*Ion*, 1433), where Crouse says:—

στέφανον ἑλίας ἀμφίθηκά σοι τότε  
 ἦν πρῶτ' Ἀθῶνα σκόπελον εἰσηνέγκατο·  
 ὅς, ἔπειρ' ἔστιν, οὐ ποτ' ἐκλείπει χλόην,  
 θάλλει δ' ἑλίας ἐξ ἀκηράτου γεγῶς.

The story had improved by the time of PAUSANIAS. The sacred plant was then said to have made a shoot two cubits long

on the same day (i. 27. 2).

<sup>116</sup> Μνησίφιλος. Of this Mnesiphilus, see PLUTARCH, quoted in note 99 on i. 30.

<sup>117</sup> Ἀδείμαντος. PLUTARCH in one passage (*Themist.* § 11) attributes this rebuke to Eurybiades; but in another (*Apophthegmata*, p. 185) puts it into the mouth of Adimantus. See note 494 on ii. 160.



60  
His speech  
to the coun-  
cil.

στεφανεύνται.” Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὥς ἐπεὰν ἀπαίρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, διαδρῆσονται· παρῶντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε “ ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιεέσθαι, μηδὲ, πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λέγουσι, ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νῆας <sup>118</sup>. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας” πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς δ’ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορόν ἐστι νῆας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας <sup>119</sup> καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ, ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγινα, ἥνπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχίσωμεν ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν, ἐν στενωφὶ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἦν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίны πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στενωφὶ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ· ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὐτὶς δὲ, Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τότε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων, προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου, καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ· οὐδὲ σφέας, εἶπερ εὐ φρονεῖς, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἦν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται, καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσὶ, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι, οὔτε

<sup>118</sup> μηδὲ . . ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νῆας. This expression is not a very easy one to explain; but perhaps the metaphor is taken from the unharnessing of horses, and thereupon removing them from the car in which they had stood ready for use. In ix. 41, ἀναζευγνύει τὸν στρατὸν is “to move the army out of its position in the field;” and in ix. 58, ἀναζευγνύει τὸ στρατόπεδον, “to break up the encampment.” Here, therefore, we should perhaps translate: “and not break up and move the ships to the isthmus.”

I very much suspect that for the word λέγουσι we should read λόγουσι, but Gaisford gives no variation of the MSS.

<sup>119</sup> νῆας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας. It is not

very easy to understand this expression; for all accounts seem to agree that the Persian vessels were larger and higher out of the water than those of the allies. Perhaps all that is meant is that the latter were slower sailers. And if it be remembered that they were manned in part by a portion of the population which had never handled an oar before this emergency compelled them to do so, it is not surprising if some should be unapt in manœuvring. That all were not so, seems to follow from the account of the engagements at Artemisium. Perhaps Themistocles had especially in his eye the new reinforcements, which would naturally be the worst found.

προβήσονται ἑκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίαςί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανόμεν περιεούσι, καὶ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιόν ἐστι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι, οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπότηας γνώμας<sup>120</sup>.” Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέους, αὐτὸς ὁ Κορινθίος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, συγῶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐσθι πατρίς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδεα οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι<sup>121</sup> ἀνδρὶ· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον, οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατεῖχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κεύθον τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλὰ τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε· ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἶη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἥπερ κείνοισι, ἔστ’ ἂν διηκόσαι νῆες<sup>122</sup> σφί ἔωσι πεπληρωμένοι· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα, τῷ λόγῳ<sup>62</sup> δέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδεα λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα<sup>123</sup>. “σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ, καὶ μένων ἔσαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός—εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νῆες. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὡς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας, κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σίριον τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥπερ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι<sup>124</sup>, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ’ ἡμέων

61

Adimantus reiterates his insult, and this time receives a stern and crushing answer.

62

<sup>120</sup> μὴ δὲ οἰκότα . . . πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπότηας γνώμας, “where one forms irrational plans, neither is the deity wont to second the judgment of man.”

<sup>121</sup> ἀπόλι. This uncommon form of the dative implies a genitive ἀπόλιος. See a parallel case in ἀχάρι (i. 41). The words ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ, mean “to put a question to the vote on the motion of a man who had no country.” The phrase ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ is no doubt the very one used by Adimantus, at which Themistocles was so stung.

<sup>122</sup> διηκόσαι νῆες. See note 2 on § 1, above.

<sup>123</sup> λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα, “saying in terms more direct to the point.” Compare ἐρετο ἐπιστρεφείς (i. 30). The idea suggested in both cases is that of a person who, from strong feeling, turns sharp upon another with whom he is conversing. See the way in which this notion is brought out by the various uses of the word ἐπιστροφή quoted in LIDDELL AND SCOTT’S Lexicon.

<sup>124</sup> ἥπερ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι. STRABO says that one account of Siris in Italy made it a colony from Troy, in proof of which assertion there was exhibited a wooden image of Athene, said to have been brought from thence. The eyes of the figure were closed; and the legend related that this took place on the occasion of certain fugitives being violently dragged from sanctuary by the Ionians, who were engaged in taking the town. Strabo remarks upon the audacious falsehood of such a story, especially as there were several other Palladia,—each with equal pretensions to being the genuine Trojan image,—at Rome, Lavinium, and Luceria (vi. c. 1, p. 20). Compare the story of the parallel portent (v. 86, above). But another version (which probably is the one Themistocles had in his mind) made the fugitives whose sanctuary was violated Ionians, and the aggressors emigrants from Troy in conjunction with Crotonians. The Ionians had settled there before the Trojan war. This

63  
Eurybiades is con-  
vinced.

αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων." Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆος λέγοντος, ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφεας ἀπολλίπωσι, ἦν πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀνάγῃ τὰς νῆας· ἀπολλιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων, οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί· ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχεῖν.

64  
An earth-  
quake is  
felt at day-  
break, and  
the allies  
invoke the  
Æscidæ for  
aid.

64 Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἔπеси ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεὶ τε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντας· ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμός ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἔδοξε δὲ σφί εὐξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, καὶ ἐπι-καλέσασθαι τοὺς Διακίδας συμμάχους· ὡς δὲ σφί ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηεν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα<sup>125</sup> ἐπεκαλέοντο· ἐπὶ δὲ Διακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Διακίδας<sup>126</sup> νῆα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

65  
Anecdote of  
a portent  
near Eleusis  
observed by  
Diceus, an  
Athenian  
refugee in  
the Persian  
army, in  
company of  
Demaratus  
the Spartan  
king.

65 Ἐφῇ δὲ Δικαῖος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μῆδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ἐπεὶ τε ἐκέλευτο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω, ἐούσα ἐρήμος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἔων ἅμα Δημαρήτῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ· ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνως, ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα κη τρισμυρίων ἀποθωμάζειν τέ σφεας τὸν κονιορτὸν, ὅτεών κοτε εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε<sup>127</sup> φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱαχχον<sup>128</sup>. εἶναι δ'

is the account given by the SCHOLIAST ON LYCORPHRON, to explain the words of the poet:

πόλιν δ' ὅμοιαν ἱλίῳ δυσδαίμονες  
δειμάτων ἀλγυνοῦσι Λαφρίαν κόρην,  
Σάλπιγγα, θρώσαντες ἐν ναφ θεᾶς  
τοὺς πρόσθ' ἔδεθλον Βουβίλιος ἀκηκότας.  
γλήναις δ' ἔγαλμα ταῖς ἀναμάκτοις  
μόσαι,  
συγγῆν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἰόνας βλάβην  
λεῦσσον, φόνον τ' ἐμφολον ἀγραυλῶν  
λύκων. — (vv. 984—990.)

It will be observed, that the winking image is the point on which the diverse traditions hang. See note 420 on ii. 141.

<sup>125</sup> Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα. S has Αἴαντα τὸν Τελαμῶνος.

<sup>126</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ Διακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Διακίδας. See note 201 on v. 75.

<sup>127</sup> πρόκατε. See note 392 on i. 111.

<sup>128</sup> τὸν μυστικὸν ἱαχχον. The sacred hymn which was sung on the occasion of this κῶμος of Dionysus to Eleusis began with the word ἱαχχε, the name under which Dionysus was invoked on the occasion. It is introduced by ARISTOPHANES in the *Frogs*.

XOP. ἱαχχ', ὦ ἱαχχε  
ἱαχχ', ὦ ἱαχχε.

ΞΑΝΘ. τοῦτ' ἐστ' ἐκεῖν', ὃ δέσποτ', οἱ  
μεμνημένοι  
ἐνταῦθά που παῖζουσιν, οὗς  
ἔφραζε νῦν. \*  
ἔδουσι γοῦν τὸν ἱαχχον ὅπερ  
Διαγόρας. — (315, seqq.)

Hence the hymn itself came to be termed ὁ ἱαχχος, and the chanting it ἱαχχίζειν. Compare notes 206, 207 on ii. 79. For the nature of the κῶμος see note 73 on i. 21.

ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τὸν Δημάρητον, εἶρεσθαί τε αὐτὸν ὃ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἶη τοῦτο ; αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν “ Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέως στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδην, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θείον τὸ φθεγγόμενον ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ἰὼν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισιν· καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται· ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλέειν τὴν δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔταε τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἰακχάζουσι” πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον “ σίγα τε, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἰπῆς· ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνευειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὔτ’ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς· ἀλλ’ ἔχ’ ἥσυχος· περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει·” τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος, καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ἑξέξω ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δικαῖος ὁ Θεοκύδης ἔλεγε, Δημάρητου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος<sup>129</sup>.

Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑξέξω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ 66 Τρηχίνος, θεσάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικόν, διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Τροάδα. The invading fleet arrives at Phalerum six days after the return of the crews  
Ἰστιάην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλων δι’ Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ<sup>130</sup>. ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον<sup>131</sup> ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας,

<sup>129</sup> καταπτόμενος. This is noticed by EUSTATHIUS (*ad Iliad.* ix. 582) as a peculiar use of the word by Herodotus, equivalent to *μάρτυρας προφέρειν*. Apparently the original use of the phrase is in application to an oath, where the person swearing took hold of some sacred symbol in order to authenticate the truth of his statement. See note 157 on vi. 68.

<sup>130</sup> ἐν ἑτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. LEAKE considers this expression to indicate that the whole fleet of the Persians arrived at Phalerum. The harbour, however, could not have held them; besides which, the mishap at

Sepias would be a warning to the commanders not to push forward their ships in such masses, as to prevent the possibility of their finding the means of beaching them if necessary. The force is rather to be conceived as moving along the coast in strong detachments, each capable of overcoming any opposition likely to be made to it. See below, note 154 on § 76, and the Excursus. Nevertheless, the expression πάντες οἱτοί (§ 67) is favourable to Leake's opinion, so far as Herodotus's view of the matter is concerned.

<sup>131</sup> οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον. It is impossible to conceive this

from viewing the field of Thermopylae.

The forces of Xerxes probably not diminished by his previous losses.

67

Xerxes calls a council of war at Phalerum as to the expediency of fighting a pitched battle by sea.

κατά τε ἡπειρον καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἢ ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἀντιθῆσω γὰρ τοῖσί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι, καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, καὶ τῇσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι, τοῦσδε τοὺς τότε οὕκω ἐπομένους βασιλεῖ, Μηλίας τε καὶ Δωριέας, καὶ Δοκροὺς, καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπείων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους, καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων<sup>132</sup>, τῶν ἐπεμνήσθη προτέρων τὰ οὐνόματα· ὅσφ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσοῦτ' ἡ πλέω ἔθνεα οἱ εἶπετο.

Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας<sup>133</sup> πάντες οὗτοι, πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθῳ, ἐκαρὰδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῆ ἀποβήσεται) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας, ἐθέλων σφί συμμῆξαι τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλῶντων τὰς γνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προΐζετο, παρήσαν μετ' αὐτῷ οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν, καὶ ἕζοντο ὡς σφί βασιλεῖς ἐκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδεδώκεε· πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς<sup>134</sup>.

opinion at all near the truth, unless enormous exaggeration is to be presumed in the accounts of the engagements off Artemisium. Xerxes, since his arrival at Sepias, had lost 200 gallees, which had been despatched round Euboea (§ 7), 30 more captured in the first engagement off Artemisium (§ 11), "the Cilician squadron," whatever its strength, in the second engagement (§ 14, where see note 32), and a much larger number than the Greeks in the third (§ 16), where the destruction was so great that half the Athenian squadron was crippled (§ 18). The contingents from the Cyclades which subsequently joined cannot possibly have made up more than a very small fraction of this sum. While Naxos was in the height of its power, and all these islands dependent on it, a hundred gallees were considered sufficient to reduce it (v. 31). At this time Naxos had been ruined (vi. 96), and the contingent it was able to supply was only four ships (§ 46, *supra*), which deserted to the side of the allies. Of the rest, Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos could not among them muster a single trireme, and Cythnos only one. Moreover, it is doubtful whether these islanders are not

included in the original roll of the fleet. See note 277 on vii. 95.

<sup>132</sup> τῶν πέντε πολίων. Not "the five cities," but "the five states." They were the islands Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Cythnos, and Seriphos (§ 46, above).

<sup>133</sup> ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. *Athens* must here be taken to include its ports, Phalerum being the point where the Persian navy, or at least its commanders, assembled. This was at the time the only harbour which Athens used; and it is nearer to the city than any other.

<sup>134</sup> πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς. The Sidonian chief (Tetramnestus) is named first in order of all the subordinate naval commanders in the list (vii. 98), and the Tyrian (Mapen) second. It is somewhat strange that Mardonius should here be represented as the organ of communication between the king and these chiefs, as there were four admirals, princes of the blood royal, who commanded the fleet. That he should be employed probably indicates the much greater confidence placed in his strategic talents than in those of any other,—he being perhaps regarded as the commander-in-chief of both services. See note 250 on vii. 82, above.

μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος· ἐπὶ δὲ ὅλλοι ὥς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπέξῃς ἔζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα, ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου, εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιεοίτο; Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῶν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος, 68 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι<sup>125</sup> κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν γνῶμην ἐξεφύροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιεέσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη “εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὥς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω· οὔτε κακίστην γενομένην ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίῃσι τῇσι πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένην, δέσποτα, τήνδε εἶδον γνῶμην<sup>126</sup> με δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποδεύκυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω· φείδο τῶν νηῶν, μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιεῖν· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτό εἰσι κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίῃσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας τῶν περ εἵνεκα ὥρμηθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δὲ τοι ἵσταται οὐδεὶς· οἱ δ’ ἔτι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπῆλλαξαν οὕτω ὥς κείνους ἔπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβῆσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων<sup>127</sup> πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω· ἦν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχίην ποιούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νῆας αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς πρὸς γῇ μένων, ἣ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι, δέσποτα, χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας· οὐ γὰρ οἴοι τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφεας διασκεδᾶς· κατὰ πόλιν δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύξονται· οὔτε γὰρ σῆτος πάρα σφίσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς οἶκος, ἦν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, ἀτρεμεῖν τοὺς ἐκείθεν αὐτῶν ἦγοντας<sup>128</sup>. οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι, δαιμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλῆσθαι. πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τότε ἐς θυμὸν βαλεῦ, ὥς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί· σοὶ δὲ ἔοντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσι, οἱ ἐν συμμαχῶν λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι, ἔοντες Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ

<sup>125</sup> οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι. Gaisford, on the authority of S and V only, reads οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι.

<sup>126</sup> τήνδε εἶδον γνῶμην, “this my real opinion.”

<sup>127</sup> ἀντιπολέμων. See note 364 on iv. 140.

<sup>128</sup> ἀτρεμεῖν τοὺς ἐκείθεν αὐτῶν ἦγοντας. The words τοὺς ἐκείθεν αὐτῶν ἦγοντας serve to qualify the general expression αὐτοὺς which has preceded. The contingents from Peloponnese would certainly not think of remaining in their present position.

69 *Xerxes admires her conduct, but still determines to fight.* Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὀφελὸς ἐστὶ οὐδέν." Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εἵνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ συμφορὴν ἐποιοεῦντο τοὺς λόγους, ὡς κακὸν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐὰν ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀγαιόμενοι<sup>139</sup> τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, θέρποντο τῇ κρίσει, ὡς ἀπολομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀννηλίσθησαν αἱ γνώμαι ἐς Ξέρξεα, κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς Ἀρτεμισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι, τότε πολλὰ μᾶλλον αἶνεε ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πειθεσθαι ἐκέλευε τὰδε, καταδόξας πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρόντος αὐτοῦ· τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεῆσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

70 *The fleet moves up from Phalerum to Salamis, and arrives shortly before night-fall.* Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀτήγον τὰς νῆας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα<sup>140</sup>, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες<sup>a</sup> κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μὲν νῦν οὐκ ἐξέχρησε σφί ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νύξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρωδίη, οὐκ ἤκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀρράδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν νικηθέντες τε, ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται<sup>141</sup> ἀπέντες τὴν ἐσωτῶν ἀφύλακτον.

71 *The same evening the army gets into motion* Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὅκως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο

<sup>139</sup> ἀγαιόμενοι. See note 146 on vi. 61.

<sup>140</sup> ἀτήγον τὰς νῆας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα. LEAKE supposes that by this expression is intimated that the fleet of the Persians actually entered the channel between the island of Salamis and the main, and arranged themselves along the shore from the point of Mount Ægaleos to the entrance of the Piræus. But the words in themselves do not seem necessarily to mean more than that they moved upon Salamis. For the phrase ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα appears to be exactly paralleled by ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον in the next section. And that the lines across the isthmus were reached by the invading army is expressly contradicted by what is related in ix. 14, that the furthest advance of the

Persians to the westward was the inroad of Mardonius's cavalry into the Megarid. At the same time, a comparison of other passages makes it pretty certain that Herodotus understood the movements of the invading fleet nearly as Leake does. See *Excursus* on § 76, below.

<sup>a</sup> παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες, "they took up their position after the disposition which had been made." διατάσσω is to assign the several quarters of the various portions of a force, παρακρίνεσθαι to go through the evolutions requisite for carrying out the scheme.

<sup>141</sup> πολιορκήσονται. This is the reading of all the MSS except K, which has πολιορκήσεσθαι.

τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι for the Peloponnese.  
 τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολιῶν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν  
 ἔζοντο· καὶ σφί ἐπὶν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης,  
 Λεωνίδης δὲ ἀδελφεός<sup>142</sup>. ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῷ καὶ συγχώ-  
 σαυτες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν<sup>143</sup>, μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς σφί ἔδοξε βουλευο-  
 μένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τείχος· ἅτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυρια-  
 δέων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνετο<sup>144</sup> τὸ ἔργον  
 καὶ γὰρ λίθοι, καὶ πλίνθοι, καὶ ξύλα, καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις  
 ἐσεφορέοντο· καὶ ἐλάνουν οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζό-  
 μενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης. Οἱ δὲ βωθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν 72  
 πανδημεὶ, οἶδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες  
 πάντες, καὶ Ἡλείοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ Σικυώνιοι, καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι,  
 καὶ Φλιάσιοι, καὶ Τροιζήνιοι, καὶ Ἑρμονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ  
 βοηθήσαντες<sup>145</sup> καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνεύουσῃ·  
 τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ  
 καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἤδη. Οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα 73  
 ἑπτὰ· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο, αὐτόχθονα εἶντα, κατὰ χώραν ἴδρυται  
 νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι<sup>146</sup> οἶκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι· ἐν δὲ  
 ἔθνος, τὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι  
 τῆς ἐσωτῶν οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἄλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ  
 [τέσσερα] ἐπὶ λυδὰ ἐστὶ· Δωριεὲς τε, καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ, καὶ Δρύοι, καὶ  
 Λήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλὰ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις· Αἰτωλῶν  
 δὲ Ἥλις μούνη<sup>147</sup>. Δρύσιων δὲ, Ἑρμιόνη τε καὶ Ἀσίγη ἡ πρὸς

List of the Pelopon-  
 nesian states  
 which came  
 in force to  
 the isth-  
 mus.

Ethnogra-  
 phical ac-  
 count of the Pelopon-  
 nese.

<sup>142</sup> Λεωνίδης δὲ ἀδελφεός. Some ac-  
 counts made him a twin brother (v. 41).

<sup>143</sup> συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν.

The road destroyed by the allied force  
 was a narrow cornice artificially formed  
 in the perpendicular rocks which run  
 along the Saronic gulf. The ordinary  
 road from Athens into the peninsula ran  
 over the Geranean mountain and through  
 a narrow gorge, which, according to  
 COLONEL SQUIRE, offers a most formidable  
 position for defence. The lines, how-  
 ever, appear to have been drawn from  
 Lechaëum to Cenchræe, further south  
 than the narrowest part of the isthmus,  
 with a view of preventing a debarkation  
 in the rear of the defending force. Had  
 they been carried across the narrowest  
 part, the whole harbour of Cenchræe  
 would have been at the command of the

invaders (cp. Walpole's *Turkey*, i. pp.  
 342—5).

<sup>144</sup> ἤνετο. This is Gaisford's reading,  
 backed by a single manuscript (P). The  
 majority have ἠνέτο, and one (F) ἤνετο.  
 For the sense of ἤνετο, see note 86 on  
 vii. 20.

<sup>145</sup> βοηθήσαντες. This is the reading  
 of all the MSS, although only four lines  
 above some have βωθήσαντες, which Gais-  
 ford adopts. See note 4 on § 1, above.

<sup>146</sup> νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι. This is the  
 reading of all the MSS; but Valcknaer's  
 conjecture, νῦν τὴν καὶ τὸ πάλαι, seems to  
 me to be the true reading.

<sup>147</sup> Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἥλις μούνη. This  
 expression raises a doubt as to whether  
 the section is not a latter addition.  
 STRABO expressly states that Elis (the  
 city) did not exist at the time of the



Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ<sup>148</sup>. Λημνίων δὲ, Παρωρεῖται πάντες<sup>149</sup>. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἔοντες δοκέουσι μῶνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες<sup>150</sup>. ἐκδεδωρλεννται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἔοντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ περιόικοι. τούτων ὧν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἑκατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμῆδιζον.

74 The Peloponnesian commanders in the allied fleet at Salamis disapprove of Eurybiades remaining at Salamis.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιοῦτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες, καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἑλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμῶς ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδου, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς συγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιούμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὥς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὼν εἶη ἀποπλᾶναι, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μὴδὲ πρὸ χώρας δορι-αλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, καὶ Αἰγινῆται, καὶ Μεγαρεῖς, αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνασθαι. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὥς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου· ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων<sup>151</sup> ἄνδρα πολίαν, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεὼν τῷ οὐνομα

75 Themistocles upon this devises a stratagem to keep them there.

*Persian war*, but that it was a later combination of several hamlets, of the same kind as the five which by their union made up Mantinea, the nine which made up Tegea, the nine which made up Heræa, the seven which made up Patræ, the seven or eight which made up Ægium, and the eight which made up Dyme (viii. c. 3, p. 143). Larcher proposes to read Αἰόλων instead of Αἰτωλῶν. In vi. 127 the MSS vary between Αἰτωλῖδες and Αἰολῖδες. It is observable that here, as in many other cases of cognate races, one tradition brought Ætolians from Calydon to found Elis, while another derived Ætolius, the eponymous ancestor of the Ætolians, from Elis. (PAUSANIAS, v. 1. 4; APOLLODORUS, i. 7. 6.) See note 185 on i. 57.

<sup>148</sup> Ἀσίνη ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ. Of this *Asine*, see the note 88 on § 43, above. The *Argolic Asine* seems to have been destroyed a generation before the first Messenian war, in which the inhabitants of the *Laconian Asine* fought, against their will, on the side of Lacedæ-

mon. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 8. 3.)

<sup>149</sup> Λημνίων δὲ, Παρωρεῖται πάντες. For the occasion of the Lemnians occupying this part of Peloponnese, see iv. 148.

<sup>150</sup> αὐτόχθονες ἔοντες δοκέουσι μῶνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες. It is not easy to understand what the *Ionism* of these Cynurians consisted in, except it were the celebration of the festival of the *Apaturia*. That, and the coming originally from Athens, are the two characteristics which alone are employed by the writer to designate the Asiatic Ionians (i. 147). If autochthonous, the near affinity of the Cynurians with the Arcadians and Achæans cannot be doubted. And the Thryopians were apparently mainly of the same race. (See above, note 88 on § 43.) Larcher considers the text here to be corrupt.

<sup>151</sup> τὸ Μήδων. PLUTARCH, in describing this stratagem of Themistocles, makes Sicinnus to be himself a Persian; and it is a very ingenious conjecture of Valcknaer's, that the cause of his doing so is

μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος· οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπία τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπῖες πολίτας, καὶ χρήμασι δλβιον· ὃς τότε πλοῖφ ἀπικόμενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε· “ἔπεμφέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάβρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος, καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα,) φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἦν μὴ περιῴητε διαδράντας αὐτούς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι, οὔτ’ ἔτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή.” Ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας, ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησιδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν<sup>152</sup>, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπέλου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες<sup>153</sup>, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα· ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόςουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆσι νηυσί<sup>154</sup>. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνῆγον τὰς

76

The Persians are deceived by him, and land a strong detachment on the island Psyttalea, moving their fleet so as to sur-

that he found in this passage the reading τῶν Μήδων. ÆSCHYLUS distinctly states that the individual who brought the false intelligence was a Greek. (*Pers.* 355.)

<sup>152</sup> τὴν νησιδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν. LEAKE describes this island (now called Λειψοκουτάλι) as “low, rocky, clothed with shrubs, about a mile in length, and not more than two or three hundred yards broad.” (*Appendix* ii. p. 267.) It has not a single creek into which a vessel can be put, thus precisely answering to the description of ÆSCHYLUS: βαῖα, δύσφορος ναυσί (*Pers.* 447).

<sup>153</sup> ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες. ÆSCHYLUS represents the invading vessels as being put in motion as soon as night came on, the crews too having taken their supper previously, and made all preparation to be able to get under way immediately after night-fall (*Pers.* 374—8).

<sup>154</sup> ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης κέρας . . πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆσι νηυσί. This description occasions great difficulty, which no commentator has succeeded in explain-

ing in a perfectly satisfactory manner. The natural sense would seem to be: “they brought up the westernmost wing by a circular movement to Salamis, while those who had been stationed about Ceos and Cynosura moved up and occupied the whole strait as far as Munychia with their ships.” But LEAKE remarks very justly, that such a movement would be impossible in the time assigned to it; for *Cynosura* (supposing it to be the headland of that name forming the northern extremity of the bay of Marathon) would be no less than sixty nautical miles from Salamis, and *Ceos* (supposing it the island opposite the s.e. extremity of Attica) no less than forty. He accordingly conjectures that *Cynosura* is “probably the long rocky cape [of the island Salamis] which projects towards the Attic shore on the eastern side of the bay of Salamis.” Similarly he imagines with regard to *Ceos*, “that it is possible that it may have been a place in Salamis, or on the Attic coast opposite to Cape Cynosura; it is also possible that there is

round Salamis and block the channel.

νήας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι "Ελλησι μὴδὲ φυγέειν ἐξῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι, δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίφ' ἄγωνισμάτων ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων, (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος,) ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρῳσι· ἐποίουν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοῖατο οἱ ἐναντίοι<sup>155</sup>. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς<sup>156</sup>, οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες, παραρτέοντο.

77

The events which took place confirm the authority of the oracles.

Χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχων ἀντιλέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθεές, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιαῦτα πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας·

'Αλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαύρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν<sup>157</sup>  
νησὶ γεφυρώσῃ, καὶ εἰαλήν Κυνόσουραν,

some error in the text. Perhaps Herodotus wrote τὴν νῆσον in reference to the island Psytalea." (*Appendix* ii. pp. 258—260.) But as there is no evidence that there was any such place in Salamis as Ceos, or any headland there named Cynosura, such an explanation has little claim to acceptance. It may be remarked in the first place, that although the movement be an impossible one, it may not have appeared impossible to Herodotus; for in his account of the battle of Marathon he obviously supposes that Athens was only saved from surprise by Datis by the forced march made by the Athenian army from the field of Marathon to the Heracleum in the Cynosarges. Yet, according to his own account, Datis's manoeuvre must have occupied, in addition to the time required for running the sixty nautical miles from Cynosura to Phalerum, the further time demanded for sailing to Styra, embarking the Eretrian prisoners, and again getting under way for Athens. Of the two alternatives, it seems less violent to suppose a want of accurate knowledge as to the distances of Ceos and Cynosura on the part of the writer or his informant, than the existence of the names in question in the immediate neighbourhood of Phalerum. But in fact the difficulty may be explained on an entirely different principle; for which see the *Excursus* at the end of this book.

<sup>155</sup> ἐποίουν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυν-

θανοῖατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. This is quite alien from ÆSCHYLUS's notion. He makes the crews cheer one another as they get under way (τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκλεί νείως μακρὰς. *Pers.* 380). According to his view, the intended escape of the Greeks was, in the opinion of the Persians, entirely precluded by the latter getting the start of them. That point having been secured, they were not careful about concealing the movement.

<sup>156</sup> νυκτός. The manuscripts S and V leave out this word and all that follows to ἀπαλλαγῆναι οὕτω δὴ in § 84, no doubt from a lacuna having existed in the archetypal codex from which they were derived.

<sup>157</sup> Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαύρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν. LEAKE supposes that here reference must be made to a temple of Artemis in Salamis, and also that the temple stood upon the western headland of the little bay in which the city Salamis (corresponding to the modern *Ambeldkia*) lay. This he infers from a passage in PAUSANIAS (i. 36. 2): ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος ἔστιν ἱερὸν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος ἐγένετο γανέσθαι τοῖς "Ελλησι, which he renders "on one side of the city a temple of Diana, and on the other the trophy erected," &c. (vol. ii. p. 169.) But it is quite an assumption to attribute this meaning to τοῦτο μὲν and τοῦτο δέ. Even if the temple alluded to

ἐλπίδι μαινομένη λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας,  
 δία Δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν Κόρον, ἄγριος υἱὸν<sup>138</sup>,  
 δεινὸν μαιμώνοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα τίθεσθαι.  
 χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίζεται, αἵματι δ' Ἀρης  
 πότον φοιτίζει. τότε' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἡμαρ  
 εὐρύσκα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει, καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι, ἀντιλογίης  
 χρησμών περὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέ-  
 κομαι.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγένετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός· 78  
 ᾗδεσαν δὲ οὐκω, ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι· Dispute  
 ἀλλ', ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ among the  
 χώραν εἶναι. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν<sup>139</sup>, ἐξ Αἰγίνης Hellenic  
 διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρα- commanders  
 κισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος 79  
 αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ is interrupt-  
 δικαιοτάτον οὗτος ὠνήρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον, ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμι- ed by the  
 στοκλῆα ἔοντα μὲν ἐωυτῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ advent of  
 δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρέοντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιούμενος Aristides an  
 ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι· προακήκοε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδουεν Athenian,  
 οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νῆας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν· ὥς δὲ then under  
 ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε· "ἡμέας στα- ostracism,  
 σιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε, περὶ who seeks  
 τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται· ἄνθρωπος an interview  
 δέ τοι, ὅτι ἰσὼν ἐστι πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου with The-  
 τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν Πελοποννησίοισι· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενό- mistocles,  
 μένος, ὅτι νῦν, οὐδ' ἦν θέλωσι, Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης and informs  
 οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλώσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων him of the  
 κύκλῳ· ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον." Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο 80 state of  
 τοῖσδε· "κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἡγγεῖλας· τὰ γὰρ things.  
 ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις· ἴσθι γὰρ

by Bacis was the one in Salamis, there is nothing to show whereabouts in Salamis it was. But for another way of explaining the prophecy, see the *Excursus* on § 76, of this book.

<sup>138</sup> Κόρον, "ἄγριος υἱὸν." PINDAR perhaps has this oracle in his mind where he

speaks of "ἄγριον Κόρον μητέρα θρασύμου" (*Olymp.* xiii. 12).

<sup>139</sup> συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, "after the commanders had come to direct issue" [in their views]. See note 336 on iv. 132. The reference is to the *ὠθισμός* mentioned in the last section.

ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμεενα ὑπὸ Μήδων<sup>160</sup>. ἔδεε γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἔθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι· σὺ δὲ, ἐπέπερ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφί ἀγγεῖλον· ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ σφί σήμνηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει· ἐπεὰν δὲ σήμνης, ἦν μὲν πείθονται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοῖον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται εἴπερ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις.” Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν, καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας<sup>161</sup>. περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὥς ἀλεξησομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ταῦτα εἶπας, μετεστῆκε· τῶν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐγένετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίῃ<sup>162</sup>. οἱ γὰρ πλεῖνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα. Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων, ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων<sup>163</sup> αὐτομολέουσα τῆς ἡρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμέneos, ἥπερ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθινήν πᾶσαν διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα

81  
The intelligence of Aristides is discredited by the majority of the confederates

82  
until confirmed by a Tenian vessel which deserts from the enemy.

<sup>160</sup> ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμεενα ὑπὸ Μήδων. It has been considered that the word ποιούμεενα is to be repeated inferentially with ἐξ ἐμέο. (See note on § 142, below.) But if the word ποιέσθαι is to be repeated at all, the perfect tense ποιήμενα seems required. The ellipse—not an unusual one—is only of the word *δντα*. “The present doings of the Medes originate with me.”

<sup>161</sup> μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας, “that he found great difficulty in getting out unperceived by the blockading squadron.” From this expression one must infer that at least a portion of the Persian vessels had been stationed at a considerable distance from Salamis (the town), and that their observation was by no means confined to watching the channel between that island and the main. This is quite in accordance with *Æschylus*, who makes the Persians—

τάξαι νεῶν στίφος μὲν ἐν στίχοις τρισὶν  
ἐκπλοῦς φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀπρόρους,  
ἀλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος περὶ εἶ.  
(*Pers.* 366—8.)

It must have been ships outside the island Salamis, whose observation Aristides had

found it difficult to escape. See *Æschylus* on § 76.

<sup>162</sup> ἀμφισβασίῃ. See notes on iv. 14; ix. 74.

<sup>163</sup> ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων. *PLUTARCH* seems to have found the word *Τενιδίων* in the copy he used. He says of the occurrence mentioned in the text: ἐφάνη Τενεῖα μία τριήρης αὐτόμολος. (*Themist.* § 12.) *PAUSANIAS*, however, states that the name of the *Tenians* was inscribed on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, which was dedicated in honour of the victory (v. 23. 2). The tripod mentioned in the text appears really to have had reference to the feats of the Greeks at Platæa, not at Salamis; for at first *Pausanias* inscribed on it the verses: Ἕλλησιν ἀρχηγὸς ἐπέει στρατὸν ἄλεσε Μήδων, Πανσανίας, Φοῖβον μνημ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε. The Lacedæmonians caused this to be erased, and substituted the names of all the Greek cities ὅσαι ξυνοικηλοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔσθισαν τὸ ἀνέθημα. (*THUCYDIDES* i. 132.) Hence the Platæans, when pleading for their lives, appealed to it as an evidence of their own deserts: τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ἀναγράψαι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν πόλιν. (*THUCYDIDES* iii. 57.)

ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατέλουσι. σὺν δὲ ὦν ταύτῃ τῇ νηϊ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Δημνίῃ, ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νῆας<sup>164</sup>. δύο γὰρ δὴ νηῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων 83  
 ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντες· ἥως τε διέφαινε, καὶ The allies  
 οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα for battle,  
 μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς· τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν, πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι and at sun-  
 ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι rise, after a  
 ἐγγίνεται παραινέσας δὴ, τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι. καὶ κατα- speech from  
 πλέξας τὴν ῥήσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νῆας<sup>165</sup>. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν Themisto-  
 δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης ἡ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας cles, get  
 ἀπεδήμησε· ἐνθαῦτα ἀνήγον τὰς νῆας ἀπάσας οἱ Ἕλληνες. Ἀναγο- 84 under way.  
 μένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι The battle  
 Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνῃ ἀνεκρούοντο<sup>166</sup> καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νῆας, at once be-  
 Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς<sup>167</sup>, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐξαναχθεὶς νηϊ ἐμ- gina, the  
 varying as  
 to the pre-

<sup>164</sup> ἐς τὰς ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νῆας. See note 101 on § 48, above.

<sup>165</sup> ἥως τε διέφαινε, κ.τ.λ. This passage appears to me to be in thorough confusion, and quite inexplicable on the mere hypothesis of slovenly writing on the part of the author. Possibly it originally ran somewhat thus: ἥως τε διέφαινε οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι· ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς· τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα· παραινέσας δὴ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥήσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νῆας.

<sup>166</sup> ἀνεκρούοντο. ÆSCHYLUS does not intimate any hesitation on the part of any portion of the allied fleet. He makes indeed the *right wing* appear to take the lead, which, according to his account of the contest, would apparently have been a necessary consequence of their position. (Pers. vv. 399, seqq.) See the *Excursus* on § 76.

<sup>167</sup> Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς. PLUTARCH makes Aminias to belong not to *Pallemæ*, but to *Decelea*. (*Themist.* § 14.) In modern times it has been generally assumed that this Aminias, and the Cynægius who distinguished himself so much

at Marathon, were brothers of the poet Æschylus. But Herodotus gives no ground for such a supposition; and if this near relationship had existed, it would be strange that he should not have alluded to it. The name of Cynægius's father was the same as that of Æschylus; and this would furnish quite a sufficient basis for the identification of the two in the later times, when a superficial knowledge of Greek literature became fashionable. The literary men of the Roman empire considered it a part of their duty to supply all the details which the curiosity of their readers might require, in order to fill up the more general notices of the classical writers. JUVENAL (*Sat.* vii. 229—236) gives an amusing picture of the qualifications required from the instructors of his time:

“ — vos sævas imponite leges,  
 Ut præceptorum verborum regula con-  
 stet,  
 Ut legat historias, auctores noverit  
 omnes  
 Tanquam ungues digitosque suos; ut  
 forte rogatus  
 Dum petit aut thermas aut Phœbi  
 balnea, dicat  
 Nutricem Anchisæ, nomen patriamque  
 novercæ

cise manner.

βάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νηὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίη βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγινα, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν<sup>168</sup>. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφί γυναικὸς ἐφάνη φανείσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκούσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε “ὦ δαίμονιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;”

85 The Athenians had the Phœnicians opposed to them, the Lacedæmonians the Ionic contingent. Among these several distinguished themselves against the allies, specially two Samians,

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσύνῳ τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας· κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους, Ἴωνες· οὗτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα<sup>169</sup>. ἐβελokaκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς<sup>a</sup> ὀλίγοι· οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες αὖ. ἔχω μὲν νυν συγχῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξει τῶν νῆας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων· χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν, πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε<sup>170</sup>, καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη<sup>171</sup>, καὶ χώρῃ οἱ ἐδωρήθη πολλή. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται τοῦ βασιλέος ὁροσάγγαυ καλέονται Περσιστί. Περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νηῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῶνι ἐκερατίζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰγινητέων· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ

86 Theomestor and Phylacus.

Archemori; dicat, quot Acestes vix-  
erit annos,  
Quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverit  
urnas.”

See note 162 on i. 51, above.

<sup>168</sup> ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. See note on § 122, below.

<sup>169</sup> οὗτοι δ' εἶχον . . . καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. If this expression be intended to denote more than the relative positions of the invading squadrons, and to convey the idea that the whole Persian fleet engaged was actually within the strait, the account of the action becomes quite irreconcilable with that of Æschylus. See the *Excursus* on § 76.

<sup>a</sup> κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς. See § 22, above.

<sup>170</sup> Θεομήστωρ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε. This appointment must have been immediately after the return of

Xerxes to the Asiatic shore; for Theomestor is established in his post early in the following spring. See ix. 90. Perhaps Æaces, the son of Syloson, who did such good service to the Persians in breaking up the Ionian alliance, may have been promoted to some higher post than that of tyrant of Samos. If he had been killed at Salamis, or indeed had taken an active part in the expedition, one would expect some notice of it. But the mention of him in v. 25 is the last which occurs.

<sup>171</sup> εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη. Sostrates makes a playful allusion to this custom in the *Gorgias* of PLATO, where trying to induce Callicles to resume an argument with him, he says: καὶ με ἐὰν ἐξελέγξης, οὐκ ἀχθεσθήσῃ σοι ὅς περ σὺ ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ μέγιστος εὐεργέτης παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀναγεγράφει (§ 132).

τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόφ ποιούντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι ὁλόνπερ ἀπέβη· καίτοι ἦσαν γε [καὶ ἐγένοντο<sup>b</sup>] ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνουσες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν, [ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίᾳ<sup>b</sup>,] πᾶς τις προθυμώμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην ἐδόκέε τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεήσεσθαι βασιλέα.

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, 87  
ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ <sup>Anecdote of Artemisia.</sup>  
Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλέϊ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπύκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηὺς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νηὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ, οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν· ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νῆες φίλλαι ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτίγχανε ἐούσα· ἔδοξέ οἱ τότε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεκε ποιησάσῃ· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νητὶ φιλίῃ, ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων<sup>172</sup> καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου· εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νείκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλησπόντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, εἴτε<sup>173</sup> συνεκέρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσούσα νηὺς· ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ

<sup>b</sup> [καὶ ἐγένοντο] [ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίᾳ]. I have included these words between brackets, not as considering them interpolations in the proper sense of the term, but because it seems nearly certain that ἐγένοντο is an alternative reading of ἦσαν, and ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίᾳ of αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν. Neither alternative has any claim to be preferred to the other; but the text as it stands is a combination of the two produced by the transfer of the variant from the margin.

<sup>172</sup> ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sup. v.) calls Calynda a town of Caria, like Caryanda, and refers to this passage. If Calynda be really a Carian town, it seems not unlikely that Calynda and Calydas are merely dialectal variations of the same word. CALLISTHENES (ap. Strabon. xiii. c. 1) related that the Leleges of the Homeric poems, (whose site is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Assus and Antandros, and of whom Gargara on Ida was a colony,) after the destruction of their towns by Achilles, went south into Caria, and founded several cities there in the neighbourhood of

Halicarnassus. One of these was Pedasa, of which Herodotus speaks (i. 175), and which was named after a Pedasus in the Troad. In the course of time these Leleges melted away and became identified with the Carian population; but as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C. they still had eight towns in the region Pedasia near Halicarnassus, from six of which Mausolus removed the population to Halicarnassus, — preserving the remaining two, Myndus and Suagela. (STRABO, xiii. p. 127.) If this account indicates an ethnical identity, in early times, of the tribes respectively inhabiting the Troad and the coast of Caria, it is reasonable to suppose also an etymological identity between Calynda (the ancient name of Tenedos), Calynda the city here mentioned, and perhaps also Calymna the island. See note 293 on vii. 99.

<sup>173</sup> εἴτε . . . εἴτε. This is the reading of only one manuscript (K). The rest have οὔτε εἰ . . . οὔτε εἰ, which Gaisford adopts.



κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη, διπλᾷ ἑωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο  
 ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νηὸς τριήραρχος ὡς εἶδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν  
 νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νῆα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλλη-  
 νίδα εἶναι, ἣ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν,  
 88 ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συν-  
 ἦενκε γενέσθαι, διαφυγέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ, συνέβη  
 ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην, ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι  
 παρὰ Ξέρξῃ· λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηγόμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα  
 ἐμβαλοῦσαν καὶ δὴ τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρέοντων “δέσποτα, ὅρᾳς  
 Ἀρτεμισίην, ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νῆα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε;”  
 καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι, εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον; καὶ  
 τοὺς φάναι σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νηὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ  
 διαφθαρείσαν ἠπιστάτο εἶναι πολεμίνην· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς  
 εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήενκε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
 Καλυνδικῆς νηὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορου γενέσθαι· Ξέρξην  
 δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· “οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί  
 μοι γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες.” ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ  
 εἶπαι.

89 Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρια-  
 βίγνης<sup>174</sup> ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἑὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί  
 τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων  
 ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ  
 νῆες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν  
 Σαλαμίνα διέκον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ  
 διεφθάρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν  
 ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείους διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε  
 τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι, ὡς  
 ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεῖ, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ  
 φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

90 Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῶν τινας Φοινίκων  
 τῶν αἱ νῆες διεφθαρέατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοῖς  
 Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νῆες<sup>175</sup>, ὡς προδόντων

Many Persians of distinction, among whom is Arioliges, are slain, and great numbers of the common men, but of the Hellenes few, from their being good swimmers.

Anecdote of the gallantry of the marines on

<sup>174</sup> Ἀριαβίγνης. One manuscript (F) has Ἀριβίγνης. Of this chief, see note 282 on vii. 87.

<sup>175</sup> ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νῆες. There seems no more likely way in which

the Ionians could have been the means of destroying the Phoenicians than by fouling them while eagerly pressing forward to engage the enemy.

συνήμικε ὦν οὕτω, ὥστε Ἴώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπο-  
 λέσθαι, Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν· ἔτι  
 τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκικῇ νηὺς ἥ  
 τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο, καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναιὴ νηὺς κατέδυσε  
 τῶν Σαμοθρηκικῶν τὴν νηῖα· ἅτε δὴ ἔοντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμο-  
 θρηκῆες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νηὸς βάλλοντες  
 ἀπήραξαν, καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα  
 τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο<sup>176</sup>. ὥς γὰρ εἶδέ σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα  
 ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας, οἳ αἰνυμένους  
 τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος· καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπο-  
 ταμεῖν ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι.  
 (ὅπως γὰρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων τι ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν  
 τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεὶ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ  
 καλεῖται Αἰγάλεως<sup>177</sup>, ἀνεπυθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα· καὶ οἱ γραμ-

board of a  
*Samothra-*  
*cian galley,*  
 and of the  
 effect it  
 produced on the feel-  
 ing of  
 Xerxes  
 against the  
 Phœnicians.

<sup>176</sup> ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύ-  
 σατο. It is surely not a legitimate  
 inference from this transaction, that Sa-  
 mothrace was at the time peopled by an  
 Ionic race. The Persian navy seems to  
 have been regarded as made up of two  
 contingents, that from Phœnicia, and that  
 from the islands and seaboard of Asia  
 Minor; and the latter to have been de-  
 scribed as "Ionian" without any regard  
 to the differences of race. A parallel case  
 is to be found in iv. 138 and vi. 8, where  
 see note 23. See also the note 277 on  
 vii. 95.

<sup>177</sup> κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεὶ τῷ ἀντίον  
 Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλεῖται Αἰγάλεως. There  
 seems to have been considerable disagree-  
 ment as to the position occupied by Xer-  
 xes during the engagement. In the time  
 of DEMOSTHENES a throne with silver  
 feet was existing in the acropolis of Athens  
 in which Xerxes was said to have sat, ἐν  
 τῷ Αἰγάλει ὄρει τῆς Ἀττικῆς (c. *Timocra-*  
*ti*, p. 466). But PHANODEMUS stated  
 him to have taken his post "above the  
 Heracleum," where the channel between  
 the island and the main is very narrow.  
 ACESTODORUS again placed him above  
 the hills called "the Horns," on the con-  
 fines between Attica and the Megarid  
 (cp. *Plutarch. Themist.* § 13). LEAKE  
 appears to regard the position assigned by  
 Phanodemus as the correct one, or nearly  
 so. Of the summit of Mount Ægaleos,  
 he says, "It is a position only less impro-  
 bable than that stated by Accestodorus,  
 who wrote that the Persian king was

seated on the top of Kérata, a mountain  
 on the confines of Megaris, five or six  
 miles from the nearest part of the straits  
 of Salamis. The summit of Mount Æga-  
 leos does indeed immediately overhang  
 the strait, so as to command a complete  
 view of it; and if Xerxes had wished to  
 comprehend within the prospect the Sa-  
 ronic gulf, together with a great part of  
 Attica, Megaris, and Corinthia, the sum-  
 mit of the mountain would have been an  
 excellent station. But his object was to  
 be present at the battle, to communicate  
 speedily with the ships, to distinguish  
 each vessel, to observe the conduct of  
 those on board, and to commit the memo-  
 rials of that conduct to writing. The in-  
 cident relating to Artemisia, and still more  
 the dispute between the Phœnicians and  
 Ionians, which Xerxes decided while the  
 battle was raging, clearly show that he  
 was very near the scene of action." (*Appendix ii.* p. 271.) But if, as I  
 have attempted to show in the *Excursus*  
 on § 76, the original expectation of  
 Xerxes was not to see a battle, but a  
 capture of the Greek vessels dispersed in  
 all directions, the summit of Ægaleos, or  
 even that position assigned to him by  
 Accestodorus would have been an excellent  
 place. When it turned out that some-  
 thing very different was to be looked for,  
 he may have descended to the neighbour-  
 hood of the Heracleum; and thus all the  
 varying accounts may have some truth  
 in them.

ματισται ἀνέγραφον πατρώθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν.) πρὸς δὲ ἔτι καὶ προσελάβετο<sup>176</sup> φίλος ἔων Ἀριαράμνης, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης<sup>177</sup> παρεὼν, τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου πάθεος·

91 Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλέοντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται, ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ<sup>180</sup>, ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραμίζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νηῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλωούσας· ὅκως δὲ τινες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς

The Persians retreat to Phalerum, and in the way are fallen upon by some Aeginetans,

92 Αἰγινίτας. Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νῆες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νῆα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ, ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινῆτεω, νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ ἥπερ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ, τὴν Αἰγιναιήν, ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθῆς ὁ Ἰσχένου<sup>181</sup>, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὲ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἤλω νηὺς ἡ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθῆν οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἴγινα ὡς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νῆα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήϊον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε, ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων<sup>182</sup>. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρ-

who by their deeds clear themselves of the charge of treason.

<sup>176</sup> προσελάβετο. This, which was the conjecture originally of Reiske, is adopted by Gaisford. All the MSS have προσεβόλετο or προσεβόλλετο. The sentence has generally been taken to mean that Ariaramnes, being a friend to the Ionians, contributed to bring about this chastisement of the Phœnicians. But προσλαμβάνεσθαι πάθεος seems to mean something very different from προσλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ πάθος. Xerxes was stung to the quick at the loss of the battle, and disposed to blame every body; and stood in no need of any incitement to whet his severity. I should be disposed to take the passage as if Ariaramnes had been made to "share the fate of the Phœnicians," not as if he had aided in bringing it about. He was a favourite of Xerxes and standing by, and perhaps was rash enough to interpose a word in favour of the Phœnicians, upon which the irritated tyrant sentenced him to die with them.

<sup>177</sup> ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. The name Ariaramnes appears in the list of Darius's ancestors, not only in Herodotus, but also in the Behistun Inscription. See note 59 on vii. 11, above.

<sup>180</sup> ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ. These perhaps were the vessels which had been reserved for the defence of the island Aegina. (See above, notes 96 and 101, on § 46.) It would have been quite impossible for any of the ships engaged within the channel to get out so as to occupy the position which is here ascribed to the Aeginetans. The number of thirty, which was that of the Aeginetan galleys in the allied fleet, seems a very small one to be furnished by a state which at that time was a first-rate maritime power. If a part of the navy remained at Aegina, there was the more cause to suspect a treasonable motive; and it is quite in harmony with the supposition that this was a squadron of reserve, that we find Polycritus, the son of Crius, in it. See note 182.

<sup>181</sup> ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθῆς ὁ Ἰσχένου. The MSS have, without exception, Ἰσχένου. But there is an equal unanimity for the form Ἰσχεύον in vii. 187, and Gaisford follows the other editors in introducing that form here.

<sup>182</sup> ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. One is disposed to infer from

ριψε<sup>183</sup> ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, τῶν αἰ νῆες περιεγέγοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινήται· 93  
ἐπὶ δὲ, Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης, καὶ In the battle, the Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς. Ἔγινετans were thought to have ἐδς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπέδιώξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι earned the first distinction, and next to them the Athenians. ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλὲ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλω· τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρακεκέλευστο· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύρια δραχμαί, ἐς ἃν μιν ζῶνῃ ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιοῦντο, γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν αἰ νῆες περιεγεγόνεσαν ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον 94 στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νῆες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἱστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν, ὥσαύτως οἴχεσθαι· ὥς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμίνης κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος<sup>184</sup>, περιπίπτειν σφί Varying accounts of the behaviour of the Corinthians. κέλῃτα θείῃ πομπῇ· τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι· τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θείου τὸ πρῆγμα· ὥς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νηῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλῃτος, λέγειν τάδε· “Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς ναῦς, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἡρώντο ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν” ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν

this passage that Themistocles belonged to that Athenian party which had accused the Æginetans of treason towards Hellas before the Lacedæmonians. (See vi. 49.) The father of this Polycritus was the principal agent in resisting the attempt of Cleomenes to arrest those of the Æginetans who appeared to be specially guilty (vi. 50). Hence there was every reason for the son to taunt any distinguished Athenian that had taken part with Cleomenes.

<sup>183</sup> ἀπέρριψε. See note 366 on iv. 143.

<sup>184</sup> κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος. LEAKE identifies this spot with “the N.W. promontory of Salamis, upon which now stands, in a narrow plain by the

shore, the monastery of ‘the Virgin brought to light’ (ἡ παναγία φανερωμένη), so called because a buried picture of the Virgin was here said to have been discovered in the earth, in consequence of a miraculous voice which issued from the place. The monastery stands on the site of a Hellenic building, of which many large squared blocks are still to be seen, together with some fragments of Doric columns; and it seems therefore to be one of the numerous examples still extant in Greece of Pagan temples converted into churches, and which still retain portions or fragments of the original buildings.” (Vol. ii. p. 163.)

Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὶς τὰδε λέγειν, ὥς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὁμηροὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες· οὕτω δὲ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νῆα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει <sup>185</sup> ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.

95  
Feat of  
Aristides.

Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων <sup>186</sup> ἐπεμνήσθην ὥς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τὰδε ἐποίησεν παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπλιτέων οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμίνης χώρας, γένος ἔοντες Ἀθηναῖοι <sup>187</sup>, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96  
After the  
battle, the

Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτίγχανε ἔτι ἔοντα, ἐτοίμοι

<sup>185</sup> τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει. See note 10 on vii. 3. It gives a very unfavourable idea of the accuracy of local tradition to see that such an account as this should have become popular at Athens, little more than a generation after the action took place. The question of the presence of a squadron of forty ships, or of its absence eight or ten miles off at the time of the battle, was not a thing admitting the possibility of mistake. (See note 177 on vii. 55.) DIO CHRYSOSTOM relates a foolish story of Herodotus having inserted this scandalous account of the Corinthians out of revenge at having been refused a pecuniary reward by them; the first draught of his history not having contained it. That the motive assigned cannot be the true one, is obvious from the discredit which he attaches to the report; it is probably a fiction of later times, to account for the variation of different copies of the work, some of which very likely did not contain the story. (See note 178 on i. 56.)

<sup>186</sup> ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων. See § 79.

<sup>187</sup> γένος ἔοντες Ἀθηναῖοι. The mention of this circumstance, and also of the country of Aristides is to be remarked. The author is (from § 93 to § 95) enumerating the particular distinctions won by

the several states. The feat of Aristides is put in the best possible way for his reputation. It is represented as a sudden thought occurring to him, while the sea-fight was going on (ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ). PLUTARCH goes even further than this. Aristides, in his account, *observes* that the island Psyttalea is strongly occupied, puts some picked volunteers in *boats*, destroys all the Persians except a few of the most distinguished (whom he sends at once prisoners to Themistocles), and then occupies the whole shore of the island with troops, in order to assist the Hellenic sailors and destroy those of the enemy who might swim ashore. (Aristides, § 9.) ÆSCHYLUS represents the matter very differently. The island is captured *after* the enemy's fleet has been beaten, at a time when the Hellenes have nothing to prevent them from surrounding the island with their own ships:—

ὥς γὰρ θεὸς  
ναῶν ἔδωκε κῦδος Ἕλλησιν μάχης,  
αὐθημερὸν φράξαντες εὐχάλοισι δέμας  
ὄπλοισι ναῶν ἐξέθρωσκον ἀμφὶ δὲ  
κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον, ἔσθ' ἀμχανεῖν  
ὅποι τράποιντο, . . . . .  
ἕως ἀπάντων ἐξαπέθειραν βίον.

Pers. 454—464.

ἦσαν<sup>188</sup> ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσησι νηυσὶ allies prepare for a repetition of it, taking up their former station.  
 ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα· τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος  
 ζέφυρος, ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡῖονα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα·  
 ὥστε ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς  
 ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ  
 τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι Fulfilment  
 πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Δυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ, ἀνδρὶ χρησμο- of a prophecy  
 λόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθες πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας<sup>189</sup>. by the wide  
 dispersion  
 of the  
 wrecks.

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρόξουσι.<sup>190</sup>

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονός πάθος, δέισας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων 97  
 ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσ- Xerxes  
 ποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθῆις ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ fears that  
 ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσει, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε<sup>191</sup>. θέλων δὲ μή ἐπί- his com-  
 δηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωντοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλα- munication  
 μίνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν γαυλοῦς τε Φοινικητοῦς συνέδες, ἵνα may be cut  
 ἀντὶ τε σχεδὴς ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυ- off, and  
 μαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὀρέοντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι meditates  
 ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, εὖ ἐπιστάτο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκευάσται flight se-  
 μένων πολεμήσειν Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε, ὡς μά- cretly.  
 λιστα ἔμπειρον ἔοντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίας.

Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίηε, καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα 98  
 τὴν παρεούσαν σφί συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγελῶν ἔστι οὐδὲν  
 ὃ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔον οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξεύ- Description  
 ρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ, ὡς ὅσων ἀν' ἡμερέων ἡ πᾶσα ὁδὸς, of the  
 Persian sys-  
 tem of esta-  
 fette.

<sup>188</sup> ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν, "offered." See note 237 on i. 70.

<sup>189</sup> τὸ ἐλελήθες πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Herodotus does not mean to say that the Greeks were ignorant of the existence of the line he quotes, but only that they failed to see its meaning.

<sup>190</sup> φρόξουσι. The MSS, which Gaisford follows, have φρίζουσι, which gives no sense. I have adopted the conjecture of Koen. The meaning seems to me to be, that "the women shall toast their cakes with fires made of [the fragments of broken] oars."

<sup>191</sup> δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε. ÆSCHYLUS represents him as breaking up from the

position which his army occupied, and retreating precipitately, owing to the consternation which the sight of the capture of Psyttalea inspired :

Ξέρξης δ' ἀνέμωζεν κακῶν ὄρων βάθος,  
 ἔδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῆ στρατοῦ,  
 ὕψηλὸν δ' ἔχθον ἔγχι πελαγίᾳ ἄλός·  
 βήξας δὲ πέπλους κἀνακακῶσας λιγὴ,  
 περὶ παραγγέλλας ἄφαρ στρατεύματι,  
 ἦεν ἀκόσμῳ ξὺν φυγῇ.

(Pers. 465—470.)

Herodotus, on the contrary, expressly makes him remain for a few days before retreating into Boeotia (§ 113, below).

τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένοι τοὺς οὔτε νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καύμα, οὐ νύξ ἐέργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἑωυτῷ<sup>192</sup> δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὲ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδίδοι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη κατὰ ἄλλον<sup>193</sup> διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰ περ "Ελλησι ἡ λαμπαδηφορία, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ ἐπιτελέουσι<sup>194</sup>. τοῦτο τὸ δρόμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήιον<sup>195</sup>. Ἡ μὲν δὲ πρώτη<sup>196</sup> ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίην πάσας ἐστόρεσαν<sup>197</sup>, καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμήματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐπαθίῃσι· ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεξελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοή τε καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλῆτι, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νηῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίουν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες. καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον, μέχρι οὐ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε<sup>198</sup>.

Anxiety of the Persians on receiving news of the battle of Salamis.

100 Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὁρέων μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ποιούμενον ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν βουλευεῖν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ὡς δώσει δίκην

Mardonius's advice to Xerxes

<sup>192</sup> ἑωυτῷ. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the majority of MSS. But S, P, and F have αὐτῷ.

<sup>193</sup> κατὰ ἄλλον. This is the uniform reading of the MSS. But Schäfer reads κατ' ἄλλον, which is at least very plausible.

<sup>194</sup> τὴν τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ ἐπιτελέουσι. The race was probably the last part of the proceedings, after the more solemn portion of the ritual had been finished. (See note 242 on vi. 106.) Hence perhaps the employment of the word ἐπιτελέουσι,—an appropriate term for an "afterpiece."

<sup>195</sup> ἀγγαρήιον. It would only be natural that in a service of this description, if the regular couriers had gone on when a second despatch came, power should exist for pressing men and horses to transmit it. Accordingly, the word ἀγγαρεύς came to mean, "to press for the public service;" and it is a hardship of this kind which is alluded to in *Matth.* v.

41: ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἔν, ὅπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο, where great confusion of thought has been produced from modern readers failing to observe that the acts of oppression noted are all such as would take place in the ordinary administration of a military government.

<sup>196</sup> ἡ μὲν δὲ πρώτη. This is the message sent off to Artabanus (§ 54, above).

<sup>197</sup> τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίην πάσας ἐστόρεσαν. See the account of a similar proceeding on the occasion of crossing the bridge from Asia into Europe (vii. 54).

<sup>198</sup> μέχρι οὐ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. This expression can hardly be taken to mean until the arrival of Xerxes at Susa. He stayed some time at Sardis (ix. 107). Probably all that is intended—or at least was intended by the authority followed by Herodotus—is that the public mourning went on until Xerxes got safe back into Asia.

ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ <sup>as to the</sup> κρέσσον εἶη ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, <sup>course to be</sup> ἢ <sup>pursued.</sup> αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα <sup>199</sup>. πλέον μέντοι ἔφερε οἱ ἡ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα λογισάμενος ὧν ταῦτα, προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε “δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο, μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῖν τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἵνεκεν πρήγματος· οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἄγων ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφί ἤδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβάς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι, οὐτ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆσδε· οἷ τε ἡμῶν ἡντιώθησαν, ἔδωσαν δικας. εἰ μὲν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποίειν ταῦτα· μὴ δὲ δυσθύμει· οὐ γάρ ἐστι Ἑλλησι οὐδεμία, ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δύντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους <sup>200</sup>. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ποιεε· εἰ δ’ ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατὴν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλὴν· σὺ Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἑλλησι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δεδήληται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδὲ ἐρεῖς ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί· εἰ δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ Κίλικες <sup>201</sup> κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἤδη ὧν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσι, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἰ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἥθεα τὰ σεωντοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν· ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσας 101 Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἥσθη· πρὸς Μαρδονίον τε, βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ἀποκρινεῖσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσῃ τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἐβουλευέτο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο

Xerxes asks  
the opinion  
of Artemisia,

<sup>199</sup> ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα, “as he had set a high stake at issue.” This circumstance is what justifies the expression καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον even in the contingency of defeat; and therefore no comma must be inserted after βίον.

<sup>200</sup> εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. The state of the case would require γίνεσθαι, instead of εἶναι, τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι. But courtly etiquette forbade the use of an expression which implied that the Greeks were still

free. See the note 412 on i. 118.

<sup>201</sup> Φοίνικες τε . . . . . Κίλικες. The omission of the Ionians from the list of worthless allies, both here and in the speech of Artemisia (§ 68, above) is to be remarked. At the time Herodotus was writing there would be too close an alliance between the European and Asiatic Greeks to allow any thing to stand which would appear derogatory to the latter.



μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μετασθησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε " κελεύει μὲ Μαρδόνιος, μένοντα αὐτοῦ, πειράσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου λέγων ὥς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθους εἰσι, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισί σφι γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπόδεξις. ἐμὲ ὦν ἡ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιεῖν, ἡ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην αὐτὸν δέ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ ὦν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὐ συνεβούλευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἔωσα ποιεῖσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσον ὁκότερα ποιεῶν ἐπιτύχω εὐ βουλευσάμενος." Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλευέτο· ἡ δὲ λέγει τάδε· " βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευομένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἄριστα εἶπασαν ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι, δοκέει μοι αὐτὸν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δὲ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ἦν καταστρέφῃται τά φησι ἐθέλειω καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὺν τῷ ἔργῳ, ὃ δέσποτα, γίνεταί· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δούλοι κατεργάσαντο· τοῦτο δὲ, ἦν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιέοντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· ἦν γὰρ σύ τε περιῆς καὶ οἶκος ὁ σὸς, πολλοὺς πολλὰκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες· Μαρδονίου δὲ, ἦν τι πάθῃ, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεταί· οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶσι, δούλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δὲ, τῶν εἵνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποίησας, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελῆς."

102  
which she  
gives,

103  
in accordance with  
the king's secret  
wishes, and  
he sends her  
with his  
children to

104  
Ephesus.

"Ἦσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλῇ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τάπερ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε· οὐδὲ γὰρ, εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἂν, δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταρρωδήκεε· ἐπαινώσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἀγούσαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ἐφεσον· νόθοι γάρ τινας παῖδες οἱ συνέσποντο. Συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμότιμον, γένος μὲν εἶντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων<sup>202</sup> παρὰ

<sup>202</sup> οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων. Perhaps Hermodotimus was made captive as a youth at the time when Pedasaea was taken

by Harpagus (i. 176). In that invasion the Chians, like the Milesians, made separate terms for themselves with the

βασιλεῖ. οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τοῖτοισι τοῖονδε φέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ αὖ τοῖσι ἀμφικτίοσι πᾶσι, τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος, μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱρεὴ αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πάγονα μέγαν· τοῦτο δὲ σφί δις ἤδη ἐγένετο<sup>202</sup>.

Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσιν 105  
ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὠνέεται Πανιώνιος, ἀνὴρ Χῖος, δς τὴν ζῆν κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιτο παῖδας εἰδεος ἐπαμμένους<sup>204</sup>, ἐκτάμνων, ἀγωνέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροί εἰσι οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, πῖστιος εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης, τῶν ἐνορχίων ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλοὺς, ἅτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζῆν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστήχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δώρων χρόνου δὲ προϋόντος, πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη. Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν 106  
ὄρμα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔων ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβάς κατὰ δὴ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χῖοι μὲν νέμονται, Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέσεται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα· ἐπιγυνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φίλους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκείνων ἔχοι ἀγαθὰ, δευτέρα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει, ἦν κομσάμενος τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκῇ ἐκείνῃ ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον

Anecdote of Hermotimus of Pedasa, an eunuch in charge of the children of the king, and his revenge upon one Panionius, a Chian slave merchant.

Persians, and had obtained Atarneus as the price of the extradition of a Persian refugee. See note 532 on i. 160.

<sup>202</sup> δις ἤδη ἐγένετο. This is one of several passages which serve to show either that the work could not have been left by the author in a finished state, or else that great interpolations have taken place. In i. 175 he says that this singular phenomenon had at that time thrice happened. See note 477 on vii. 173.

It is not easy to suggest any certain explanation of the "bearded priestess." MINUTOLI (t. xxix.) gives such a figure from the temple of Bahbeit. PLUTARCH (quoted in note 188 on vi. 83) says that the Argives, after recruiting the loss of their citizens by a large number of mixed

marriages with the *periæcians*, passed the law that *brides* should be similarly ornamented upon retiring to the nuptial chamber. See note 188 on vi. 83. In that case the custom was apparently symbolical, and expressive of the same idea which probably lay at the bottom of all androgynous representations in the Hellenic mythology, they being a compression into one of a male and female deity. It is not impossible that the Pedasian Athene was an androgynous deity, an union of Ares and Aphrodite Urania, a war-deity in one of the sexes, and a genius of fruitfulness in the other. (See note 303 on v. 104.)

<sup>204</sup> εἰδεος ἐπαμμένους. So εἰδεος ἐπαμ-  
μέναι in i. 199, above.

ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον, κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναικά· ὡς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίῃ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τάδε· “ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ’ ἔργων ἀνοσιωπάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σέ ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τις ἐργάσατο ἢ σέ, ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ’ ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμῆχανώ τότε· οἱ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χέρας τὰς ἐμὰς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ’ ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην.” ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ὠνειδίσει, ἀχθέντων τῶν παιδῶν ἐς ὄψιν, ἡναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἐωυτοῦ παιδῶν, τεσσέρων ἐόντων, τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν· ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ, ἐποίησε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὡς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιήλθε ἢ τε τῖσις καὶ ὁ Ἑρμότιμος.

107  
Xerxes  
leaves Mar-  
donius with  
a large de-  
tachment  
from the  
army, and  
orders the  
fleet to  
make all  
sail to the  
Hellespont.

Ἐέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἐπέτρεψε ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἐφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευε μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὁμοῖα. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς, κελεύσαντος βασιλέως, τὰς νῆας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπήγγον ὑπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, ὡς τάχειος ἔλχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος<sup>205</sup> πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, ταύτας ἔδοξάν τε νῆας εἶναι, καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νῆες εἶεν ἀλλ’ ἄκραι, συλ-  
λεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108  
The allies,  
on discover-

Ἦς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ὁρέοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώραν μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζόν, ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰς νῆας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον

<sup>205</sup> Ζωστήρος. The name Ζωστήρ appears originally to have been given to the narrow isthmus connecting a projecting cape of the coast of Attica with the main. It was the site of a deme inhabited by fishermen, whose tutelary deities were Leto, Artemis, and Apollo (Ζωστήριος). The local legend derived the name from the first of these having there loosened her zone when about to bring forth the two latter. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.* PAUSANIAS, i. 31. 1.) In the time of Pausanias, Athens was added to the number of these deities. LEAKE de-

scribes the locality as “a hill terminating in three capes; that in the middle is a low peninsula, which shelters on the west a deep inlet called *Vuliasméni*. This probably was the place where stood the altars of the four deities” (ii. p. 56). He also remarks in a note, that “the fish with which Athens was supplied was chiefly procured on this part of the coast. The sea opposite to Λέκωνε [about four miles north] was noted for its red mullet (τρίγλη), which is still caught there, and known by the ancient name, although *μαραμπουρί* is more commonly used.”

ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχῆσειν σφέας, παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξήσόμενοι·  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νῆας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε  
 ἐπιδιώκειν τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ἑέρξω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπείδον  
 διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύ-  
 οντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο, διὰ νήσων  
 τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νῆας πλώειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Ἑλλάσποντον, λύσσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναν-  
 τίην ταύτῃ γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων, ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας,  
 τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιντο·  
 εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἀπολαμφθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ,  
 πειρώτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην, οὔτε τι  
 προχωρεῖν οἶον τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὸ  
 ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῷ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθαρέεται· ἐπιχειροῦντι  
 δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ, πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε  
 ἔσται προσχωρήσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλίσκο-  
 μένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων τροφήν τε ἔξειν σφέας τὸν  
 ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν· ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα  
 τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσεα· ἐατέον ὦν  
 εἶναι φεύγειν ἐς ὃ ἔλθῃ φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ  
 τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἰχοντο  
 τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί. Ὡς δὲ  
 ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλώειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον  
 ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους—οὔτοι γὰρ  
 μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγόντων περιημέκτεον<sup>206</sup>, ὁρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλ-  
 λῆσποντον πλώειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ ὧλλοι μὴ  
 βουλόιτο—ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· “καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενό-  
 μην, καὶ πολλῶ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι· ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην  
 ἀπειληθέντας, νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν  
 προτέραν κακότητα<sup>207</sup>. ἡμεῖς δὲ, (εὕρημα γὰρ εὕρηκαμεν ἡμέας τε  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσαύτου ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι,)  
 μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας· τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασά-  
 μεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἳ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἕνα τῆς τε  
 Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι, ἔοντα ἀνόςιον τε καὶ

ing that the  
 fleet of the  
 enemy has  
 retreated,  
 pursue it  
 as far as  
 Andros,  
 where Tho-  
 mistocles  
 advises to  
 sail to the  
 Hellespont  
 and destroy  
 the bridge,  
 but is over-  
 ruled by  
 Eurybiades  
 and the Pe-  
 lon-  
 nesians.

109

He then in-  
 duces the  
 Athenians  
 to acquiesce  
 in the deter-  
 mination,

<sup>206</sup> περιημέκτεον. See note 134 on i. 44.

<sup>207</sup> ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέραν κακότητα. See note on vii. 231.

ἀτάσθαλον ὃς τά τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποίεετο<sup>208</sup>, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε<sup>209</sup>. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας<sup>210</sup> ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλάσασθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω<sup>211</sup>, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης." ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι<sup>212</sup> ἐς τὸν Πέρσεα· ἵνα, ἣν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν· τότε ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110

and, sending privately to Xerxes, takes credit to himself for the course pursued.

Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπεὶ θοιτο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφός, ἐφάνη ἑὸν ἀληθῶς σοφός τε καὶ εὐβουλος, πάντως ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ<sup>213</sup> ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι

<sup>208</sup> ὃς τά τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποίεετο. The primitive Persian religion led to a detestation of temples and images (i. 131), but this could hardly be said of the Persian court at the time of Xerxes. See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 436. However, the outrageous conduct of Cambyses in Egypt may very well have produced a feeling with regard to the invaders, which it would be the interest of Hellenic statesmen to keep up.

<sup>209</sup> ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε. See note 126 on vii. 34.

<sup>210</sup> καταμείναντας. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, following two (S and c), prints καταμείναντες.

<sup>211</sup> ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω. PLUTARCH (*Thebes*, § 33) speaks of ἀνακῶς ἔχειν as a familiar expression applied to those who kept watch over any thing, and conjectures that the Dioscuri may have had the name ἀνακῆς (under which they were worshipped at Athens) given to them διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ μηδένα κακῶς παθεῖν. This is apparently an exact reversal of the true derivation, ἀνακῶς ἔχειν being probably in its origin applied to the care bestowed by the tutelary deity upon the objects of his care. PLATO, the comic poet, used the expression τὰς θύρας ἀνακῶς ἔχειν (*fragm. Incert.* xliii.), which Meineke very ingeniously proposes to cor-

rect into τὰς θύρας ἀνακῶς ἔχειν, supposing the phrase to have been put into the mouth of a Dorian, and quoting EBOTIAN: ἀνακῶς ἐπιμελῶς καὶ περιεφυλαγμένως ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ λέξις δωρική. It is used by Herodotus in another place (i. 24), and once by THUCYDIDES (viii. 102: ὅπως αὐτῶν ἀνακῶς ξηρουν, ἣν ἐκπλέωσι), and always with the genitive case.

<sup>212</sup> ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι. THUCYDIDES makes him plead the circumstance of the bridges not having been destroyed as a proof of the good will he had borne to the Persian monarch; he falsely representing it as entirely his doing (i. 137). If Xerxes found the bridges actually carried away on his arrival at the Hellespont (below, § 117)—it would be scarcely possible for Themistocles to have claimed merit for saving them; although nothing would be more natural than that he should (as Herodotus here puts it) have once contemplated doing so upon a certain contingency arising. At the same time it seems that the news of the destruction of the bridges had not reached the allied fleet at the time of the battle of Mycale; which is very strange if Xerxes really found them gone when he arrived at the strait.

<sup>213</sup> οἱ. The manuscripts S and V omit this word.

ἐπίστευσε σιγῶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετειλατο βασιλεῖ φράσαι τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὺς ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· “ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆς, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσουτά τοι, ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργεῖν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς νῆας βυλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν καὶ νῦν κατ’ ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζω<sup>214</sup>.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ τε σφί ἀπέδοξε μήτ’ ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι 111  
προσωτέρῳ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νῆας, μήτε ἐπιπλάειν<sup>215</sup> ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἀνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελέειν ἐθέλοντες· πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἀνδριοὶ νησιωτῶν αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλῆς χρήματα οὐκ ἔδωσαν ἀλλὰ προῖσχομένου Θεμιστοκλῆς λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἤκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐνωτοὺς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, Πειθῶ τε καὶ Ἀναγκαίην<sup>216</sup>, οὕτω τέ σφί κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες, ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἤκοιεν εὖ<sup>217</sup>. ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι γεωπείνας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ φιλοχωρεῖν, Πεινὴν τε καὶ Ἀμνηχανίην καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἐόντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἐνωτῶν ἀδυναμίας τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσων οὗτοι μὲν διὰ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα, ἐπολιορκέοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς 112  
δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτῶν, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους He also privately

<sup>214</sup> In the time of PLUTARCH the popular view of the matter seems to have been, that Themistocles *harried* the retreat of Xerxes, by sending him word that the Greeks intended to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge. (*Themist.* § 16.)

<sup>215</sup> ἐπιπλάειν. This is the reading of S and V, adopted by Gaisford. The other MSS vary between the simple forms πλάειν and πλέειν.

<sup>216</sup> Πειθῶ τε καὶ Ἀναγκαίην. PLUTARCH, in telling this story, substitutes *Bia* for Ἀναγκαίην, and Ἀπορία for Ἀμνηχανίην in the pair of Andrian deities. At Corinth there was actually a temple dedicated to Ἀνάγκη and *Bia*, into which no one was allowed to enter. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 4, 5.)

<sup>217</sup> θεῶν χρηστῶν ἤκοιεν εὖ. Compare i. 30: τοῦ βίου εὖ ἤκοντι, and vii. 157: σὺ δὲ δυνάμεις ἤκεις μεγάλης.

extorts  
money from  
the *Carys-*  
*tians* and  
*Parians*,  
and others.

ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους, αἵτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἐχρήσατο<sup>218</sup>, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει· λέγων ὦν ταῦτα, συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων οἱ πυθθανόμενοι τὴν τε Ἀνδρον ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἶη ἐν αἷνῃ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δέσαντες ταῦτα, ἔπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· δοκέω δέ τινας καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι, καὶ οὐ τούτους μόνους· καίτοι Καρυστιοῖσι γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἴνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολῇ<sup>219</sup> ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν, ἐξ Ἀνδρου ὀρμώμενος, χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτέτο λάρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

113

The land  
army of  
Xerxes,  
after a few  
days, moves  
into *Boeotia*,  
and from  
thence to  
*Thessaly*,  
where  
300,000  
of the best

Οἱ δ' ἄμφι Ξέρξῃ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας<sup>220</sup> μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην, ἐξέλανον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν· ἔδοξε γὰρ καὶ Μαρδονίῳ, ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίην εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν χειμερίσαι<sup>221</sup> τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρῶτους [μὲν Πέρσας<sup>222</sup>] πάντας τοὺς Ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ἐδάρνεος

<sup>218</sup> χρεώμενος λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἐχρήσατο. The manuscripts M, P, K, F, have a very important variation: χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, "employing the same agents which he had in his transaction with the king." This reading gives a sense which seems more accordant with the condemnatory phrase: οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτεῖν, and with the notice in the sequel: χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτέτο λάρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, than the reading adopted by Gaisford is. It is quite clear that the money extorted from the islanders was not the regular contribution for carrying on the war, which was afterwards collected; for only Carystians and Parians were positively known to the author to have paid the demand.

<sup>219</sup> τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολῇ, "a putting off of the evil." This use of the word ὑπερβολῇ is found in POLYBIUS: ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀντιβαν πέμπειν ἤλθον, καὶ μηδεμίαν

ὑπερβολὴν ποιησαμένους ἐξελέγχειν καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐλπίδα (xiv. 9. 8); but only in that one passage; and in Herodotus it always signifies "excess." But ὑπερβαλλομένους, "deferring," is found in vii. 206, and ὑπερβάλλονται in the same sense, ix. 51.

<sup>220</sup> ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας. See note 191 on § 97, above.

<sup>221</sup> χειμερίσαι, "to winter." The word is formed after the analogy of θερρίζειν and ἐαρίζειν. Herodotus habitually uses it. See vi. 31: χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, and below: χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην (§ 126): ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῳ (§ 130). But in § 133, below, the more usual word ἐχειμάζει is employed. See the note on that passage.

<sup>222</sup> [μὲν Πέρσας]. The MSS vary between these words, μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας, μὲν τοὺς μυρίους, and μυρίους. The whole seem to me to be glosses.

τοῦ στρατηγοῦ<sup>223</sup>. (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέως<sup>224</sup>.) μετὰ troops are selected to remain with Mardonius.  
 δέ, τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους, καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν  
 χελίην καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας, καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἴνδους,  
 καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἴλετο· ἐκ δὲ  
 τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους<sup>225</sup>, τοῖσι εἰδεά τε  
 ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τέοισι τι χρηστὸν συνείδεε πεποιημένον.  
 ἐν δέ, πλείστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἰρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε  
 καὶ ψελιοφόρους<sup>226</sup>. ἐπὶ δέ, Μήδους· (οὗτοι δὲ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ  
 ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων ῥώμῃ δὲ ἴσσοι·) ὥστε σύμπαντας  
 τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεύσι<sup>227</sup>.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδονίου τε τὴν στρατιὴν 114  
 διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθει ἐκ Anecdote  
 Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, Ξέρξεα αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω of an omi-  
 φόνου, καὶ τὸ δίδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι· πέμπουσι δὴ κήρυκα to a Spartan  
 τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῆται· ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε εἰούσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν herald, who  
 τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὕψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε· demanded  
 “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τέ σε καὶ Ἑρακλίδαι οἱ ἀπὸ of him for  
 Σπάρτης<sup>228</sup> αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτει- the death  
 das.

<sup>223</sup> πλὴν Ἰδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. Of this chief see note 254 on vii. 83.

<sup>224</sup> οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέως. This is the way in which alone a Greek of the time of Herodotus would be able to account for Hydarnes's conduct. But the analogy of other great empires renders it probable that he held some office about the person of the sovereign, the functions of which were regarded as more important than his presence at the head of his corps. In the same way, English officers used in the late war to return to England from Spain to attend to their duties in parliament. See the remarks on military rank in Persia, in the note 192 on vii. 61.

<sup>225</sup> κατ' ὀλίγους. Compare ii. 93: τῶν γὰρ ὧν ἀποραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους.

<sup>226</sup> στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους. The στρεπτοὶ and ψέλια by which the selected individuals were distinguished, perhaps served the same purpose as the stripes in the English army, or the cross of the Legion of Honour in the French; that is, were an indication of special deserts. They seem to have been made

of gold (see ix. 80). They are found among the presents of honour which Cambyses is related to have sent by the hands of the Ichthyophagi to the king of the Ethiopians (iii. 20).

<sup>227</sup> Independently of the resources of Thessaly, the harbour of Pagasæ was an excellent station for the store ships which had accompanied the expedition; so that magazines were doubtless formed there for the supply of the enormous force left behind. But it seems likely that no rations were issued to the irregular troops which formed the bulk of the army; for it is in this part of the retreat that ÆSCHYLUS represents the great loss by famine to have taken place:

κἀντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς γῆς Ἀχαιῖδος πέδον  
 καὶ Θεσσαλῶν πόλισμ' ὑπεσπανισμένους  
 βορᾶς ἰδέξαντ'. ἔνθα δὴ πλείστοι θανόν  
 δίσφρ τε λιμῶ τ'· ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ ἦν τάδε.  
 (Pers. 488—491.)

<sup>228</sup> Ἑρακλίδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης. This would be in contra-distinction to the Heraclides of Argos and Macedonia, and perhaps also to those of Lydia.



νας, ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα;" ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ ἐτύγγανε παρεστῶς Μαρδόνιος, δευκὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε "τοιγάρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὁδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἷας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει" ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥῆθ' ἐν<sup>229</sup> ἀπαλλάσ-

115

Terrible sufferings of the remainder of the troops who accompanied the king from Thessaly to the Hellespont.

σετο. Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσαεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος<sup>230</sup>, ὥς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίετο, καὶ κατ' οὐστίνως ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν<sup>231</sup> ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὗροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποιήν τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες, καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδὲν ταῦτα ὃ ἐποίουν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερήν, κατ' ὁδὸν διέφθειρε· τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλιπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοντο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνων τε καὶ τρέφειν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τέ τινας, καὶ ἐν Σίρῃ τῆς Παιονίης, καὶ ἐν

Loss of the horses of the sacred chariot which had been left on the way.

Μακεδονίῃ· ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἵρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλανε, ἀπὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε· ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖσι Θρηῖξι, ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω, ἔφασαν νεμομένης<sup>232</sup> ἀρπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηῖκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκ-

116

Anecdote of the Thracian king of the Βισαλλίης and his six sons.

μένων. Ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλλέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστανικῆς, Θρηῖξ, ἔργον ὑπερφυῆς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἴχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ οὐδρος τὴν Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσί τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν

<sup>229</sup> δεξάμενος τὸ ῥῆθ' ἐν, "having accepted what was said [as an omen]." Compare § 137, below: δεκόμεθα δὲ βασιλεὺ τὰ διδοίς, and ix. 91: δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἠγησίστρατον.

<sup>230</sup> οὐδὲν μέρος, "a mere nothing." The account which the messenger gives in ÆSCHYLUS agrees with this:

ἤκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες οὐ πολλοὶ τῶες ἐφ' ἐστιοῦχον γαίαν.—(Pers. 610.)

<sup>231</sup> τὸν τούτων καρπόν. This could not have been the growing harvest; for there would be none at such a season of the year. It probably refers to the stores

laid up in the barns of private proprietors.

<sup>232</sup> νεμομένης. From the gender we may suppose the idea of the narrator of this story to have been, that the chariot of the sun was drawn by mares. This, however, does not seem at all likely. In vii. 55, οἱ ἵπποι: οἱ ἵπποι are mentioned; and the horse of Cyrus which was drowned in the Gyndes (l. 189) appears by the description to have been a male. But the known habit of the Persians to use mares for ordinary purposes, possibly caused the adoption of this feature of the story.

Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσιωέες πάντες, ἔξ ἑόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατήρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὥς ἐκ τῆς Θρηϊκῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν 117 πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἄβυδον τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὗρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας<sup>223</sup>. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι, σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάνγχανον, οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες, ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεόντος πολλοί· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

On arriving at the Hellespont, the remnant of the army passes over in boats, finding the bridge destroyed. Xerxes arrives at 118 Sardis.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὥς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀπίκητο ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα<sup>224</sup> τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορήσει διεχρέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ἰδάρνει ἐπιτρέπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νηὸς Φωϊώσης ἐπιβὰς, ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην· πλώοντα δὲ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίνην καὶ δὴ, μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι, γεμούσης τῆς νηὸς, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπέοντων συγχῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα, εἶρεσθαι βῶσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτηα, εἰ τις ἐστὶ σφι σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν εἶπαι· “δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία, ἣν μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων” καὶ Ξέρξεα λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπαι· and of the self-devot-

<sup>223</sup> ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. It seems doubtful whether this really was the case. See above, note 212 on § 109. The story which presently follows shows how entirely uncertain all the details of the retreat of Xerxes must have been.

<sup>224</sup> ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα. There was a bridge here by which the invading army crossed, and there is no mention in Herodotus of its having been destroyed. Yet it is in crossing the Strymon on the ice that Æschylus represents a terrific loss to have been incurred by the army on its retreat:

— νυκτὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ θεὸς χειμῶν ἄωρον ἄρσε, πῆγνυσιν δὲ πᾶν βέεθρον ἄγρου Στρυμόνος· θεὸς δὲ τις τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ, τότε ἤρχετο λιταῖσι, γαῖαν οὐρανόν τε προσκυνῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο

στρατὸς, περὶ κρυσταλλοπήγα διὰ πόρον χθστὶς μὲν ἡμῶν πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ ἀκτίνας ὁρμήθη, σεσωσμένος κυρεῖ. φλέγων γὰρ αὐγαῖς λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος μέσον πόρον διήκε, θερμαίνων φλογί· πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι, κ.τ.λ.

(Pers. 495—506.)

Possibly that portion of the troops under Artabazus (§ 126) which was in immediate attendance on the king, passed by the bridge, while the mass of the irregulars, spread over the country for the greater facility of obtaining supplies, attempted to cross on the ice. If Xerxes himself had undergone any great personal peril, such as that of the troops described by Æschylus, it is unlikely that the tradition of it would not have remained and been related by Herodotus.

tion of the  
Persians.

“*ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι ἐμοί ἢ σωτηρίῃ*” τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδέεω ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν νῆα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν, οὕτω δὲ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξεα, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσῇ στεφάνῃ τὸν κυβερνήτηα ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119  
Criticism of  
the story.

Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος<sup>221</sup> περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς, οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ διὰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἐν μυρίησι γνῶμῃσι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξουν, μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλῃν νῆα, ὄντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων, ὄντων Φοινίκων, ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλήθος τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν<sup>222</sup>. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται<sup>223</sup>, ὁδῶ

120

Another account makes Xerxes pass through *Abdera*, where he first takes off his clothes, considering himself safe.

χρεώμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενύστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τότε μαρτύριον φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἀβδηρα, καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος<sup>224</sup>, καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσῆν καὶ τιήρη χρυσοπάστω καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρίται, λέγοντες ἐμοί γε οὐδαμῶς πιστὰ, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὡς ἐν ἀδείῃ ἔων· τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἱδρύται πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον<sup>225</sup> ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἱήϊνος, ὅθεν δὴ μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα.

<sup>221</sup> οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος. So Gaisford prints on the authority of V and P. The other MSS have οὗτος δὲ ἄλλως λέγεται ὁ λόγος, which appears to be, if any thing, the preferable reading.

<sup>222</sup> ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. Whatever discredit the story of the devotion of the Persians may deserve, no person who had ever been at sea in bad weather, would imagine that additional security would have been gained by drowning the crew, and putting in their places a number of landsmen, who probably had never touched an oar, and most likely were half dead from sea-sickness. I am inclined to think that §§ 119, 120, proceed, not from Herodotus, but from an ancient commentator or editor, perhaps an Alexan-

drine grammarian. (See notes 432 on ii. 145, and 90 on iv. 32.)

<sup>223</sup> ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται. Gaisford prints, on the authority of M, P, K, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται. But the other MSS omit the pronoun, and, I believe, with justice. See the last note.

<sup>224</sup> ξεινίην σφι συνθέμενος. See note 331 on vii. 120.

<sup>225</sup> τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἱδρύται πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS. But the others have πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ Ἀβδηρα ἱδρύται,—a variation which suggests the probability of the whole clause being originally a marginal note.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ τε οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν 121  
 Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηϊώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν  
 χώραν, ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι  
 ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας· τὴν μὲν  
 ἐς Ἴσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν· τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον  
 τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἰάντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδώσαντο  
 τὴν ληήν, καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς· ἐκ τῶν ἐγέ-  
 νετο ἀνδρίας ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νηὸς, ἐὼν μέγας  
 δυωκαίδεκα πύχεων· ἐστήκεε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρος ὁ χρύσεος<sup>240</sup>. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς Δελφούς, 122  
 ἐπειρώτεον τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ, εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ  
 ἀκροθίνια; ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρ'  
 Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὐ<sup>241</sup>. ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήϊα τῆς ἐν Σαλα-  
 μῖνι ναυμαχίης· Αἰγινηταὶ δὲ πυθόμενοι, ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσε-  
 οὺς, οἱ ἐπὶ ἴσθου χαλκεοὺ ἐστάσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης, ἀγχοτάτω  
 τοῦ Κροίσω κρητῆρος<sup>242</sup>. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληΐης ἐπλῶν 123  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν, ἀριστήϊα δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ  
 γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τούτου· ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ  
 στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ<sup>243</sup>,

The allies  
break up  
from An-  
dros, and  
after laying  
waste the  
domain of  
Carystus,  
return to  
Salamis and  
divide the  
spoils.

Special  
offering of  
the Ægi-  
netans.

Afterwards  
the congress  
at the Isth-  
mus awards  
the second

<sup>240</sup> ἐστήκεε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος. If this sentence be not the note of a later editor, it gives a very exalted notion of the wealth acquired by the kings of Macedonia at this early period. I am inclined to believe, however, that it is this, and that the Alexander whose golden statue was placed at Delphi was the conqueror of Asia. It is very doubtful whether *portrait statues* of living persons were ever put up before his time.

<sup>241</sup> παρ' Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὐ. The answer of the god was in after-times attributed to Lacedæmonian intrigue. (See note 1 on § 131.) Although the Æginetans appear to have been thus chary of thank-offerings to the Delphic god, it is probable that their gratitude was more ready on their own soil. It has been suggested, with great ingenuity, that the temple discovered in 1811, from which the celebrated Ægina marbles in the Glyptothek at Munich were taken, was erected in commemoration of the victory at Salamis. The triumph of the Hellenic race over the Asiatics appears in the two tympana of

the temple, symbolized by two triumphs of the Æacidæ, led by Athene, over Trojans, represented by figures combating. In the east gable (which refers to the expedition against Laomedon) it is the Æacid Telamon, in the western (referring to that against Priam) it is Ajax, who represents Æginetan valour. Athene appears in each gable. For the full description of the groupes, see THIERSCH, in *Boettiger's Amalthea*, i. p. 137. It has been shown by DR. WORDSWORTH (*Athens and Attica*, p. 266) that this temple, which is situated eight miles from the city of Ægina, in the N.E. corner of the island, is not, as has been supposed, identical with that of the Panhellenian Zeus. (See note on ix. 7.)

<sup>242</sup> τοῦ Κροίσω κρητῆρος. See i. 51.

<sup>243</sup> διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ. This phrase occasions some difficulty. When decision was made by ballot, the ψῆφοι were taken from the altar of the deity in order to be used. See MULLER on the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, p. 161. Perhaps we may suppose that in open voting, the appeal to the conscience of

prize of  
merit to  
Themisto-  
cles.

τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι· δεύτερα δὲ, οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούντο· Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δευτερεῖοισι

124  
Great credit  
of Themis-  
tocles  
throughout  
Hellas, and  
honours  
paid to him  
at Lacedæmon.

ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλῶνόντων ἑκάστων ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἀπῆκετο, θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν ἀριστήϊα μὲν νυν ἔδωσαν Εὐρυβιάδῃ, ἐλαίης στέφανον σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος, Θεμιστοκλεῖ, καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἔδωρῃσαντο δὲ μιν ὅχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι· αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προέπεμψαν ἀπῖόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οὔπερ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων<sup>244</sup>, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰς

125  
Anecdote  
of his reply  
to the cavil  
of Timode-  
mus.

Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος<sup>245</sup>, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνέεικε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα ἀπιεῖν προφέρων, ὥς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐωυτὸν ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε οὐκ ἐπαύετο ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε· “οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ, ἐὼν Βελβινίτης<sup>246</sup>,

the parties concerned was symbolized by the laying out the pebbles upon the altar, as in secret voting it was by taking them from it. Gaisford, following the minority of MSS, prints *διενέμεντο*. Two (S and V) have *ἔφερον*.

<sup>244</sup> μῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων. This is entirely confirmed by the account of the Athenian orator in THUCYDIDES, who says of Themistocles, that he αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχεῖσθαι ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα· καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἀνδρὰ ξένον τῶν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντων (i. 74). The attendants on Themistocles were the whole body-guard of the king, not merely a portion of them. See note 130 s on vi.

56, and note 531 on vii. 205.

<sup>245</sup> Ἀφιδναῖος. The manuscript S has Ἀθηναῖος, and Valla's translation neither the one nor the other. There is some difficulty in understanding the gist of Themistocles's retort if Timodemus were a native either of Athens or Aphidna. Belbina is said to be a small island off cape Sunium. SCYLAX (p. 45), PLATO (*Polit.* i. § 4), and PLUTARCH (*Themist.* § 18) tell the story, but make the adversary of Themistocles a native of the little island *Seriphos*. See notes 494 on ii. 160; 368 on iv. 144; 262 on v. 92; 154 on vii. 46.

<sup>246</sup> ἐὼν Βελβινίτης. See the last note.

ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων οὐτ' ἂν σὺ, ὠνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος." ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσούτο ἐγένετο.

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ 126  
 πρόσθε ἐὼν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταιικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἕξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τὸν Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε Artabazus with 60,000 men on his return from escorting Xerxes besieges Potidaea.

χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην, καὶ οὐδὲν κω κατεπεύγοντος ἤκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου, ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαίητισι, μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφεας· οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαίηται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξηλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικός τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οὐχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ὡς δὲ καὶ ὅλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτιδαίην. Ὑποπτεύσας 127  
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίσταςθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων<sup>247</sup>. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφεας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδούῃ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπέειν, καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει<sup>248</sup>. καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον. Ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτά- He also takes Olynthus, destroys the inhabitants, and fills the town with Chalcidians.

βαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προ- 128  
 θύμως συντίθεται προδοσίῃ Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός· ὄντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχὴν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· τέλος μέντοι τοιαῦδε ἐγένετο· ὅκως βυβλίον γράψειε ἡ Τιμόξεινος, ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι, ἣ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξέυματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας<sup>249</sup> περιειλίζαντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίον, ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάϊστος He conceals the betrayal of Potidaea with one Timoxenus of Scione,

<sup>247</sup> Βοττιαῖοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. See note 349 on vii. 127.

<sup>248</sup> τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει. Probably the old feud between Chalcis and Eretria still survived sufficiently to render this step a politic one. See the note 291 on v. 99. The Chalcidians of these parts formed a portion of Xerxes's army (vii. 185), perhaps not altogether against their will, as the Persian vengeance had been especially aroused against Eretria.

<sup>249</sup> παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας. This is the

reading of all the MSS, and seems required. The course taken was, to wrap the parchment on which the communication was written round the shaft of the arrow till it reached the barbs, not round the barbs themselves. It was so managed as not to attract attention, except under such a close inspection as would arise when a man was wounded. Hence the feather was set on the parchment roll, which doubtless at a little distance was taken for the shaft.

but the  
treason is  
detected.

129

After three  
months he  
loses a  
great part  
of his army  
in an at-  
tempt to  
pass the  
walls of the  
city during  
an ebb tide.

δὲ ἐγίνετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδούς τὴν Ποτιδαίαν τοξέων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου, βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαίητες τὸν ὄμον τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὄμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ· οἱ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξωμα λαβόντες, ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς· παρὴν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίῃ· τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης, ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλέξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίῃ, τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἵνεκα, μὴ νομιζόιατο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδοταί· ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπαίστος ἐγεγόνει. Ἀρταβάξω δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον, παρήϊσαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην ὥς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοῖρας διοδοιπορήκεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν ἔσω εἶναι ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπήλθε πλημμυρὶς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση οὐδαμὰ κω, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεσφείροντο· τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαῖται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι οἱ Ποτιδαῖται τῆς τε ῥηχίης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος<sup>250</sup> καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τούδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἡσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων τοῖπερ καὶ διεσφάρασαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες, εὐ λέγειν ἔμουγε δοκέουσι· τοὺς δὲ περυγενομένους<sup>251</sup> ἀπῆγγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμφαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἐπρήξαν<sup>252</sup>.

130

Ὁ δὲ ναυτικός<sup>253</sup> ὁ Ξέρξω περυγενόμενος, ὥς προσέμιξε τῇ

<sup>250</sup> τῆς τε ῥηχίης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος. It is apparently from a false interpretation of this passage that SUIDAS (v. Ῥηχίαν) lays it down as a fact that what the other Greeks called ἄμπωτις, was by the Ionians termed ῥηχίη. That the word is synonymous with "flood" in Herodotus, appears from ii. 11 and vii. 198, where ἄμπωτις and ῥηχίη are opposed to one another as "ebb" and "flow." The opinion of Valcknaer is, that καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος is a gloss in this passage. I should rather take it to be an alternative reading.

<sup>251</sup> τοὺς δὲ περυγενομένους. Perhaps these may be considered two-thirds of the whole; for it is this number which are found under the independent command of Artabazus at the time of the battle of Plataea. See ix. 66.

<sup>252</sup> οὕτω ἐπρήξαν. These words are omitted in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, and δ.

<sup>253</sup> ὁ δὲ ναυτικός. The use of Herodotus is to say either τὸ ναυτικὸν or ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. But the substantive is omitted, as here, in the next section.

Ἄσπρη φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν The Persian fleet winters at Cumæ, and early in the spring moves to Samos, where it remains to observe Ionia.  
ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπύρρμευσε ἐς Ἀβυδὸν, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῳ·  
ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος, πρῶτος<sup>254</sup> συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμῳ αἱ δὲ τῶν  
νηῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῖνες  
ἐπεβάτειον· στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφί ἐπῆλθον, Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου  
καὶ Ἀρταύτης<sup>255</sup> ὁ Ἀρταχάϊον συνήρχε δὲ τούτοισι καὶ ἀδελ-  
φιδέος, αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύντεω προσελομένον, Ἰθαμίτρης<sup>256</sup>. ἅτε δὲ  
μεγάλως πλιγγύτες, οὐ προήϊσαν ἀνωτέρω<sup>257</sup> τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης,  
οὐδ' ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδεὶς ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι, ἐφύλασσον  
τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῆ, νῆας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας.  
οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν  
Ἰωνίην, ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφί τὴν ἐωυτῶν φυλάσσειν σταθμεύ-  
μενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπέδιώξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἀλλ'  
ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι  
ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, περὶ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλόν<sup>258</sup> κρατήσειν τὸν Μαρ-  
δόνιον· ἔοντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ, ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἴ τι δυναίητο  
κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιέειν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀτακούστεον ὅκη  
πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

Τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας τό τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν 131  
Θεσσαλίῃ ἑών. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὐκ ἔσυνελέγετο· ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς<sup>259</sup> In the spring the allied fleet under Leostychides assembles  
ἀπῆκετο ἐς Αἰγίνα, νῆας ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν στρατηγὸς δὲ  
καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Δευρυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος, τοῦ Ἠγησίλεω<sup>260</sup>, τοῦ

<sup>254</sup> πρῶτος, "early." The manuscripts S, V, d have πρῶτον. But πρῶτος seems to be the true reading, both here and in St. John's Gospel (i. 42), where the trace of it remains in the Latin "mane" of the Codex Veronensis, although no Greek manuscript gives any thing but πρῶτος or πρῶτον.

<sup>255</sup> Ἀρταύτης. It seems not unlikely that the two generals were connected with each other; for a Bagæus, son of an Artontes, appears elsewhere (iii. 128, where see note 363). There was also an Artanides, son of an Ithamitres (vii. 67, where see note 219).

<sup>256</sup> Ἰθαμίτρης. The MSS have ὁ Ἀμιτρίς, doubtless from the confusion in uncial copies between ΙΘΑΜΙΤΡΙΧ and ΙΘΑΜΙΤΡΙΧ. In ix. 102, all have Ἰθαμίτρης or Ἰθαμίτρης, where the same person is meant.

<sup>257</sup> ἀνωτέρω. The use of this word

here is very singular. But there is a similar one below: ὅστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τελευτᾶν καταπλῶσαι, καταρρωθηκότας, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας, χρηρίζονταν Κίον, τὸ πρὸς ᾧ κατωτέρω Δῆλου (§ 132). From the analogy of ἀνιέναι and κατέρχεσθαι, one may suppose that the phrases ἐνω and κάτω would respectively mean "away from" and "towards" some port regarded as a centre. In the present case this would be some place on the Asiatic main,—perhaps Ephesus, which was the port through which the commerce with Europe mainly passed. (See note 512 on i. 162.)

<sup>258</sup> πολλόν. So Gaisford prints from S and V. The other MSS have πολλῶς.

<sup>259</sup> ὁ δὲ ναυτικός. See above, note 263 on § 130.

<sup>260</sup> τοῦ Ἠγησίλεω. In vi. 65, all the MSS, without any exception, make Agis



at *Ægina*  
110 sail  
strong.

Ἰπποκρατίδῃ, τοῦ Λευτυχίδῃ, τοῦ Ἀναξίλῃ, τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου, τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδῃ, τοῦ Θεοπόμπου, τοῦ Νικάνδρου, τοῦ Χαρίλλαν, τοῦ Εὐνόμου, τοῦ Πολυδέκτους, τοῦ Πρυτάνιος<sup>261</sup>, τοῦ Εὐρυφάντος, τοῦ Προκλέος, τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ Κλεοδαίου, τοῦ Ἰλλου, τοῦ Ἡρακλέος· ἐὼν τῆς ἐτέρης οἰκῆς τῶν βασιλέων. οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν δυῶν τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδῃα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι, βασιλείες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος<sup>262</sup>. Ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες, ἀπῆκοντο Ἴωνων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οἱ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην ὀλίγη πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι, ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίαν ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιλιγίδῃς ἦν αἰ στασιωταὶ σφί γενόμενοι, ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῃ<sup>263</sup>, ὄντες ἀρχὴν ἐπτά· ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ

132

They are  
induced to  
move as far  
as *Delos*  
by some  
Ionian  
exiles,

the grandfather of Leotychides,—a difference which can only be accounted for by supposing different sources. CLINTON (*F. H.* ii. p. 209) considers the present passage corrupt. And there are doubtless many great difficulties in it. In the first place, Aristodemus and his three ancestors can in no way be said (conformably with ordinary accounts) to have been kings of Sparta, as the country was subdued in the time of Aristodemus at the very earliest. Again, all the descendants of Theopompus, from Anaxandrides to Hippocratides both inclusive, are unknown from any other authority as kings of Sparta. In their place PAUSANIAS (iii. 7. 5) gives Zeuxidamus (grandson of Theopompus, his father Archidamus having died), Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agasicles, and Ariston. This Ariston is the person mentioned by Herodotus (vi. 61). In some other details Pausanias's list of the Procleid house differs from that of Herodotus. He puts a *Sois* between Procles and Euryphon, which latter he calls Euryphon, and reverses the order of Eunomus and Polydeces. But it would be very rash to place implicit dependance upon any one list, and to attempt to correct the others by it, as there is little probability that any one rests upon contemporaneous records. See note 217 on i. 65.

<sup>261</sup> τοῦ Πρυτάνιος. One manuscript (F) omits this name.

<sup>262</sup> Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος

ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος. This was the father of the great Pericles. The reputation of Themistocles seems to have occasioned a difficulty in later times to account for his not appearing in command on this occasion; and DIODORUS puts together a number of facts to explain the matter. According to him, the distinction gained by the Athenians at Salamis was such, that a general opinion prevailed that they would put forward a claim to the hegemony. In order to thwart this, the Lacedæmonians by their influence caused the *ἀριστεία* to be adjudged to the *Æginetans*, as it seems from Herodotus (§ 122, above) was done. But now, dreading the effects of this, they found it necessary to conciliate Themistocles personally; and hence the distinctions which were heaped upon him. The Athenians in their turn, angry with Themistocles for receiving these honours, deposed him, and appointed Xanthippus in his place (xi. 27). A more simple explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact, that a new campaign having begun, new commanders were naturally appointed; and certainly the most important post for an Athenian statesman would no longer be at the head of the fleet, after the enemy's navy had been destroyed, and while he had an enormous army in Thessaly.

<sup>263</sup> Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῃ. This Strattis was one of the Ionian dynasts who discussed the question whether they should destroy the bridge which Darius

ἐγένοντο, ἐξενεικναιτος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἑνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ, ἔξ ἑόντες, ὑπεξέσχον<sup>264</sup> ἐκ τῆς Χίου, καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἰγίαν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δέομενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην οἱ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς μόγις μέχρι Δήλου· τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, οὔτε τῶν χωρῶν ἐοῦσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατιῆς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχεω<sup>265</sup>. συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμον<sup>266</sup> μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι, καταρρωδικότας τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας, χρηζίζοντων Χίῳ, τὸ πρὸς ἡῷ κατωτέρω Δήλου οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφραγῖν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἔπλωον ἐς τὴν Δήλον Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ 133 τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε<sup>267</sup>. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὀρμεώμενος, ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος<sup>268</sup>, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐν-  
During the winter passed by Mardonius in

had thrown across the Ister, when the failure of his expedition into Scythia had become manifest (iv. 138). He had no doubt been replaced in his position by the Persians, when they recovered Ionia after the revolt had been crushed by the capture of Miletus (vi. 31). The dative case Σπάρτῃ is analogous to Κλέοθι (i. 31), and also to the adjectives ἀχρὶ and ἀπὸ (i. 41; ix. 61).

<sup>264</sup> ὑπεξέσχον. See note 186 on v. 72.

<sup>265</sup> τὴν δὲ Σάμον . . . ἴσον ἀπέχεω. This observation has been noticed as an extravagant exaggeration on the part of the author. "His object is here, by an imaginary effect of contrast, to place in a more striking light the rapid increase during his own time, of nautical power and enterprise among his European fellow countrymen, of which result the victories he had just celebrated were a principal cause. And in his zeal to produce this illusive effect he would have us believe, that prior to the epoch of those victories the great central port of Samos, which was probably even in those days little less familiar to Attic merchants and seamen than the port of Piræus, was viewed by the Greek commanders stationed at Delos, within sight of this very Samos, much in the light of some *terra incognita* or *ultima Thule* of the eastern waters." (MUSE, *Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*, iv. p. 406.) These remarks seem to leave out of consideration that the fleet was under the

command of a *Lacedæmonian*, totally unused to operations by sea, and that the "Hellenes" in the text have reference merely to the commandant and his staff. The feeling remarked with regard to the distance of Samos (not from Delos, but from Sparta) probably arose in a great measure from the failure of the enterprise against that island, recorded in iii. 56. That expedition, the first undertaken to Asia since the Dorian invasion, turned out so badly, that it is not wonderful if "a voyage to Samos" became proverbial at Sparta for an unlucky enterprise. It will be seen that next year, when the Spartan admiral adopted a more venturesome policy, it was in the sequel of an *omen*, which in ancient ways of thinking would be regarded as a most important matter. If any superstitious persons thought that a spell was laid upon all expeditions to Samos, here was an indication that the spell was broken.

<sup>266</sup> ἀνωτέρω Σάμον. See note 257 on § 130, above.

<sup>267</sup> ἐχείμαζε. Herodotus elsewhere uses the form *χειμαρίζω* in this sense (see note 221 on § 113, above). And it is the more extraordinary that he should not have done so here, as he employs the word *χειμάζω* in a different sense (vii. 191). See the note on that passage.

<sup>268</sup> Εὐρωπέα γένος. There was a town called *Europus* in Macedonia, and another in Syria, the latter of which however is of later times than the conquest of Alexan-

Theocly,  
he consults  
various  
oracles  
by one  
Mys,

134

who for  
that pur-  
pose visits  
the cave of  
Trophonius  
at Lebadea,  
Δβα in  
Phocia, and  
the temple  
of the Isme-  
nian Apollo  
at Thebes;  
also the

τειλάμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν τῶν οἰά τε ἦν σφί  
ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅτι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθέειν πρὸς τῶν χρηστη-  
ρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· δοκέω  
δ' ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι  
πέμψαι. Οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἐς τε Λεβαδείαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος, καὶ  
μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον,  
καὶ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκείων<sup>269</sup> ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ  
δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπύκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ  
Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· (ἔστι δὲ, κατὰ περ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ<sup>270</sup>, ἱροῖσι  
αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι)· τοῦτο δὲ ξυνόν τινα<sup>271</sup> καὶ οὐ Θηβαίων  
χρήμασι πείσας κατεκόμισε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω<sup>272</sup>. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδεὶς  
ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι, διὰ τὰδε<sup>273</sup>. ἐκέλευσέ σφεας ὁ Ἀμ-

der. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS also speaks of an Europus in Caria, and it has been generally assumed that Mys must have been a native of this. But the only colour for such a supposition seems to be the circumstance, that the Carians in subsequent times appear to have frequently acted as interpreters between the Greeks and the Persian officials. Tissaphernes sent with the Spartan admiral Mindarus *πρεσβευτὴν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, Γαυλεῖτην ἄρομα, Κάρα διγλωσσόν.* (THUCYDIDES, viii. 85.) Compare too XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, i. 2. 17. Stephanus, however, expressly says that the gentile name from the Carian Europus is *Εὐρώπιος*. I should be more disposed to think Mys a Macedonian, and belonging to a part of the population which was of Pelasgian or Achæan blood. (See below, note 276 on § 135.) The name *Europē* was a surname of Demeter in the ritual of Trophonius, whose nurse she was said to have been. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 39. 5.) It was therefore doubtless an Achæan or Pelasgian word.

<sup>269</sup> ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκείων. The temple having been sacked and burnt the year before (see § 33, above), it seems at first sight strange that Mardonius should have endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the oracle. But certainly this outrage was committed by a division of the army which Mardonius did not command in person (see notes 69, 71, and 72 on §§ 33, 34), and perhaps on the present occasion compensation was tendered.

<sup>270</sup> κατὰ περ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ, "in the same way as at Olympia." This was through the appearances presented by the entrails

of the victim while burning. PINDAR says: Ὀλύμπια δέσπον' ἀλαθείας, ἵα μάντιες ἄνδρες Ἐμπύροισ τεκμαίρομενοι παραπειθῶνται Διὸς ἀργικεράτῳ. (*Olymp. viii. init.*) Hence SOPHOCLES (*Œd. Tyr.* 21) uses the expression, ἐν Ἰσμηνοῦ τε μαντεία σπυδῶ, where the Scholiast, on the authority of PHILLOCHORUS, explains the words by asserting that the priests there resorted to this method of divination.

<sup>271</sup> ξυνόν τινα. Doubtless one of the perioeci to whom the temple originally belonged. See the next note but one. PLUTARCH in one passage says that this individual was a Lydian (*Aristid.* § 19); in another he calls him a servant (*De oraculorum defectu*, § 5), and makes him receive the oracle φωνῇ Αἰολίδι.

<sup>272</sup> ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Some of the MSS have ἐς Ἀμφιάρεον. But although the usage of language seems to have been to speak of Amphiaræus himself, and not his oracle, as giving advice, and even to say, τίμπτει παρὰ Ἀμφιάρεω (l. 46), and not παρὰ Ἀμφιάρεω μαντεῖον, yet κατακομίζω τινὰ ἐς Ἀμφιάρεον would certainly not be good Greek. HYPERIDES (*Pro Euxenippo*, col. 28) asks respecting his client, τί καὶ ἀδικεῖ δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ προέταττε ταῦτ' ἐξαγγελίας; but describes his duty as having been commissioned, with two others, ἐγκατακλιθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. Of the ritual of Amphiaræus, see note 164 on i. 52. Gaisford prints κατεκόμισε on the authority of a single MS, instead of κατεκοίμισε.

<sup>273</sup> διὰ τὰδε. The story which follows seems to be a mythical form of what may very reasonably be expected to have hap-

φιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιούμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι <sup>shrine of</sup> <sup>Amphiar-</sup> <sup>taus;</sup> <sup>135</sup> τούτων, ἐωυτῷ ἢ ἅτε μάντι χρέεσθαι, ἢ ἅτε συμμάχῳ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι. Τόδε δὲ θῶμά <sup>that of</sup> <sup>Apollo</sup> <sup>Ptoüs at</sup> <sup>Acraephnia,</sup> <sup>where the</sup> <sup>response was</sup> <sup>made in a</sup> <sup>strange lan-</sup> <sup>guage, but</sup> <sup>one under-</sup> <sup>stood by</sup> <sup>Mys, who</sup> <sup>called it</sup> <sup>Carian.</sup> μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφόμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτώου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἶρὸν καλέσται μὲν Πτώων, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κέσται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαίδος λήμνης πρὸς οὐρεῖ, ἀγχοτάτω Ἀκραίφνης <sup>274</sup> πόλιος· ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἶρὸν ἐπεὶ τε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλούμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἐπεσθαὶ οἱ τῶν ἀστών αἶρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὥς ἀπογραφόμενους τὰ θεσπίειν ἐμελλε· καὶ πρόκατε <sup>275</sup> τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσση χρᾶν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θῶματι ἔχσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ παρόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν· φάναι δὲ Καρὴ μιν γλώσση χρᾶν <sup>276</sup>. συγγραψάμενον δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀπίοντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

opened upon the final settlement of the struggle between the Cadmean invaders and the aboriginal population of the country. Amphiarus was a hero belonging to the mythology of the latter. He was propitiated and converted into an ally by respecting the privileges of his worshippers, or, in other words, by leaving his ritual in the hands of that race to which it belonged. It is to be remarked, that just before the battle of Leuctra, which led to the re-establishment of a Messenian and Arcadian influence in the Peloponnese, the Thebans consulted exactly the same oracles which Mys did on the occasion of Mardonius's commission, with the addition only of that of Delphi. And some connexion of the oracle at Delphi with that of Amphiarus at Oropus appears from the argument of HΥΓΚΡΙΔΕΣ (*Pro Eusepiro*, col. 28, line 21).

<sup>274</sup> Ἀκραίφνης. This is the reading of F, b, d. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has Ἀκραίφνης. But in PAUSANIAS (ix. 23. 8) the town is called Ἀκραίφνιον. It was a mere hamlet within the territory of Thebes until the destruction of that city by Alexander, when a portion of the population found refuge there. The tem-

ple of Apollo Ptoüs was fifteen *stadæ* from the town, on the right of the road which led to it from Thebes. The legend made Ptoüs, from whom the surname of the god was derived, a son of *Athamas* and *Themisto*. The poet *Asius* of Samos is regarded by Pausanias as the authority for it.

<sup>275</sup> πρόκατε. See note 392 on l. 111.

<sup>276</sup> Καρὴ μιν γλώσση χρᾶν. In the time of PAUSANIAS, the local accounts related that Mys consulted the oracle in his own language, and not merely, as Herodotus puts it, understood the latter when speaking in a foreign tongue. This would be the more natural proceeding, if we suppose (which there is every reason to believe) that the oracle was originally founded antecedently to the invasion of the Cadmeans, and belonged to the old inhabitants of the country,—a population pretty nearly identical with the autochthonous part of the population of Attica, and with that of the Megarid at the time when the acropolis of Megara was called *Caria*. (See note 167 on v. 66.) An acquaintance with the ancient language would doubtless be preserved by the functionaries of the temple

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On receiving the responses of the several oracles, Mardonius despatches Alexander the Macedonian prince as a commissioner to Athens.

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὃ τι δὴ ἦν λέγοντα τὰ χρηστήρια, μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω<sup>277</sup>, ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα<sup>278</sup>. ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν (Ἀλέξανδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυναίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος· τῷ δὲ ἐκ βασιλέως τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα<sup>279</sup> πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι) ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξενός τε εἴη καὶ εὐεργέτης<sup>280</sup> ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἔπεμπε· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεόν τε πολλὸν ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφί παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο· τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων, κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσῃ, τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἦν περὶ τε ἐδόκεε πολλὸν εἶναι κρέσσων οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθε οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι [τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν<sup>281</sup>.] τάχα

long after it ceased to exist, as a living one, in the neighbourhood. Most probably formularies in it constituted a portion of the religious service of the deity. The proceeding of Mys would be, in this view, analogous to that of a person who should address the Brahmins of Benares in Sanscrit, or the ecclesiastics of a Transalpine Romanist church in Latin. It would be a stroke of policy in Mardonius to employ as his agent an individual familiar with the religious system to which the temples visited by him belonged.

<sup>277</sup> Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω. For the conduct of this Alexander, in his younger days, to the Persian embassy at his father's court, see v. 19—21. But his Persian brother-in-law was the son of Megabazus, the chief who had organized the European continent from the Hellespont to the Strymon, and who stood in the highest favour with Darius. (See note 111 on vi. 44.) He therefore had doubtless modified his views, and probably hoped to become in Europe what Histiaeus had been in Asia. Compare the overtures of Hydarnes to the Spartans, Sperthias and Bulis (vii. 136).

<sup>278</sup> ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα. This is the description by which Alexander is introduced to notice in vii. 173, where see the note.

<sup>279</sup> Ἀλάβανδα. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS appears to have found the reading

Ἀλάβαστρα in his copy. But although Alabanda in Caria is well known, there is no notice elsewhere of an Alabanda in Phrygia, or of an Alabastra any where whatever.

<sup>280</sup> πρόξενός τε εἴη καὶ εὐεργέτης. This connexion was probably one not with Athens, but with the Pisistratid dynasty. Amyntas, the father of Alexander, had offered Hippias the town Anthemus on his final abandonment of the attempt to recover Athens (v. 94). But after the discomfiture of the Persians at Salamis, and the growth of the power of the commonalty (which took such a start from that event; ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. p. 1304), it became an absolute necessity to represent the relations which formerly subsisted between the great dynastic families in a false light. See notes 197 and 201 on i. 60; notes 213 and 214 on i. 63; note 165 on v. 65; and note 315 on vi. 140. It is perhaps out of delicacy to democratic feelings that Alexander, both here and above, vii. 173 (where see the note), being spoken of as a friend to the Athenians, is described without any reference to his exalted position.

<sup>281</sup> [τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν]. One manuscript (S) has Ἑλλήνων, another Ἑλληνικῶν, and a third τὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, variations which induce the belief that the whole originate in a marginal gloss.

δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλευόντα σύμμαχον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον οἱ ποιήσασθαι τοῖσι δὴ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε <sup>222</sup>.

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἑβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ, ὁ 137  
κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρώφῃ τοιῷδε <sup>223</sup>. *Pedigree of the Macedonian dynasty, which originally sprang from Argos; and legend of their first establishment in Macedonia.*  
Ἔξ Ἀργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημενοῦ ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφοὶ, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης· ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐθήτεον ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὁ δὲ βοὺς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι <sup>224</sup>, οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὴ τὰ σιτία σφί ἔπεσσε· ὅκως δὲ ὀπτῶτο ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς Περδίκκew, διπλήσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἔσθλβε αὐτίκα, ὥς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι ἐς μέγα τι καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θήτας, προηγόρευέ σφί ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ· οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες, οὕτω ἐξίεναι· ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβῆς γενόμενος· “μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τούδε ἀποδίδωμι” δειξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἔστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτίγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἶπας τάδε· “δεκόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ διδοῖς <sup>225</sup>.” περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς

<sup>222</sup> τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια... πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε. The manuscripts S and V have τάχα δὲ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγουσι, and S has τὸν Ἀθηναῖον. Instead of οἱ ποιήσασθαι, all but S and V have ποιήσθαι. There can certainly be little doubt that Mardonius's object was not a purely superstitious one; but that he was endeavouring to shake the Greek confederacy by means of an appeal to the religious predilections of a portion of it.

<sup>223</sup> ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρώφῃ τοιῷδε. THUCYDIDES so far coincides with Herodotus in his account of the origin of the Macedonian kings, as to make Perdikkas the first of them, and Archelaus (the son of Alexan-

der) the eighth (ii. 100). The traditions therefore which both these writers follow are entirely distinct from those which make the original founder of the empire to be Ceraunus, a brother of Phidon the dynast of Argos.

<sup>224</sup> ἦσαν δὲ τὰ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι. The instances in the Homeric poems of Nausicaa employed in washing the garments of the family (*Odys.* vi. 57, seqq.), and of the brothers of Andromache slain while tending their father's herds (*Iliad.* vi. 422) will recur to every one.

<sup>225</sup> δεκόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ διδοῖς. There is no “ambiguous answer” here as has been supposed. According to ancient

- τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον περιγράφας δὲ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρεῖς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου.
- 138 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπήϊσαν τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἷον τι χρήμα ποιήσσει ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὡς σὺν νόφ κεύων ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα· ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, καὶ ὄξυνθεις, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἱππέας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δέ ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Ἀργεὸς ἀπόγονοι σωτήρια<sup>286</sup>. οὗτος, ἐπεὶ τε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὗτω ἐρρήθη ὥστε τοὺς ἱππέας μὴ οἴους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. οἱ δὲ, ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης, οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μῖδεω τοῦ Γορδίου· ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἐν ἑκαστῷ ἔχον ἐξήκοντα φύλλα, ὁδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τοῖτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς<sup>287</sup> τοῖσι κήποισι ἦλθω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων οὖρος κέεται, Βέρμιον<sup>288</sup> οὖνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὁρμαίνοντες, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκω Ἀλέξανδρος ὧδε ἐγγέγονε· Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος· Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκτέω· Ἀλκτέω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀέροπος· τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος· Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος· τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγγέγονε μὲν δὴ ὧδε Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω.
- 140 Ὡς δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας<sup>289</sup> ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἔλεγε τάδε· “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει<sup>290</sup>. ἐμοὶ

The Gardens of Midas, where the Macedonian legend places the Capture of Silenus.

Legation of Alexander to Athens,

ways of thinking the offer and the omen are inseparable from each other, and both from the actual object which was visible to the eye,—the sunlight streaming into the hut. Hence the gesture of Perdicas, as if securing his new possession. See notes on ix. 91, 92.

<sup>286</sup> σωτήρια, “a thank-offering for preservation.” Several of the MSS have σωτήρι, which Gaisford adopts. But although the name σωτήρ is applied as a surname to many of the ancient deities, the position of the word at the end of the sentence, without any explanation that it was a surname, would be unusual.

<sup>287</sup> ὁ Σιληνός. The legend of Silenus, and his dialogue with Midas, upon physical subjects as well as the philosophy of life, appears to have been a very popular one in antiquity. THEOPOMPUS seems to have gone most fully into the details of the matter. He made Silenus the son of a nymph, and to be something greater

than a man (for he was represented as immortal), although less than a deity (ap. *Ælian. Var. Hist.* iii. 18). ARISTOTILE (ap. *Plutarch. Consolat.* § 27) introduced an allusion to Silenus in one of his own *erotic* works, written in dialogue, entitled *Eudemus*, or *On the soul*. But this does nothing more than impute to him a peculiarly dark view of human existence. His sentiment is: *ἄριστον γὰρ πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις μὴ γενέσθαι τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τούτω καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνυσθὴν, δεύτερον δέ, τὸ γενομένου ἀποθανεῖν ὡς τάχιστα*.

<sup>288</sup> Βέρμιον. S and K have Βέρβιον, which is confirmed by Valla's *sons Berbionus*. Another (d) has Κέρμιον.

<sup>289</sup> ὡς δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. The Athenians apparently returned home immediately after the retreat of Xerxes's army northwards (§ 113), although the circumstance is not mentioned by Herodotus.

<sup>290</sup> Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. See note

ἀγγελίῃ ἤκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς ἀμαρ-  
τάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετήμι· νῦν τε ὦδε,  
Μαρδόνιε, ποίεε τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος· τοῦτο δὲ, ἄλλην  
πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐλέσθων αὐτοὶ ἥντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι·  
ἰρά τε πάντα σφι, ἣν δὴ βούλωνται γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον,  
ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα. τούτων δὲ ἀπυγμένων, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι  
ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἣν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀντίον<sup>291</sup> γένηται· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν  
τάδε· νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλεῖ ἀνταειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ  
ἂν ὑπερβάλαισθε οὔτε οἰοί τε ἐστὲ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον·  
εἶδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα·  
πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ' ἐμοὶ<sup>292</sup> εἶδυσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ  
ἣν ἡμέας ὑπερβάλωσθε, καὶ νικήσητε, (τοῦπερ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπίς  
εἴπερ εὖ φρονέετε,) ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλησίη. μὴ ὦν βού-  
λεσθε παρισεύμενοι βασιλεῖ,<sup>293</sup> στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρας, θέειν  
δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν<sup>294</sup>· ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν  
κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέος ταύτῃ ὥρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύ-  
θεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρ-  
δόνιος μὲν ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας·  
ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας εὐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω  
(οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε<sup>295</sup>.) προσσχητῶ δὲ ὑμέων,  
πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ· ἐνορέω γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἴοισί τε ἐσομένοισι  
τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξῃ (εἰ γὰρ ἐνώρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν,  
οὐκ ἂν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε) καὶ γὰρ δύναμις  
ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἢ βασιλέος ἐστὶ, καὶ χεῖρ ὑπερμήκης<sup>296</sup>. ἣν ὦν  
μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ' οἷσι ὁμολογέειν

118 on iii. 40. One manuscript (K) has for ἔλεγε τὰδε simply λέγει, and then proceeds: ἀγγελίῃ ἤκει παρὰ βασιλέος, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>291</sup> ἀντίον. This is the ingenious emendation of Valcknaer, all the MSS having αἴτιον.

<sup>292</sup> παρ' ἐμοὶ. This is the reading of one manuscript (a). The rest, with one exception, have παρ' ἐμέ.

<sup>293</sup> παρισεύμενοι βασιλεῖ, "putting yourselves on a footing with the king." The expression is used elsewhere of the proceeding of Aryandes, who, by issuing a coinage, put himself on the footing of an independent prince: παρισεύμενος Δα-

ρείῳ διεφθόρῃ (iv. 166). By refusing to become the vassals of the Persian king, the Athenians indirectly matched themselves with him.

<sup>294</sup> θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν. A similar expression is used above (vii. 57): περὶ ἐαυτοῦ τρέχων.

<sup>295</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε. This apparently refers to the communication made to the allies when they were encamped in the valley of the Peneus. See above, vii. 173.

<sup>296</sup> χεῖρ ὑπερμήκης. OVID has rendered this proverbial expression into Latin: "An nescis longas regibus esse manus?" (*Heroid.* xvii. 166.)



ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων, ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαίρετόν τι μεταίχμιον τὴν γῆν κεκτημένων. ἀλλὰ πείθεσθε πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεὺς γε ὁ μέγας μούνουσι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπιεὶς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι.”

to get up a  
separate alli-  
ance with  
Persia

141

is opposed  
by the La-  
cedæmo-  
nians.

Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἤκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐς ὁμολογίην ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων<sup>297</sup>, ὥς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσασι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους· καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφέων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν ἐπανέμεναι γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἐμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πείσεσθαι ἤκουτα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ' ὁμολογίῃ, πυθόμενοι τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους· ἐπὶ τήδε ὡν ἐποίουν, ἐνδεκνύμενοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἐωυτῶν γνώμην. Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι· “ἡμέας δὲ ἔπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων, μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἤκιστα, πολλῶν εἵνεκα· ἐγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆς<sup>298</sup>

142

Their ar-  
guments  
against it.

<sup>297</sup> ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων. These prophecies are perhaps what Cleomenes had brought with him from Athens, after the failure of his attempt to establish Isagoras in power at that place. See v. 90. Possibly they may have been composed by Onomacritus, who appears to have been retained as a sort of family seer by the Pisistratids. The oracles, on the strength of which Hippias foretold ill to the Corinthians (v. 93), appear to have had the same general bearing as those referred to in the text.

<sup>298</sup> περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆς. Wesseling, very naturally surprised at such language as this from Lacedæmonian commissioners to the Athenians, was at one time inclined to read περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, in accordance with what Themistocles says to the Ionians: ἀρχῆθεν ἢ ἐχθρῇ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἐπ'

ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε (above, § 22). But the speech, although put into the mouth of a Spartan, is from an Athenian mint, and of a coinage later than the time when the ἡγεμονία was transferred from Lacedæmon to Athens. See the note 243 on v. 91. A similar remark is suggested by what presently follows: οἱ τῶν αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλα φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. The Lacedæmonians had enjoyed the reputation of universal liberators while their supremacy lasted, which was owing to their habitual policy of substituting aristocratic for dynastic government wherever they could extend their influence. (See the beginning of the speech of the Corinthian Societes, v. 92, and Thucydides, cited in the note 245 on the same.) When the Athenians stepped into their place as the leading city in Hellas, they earned the same title

ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο· νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι Ἀθηναίους, οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν<sup>300</sup>. οἵτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζυμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διζῶν ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν· ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναικάς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα<sup>301</sup> πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκη. μὴ δὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λεήνας<sup>301</sup> τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον· τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστὶ· τύραννος γὰρ ἔων τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται· ὑμῖν δὲ γε οὐ ποιητέα, εἴπερ εὖ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβάροις ἐστὶ οὔτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε<sup>302</sup>. "καὶ 143  
αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μῆδῳ  
δύναμις ἥπερ ἡμῖν ὥστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν ἀλλ'  
ὅμως ἐλευθερίας γλιχόμενοι ἀμυνόμεθα οὕτω ὅπως ἂν καὶ δυνά-  
μεθα· ὁμολογῆσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀνα-  
πείθειν, οὔτε ἡμέες πεισόμεθα. νῦν δὲ ἀπαγγέλλε Μαρδονίῳ, ὡς  
Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἦγ τῇπερ καὶ  
νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὁμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ· ἀλλὰ θεοῖσι τε  
συμμάχοισι πύστυνοι μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι·

Answer of  
the Athe-  
nians to  
Alexander,

by supporting the commonalty against an aristocracy of families, whenever they could. In later times these two policies were popularly confounded with each other, which furnished the orators with abundant material for flattering the national vanity.

<sup>300</sup> ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι Ἀθηναίους, οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. This sentence is not easy to explain. Schäfer reads ἀπαντῶντων for ἀπάντων. Matthiae explains the passage as if the word αἰτίους were intended to do double duty, and be, as it were, repeated: "and that Athenians, the cause of all these things, should become the cause of slavery to Hellas, is a matter not to be thought of." This view of the passage is considered to be supported by § 80, above: ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο

τὰ ποιεῖμενα ὑπὸ Μῆδων, where see note 160. I should be more disposed to take τούτων ἀπάντων to mean "all these Hellenes," gathered inferentially from πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, and to translate: "and besides, that among all these Hellenic powers, Athenians should become the cause of slavery to Hellas," &c.

<sup>301</sup> οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα. Compare i. 120: τὰ γε τῶν θειρῶντων ἐχόμενα. i. 193: τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα.

<sup>302</sup> λεήνας. See note 48 on vii. 9.

<sup>303</sup> ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. According to PLUTARCH (*Aristid.* § 10) the answer to Alexander was made by *Aristides*, who was authorized to return it by a public decree. The terms are, as was to be expected, more energetic than they appear in Herodotus.

144  
to the Spar-  
tan commis-  
sioners.

τῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐδεμίαν ὄπην ἔχων<sup>303</sup>, ἐνέπηρσε τοὺς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίneo Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν παραίνεε· οὐ γὰρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν<sup>304</sup>, ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον<sup>305</sup>.” Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε· “τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπήϊον ἦν ἂν αὐτὰρ αἰσχροῦς γε οἴκατε, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ φρόνημα, ἄρρωδῆσαι· ὅτι οὔτε χρυσὸς ἐστὶ γῆς οὐδαμῶθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρῃ κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοισιν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλώσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν, μηδ’ ἦν ἐθέλωμεν· πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα<sup>306</sup>, τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα· τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον, ἥπερ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ· αὐτὶς δὲ, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν δμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι, ἥθεά τε ὁμότροπα· τῶν προδότας

<sup>303</sup> οὐδεμίαν ὄπην ἔχων. The word ὄπην is used below, ix. 76. But the word is otherwise peculiar to the Homeric poems, or rather is to be considered as an Ionic phrase, remaining only in them.

<sup>304</sup> οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν. In the time of the orators it was currently believed that Alexander narrowly escaped stoning at the hands of the Athenians on this occasion. (LYCURGUS, *c. Leocrat.* § 72, p. 156.) He represents him however as coming from *Xerxes*, not from *Mardonius*.

<sup>305</sup> ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον. See above, note 280 on § 136.

<sup>306</sup> πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα. After the victory of the allies at Plataea, it became a popular view of the war at Athens to represent it as one waged against the Persians in revenge for the outrages they had committed in destroying the temples of the Hellenic deities. In this spirit is the oath conceived, which according to the orator LYCURGUS (*c. Leocrat.* § 82, p. 158) was taken by the collective allies just before the battle at Plataea: οὐ ποιήσομαι περὶ πλείονος τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐδὲ καταλείψω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ζῶντας οὔτε ἀποθανόντας· ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ

τελευτήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων ἀπαντας θάψω· καὶ κρατήσας τῇ πολέμῳ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδεμίαν τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων πόλεων ἀνάστατον ποιήσω· τὰς δὲ τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου προελομένας ἀπὸ πάσης δεκατεῖσά· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν οἰκοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ νόμισμα τοῖς ἐπὶ γινόμενοις ἰσῶς καταλείψω τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀρεβείας. ISOCRATES (*Panegyric.* p. 73) attributes the resolution respecting the temples to the *Ionians*; and as no temple was burnt in the Peloponnese (from which the greater part of the allied force was drawn), this seems the more probable statement of the two. But in fact THUCYDIDES, who was himself a scholar of Isocrates, asserted that the oath is an Athenian fiction (*fragm.* 167); a circumstance which peeps out from under the observation of Lycurgus, that the allies drew up the formula οὐ παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐρόντες, ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τὸν παρ’ ὁμῶν εἰθισμένον ὅρκον (§ 81). The resolution sworn to at the commencement of the war by the Peloponnesian confederates (vii. 132) is of a much more practical character.

γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι· ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἰς περιῆ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρῃ<sup>307</sup>. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίην τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσιν<sup>308</sup>, ὅτι προεῖдете ἡμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω, ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας· καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται· ἡμέες μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω ὅκως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὥς οὕτω ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε· ὥς γὰρ ἡμέες εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκὰς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκείνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὧν παρεῖναι ἐκείνου ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ προσβωθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βιωτιήν." οἱ μὲν, ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

<sup>307</sup> ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἰς περιῆ Ἀθηναίων . . . ἡμέας Ξέρῃ. It is difficult not to feel some scepticism about the sincerity of these sentiments, when it is considered how very soon afterwards (according to Herodotus's own account) the Athenians pressed upon the Lacedæmonians (ix. 6) that they had the option of an alliance with Persia. After the entire discomfiture of the invaders, and the development of Hellenic national power which immediately followed, it became an object of emulation among the several states to

make themselves out deadly enemies to the barbarian. Just in the same way the Parisians under the Directory took pride in having had relations guillotined during the reign of terror.

<sup>308</sup> τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσιν. This is the reading of Gaisford and the manuscripts S and V. The others have the variation τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔουσιν. Here the difference is apparently to be attributed to an original diversity of *διασκευα*, and not, as in v. 81, to the introduction into the text of an explanatory gloss.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Η΄.

## EXCURSUS ON VIII. 76.

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IN describing the details of the battle of Salamis, modern writers have, without any exception so far as I am aware, been almost exclusively guided by the narrative of Herodotus; bestowing little or no attention on those features of the transaction which appear in other writers, and which are in some cases altogether incompatible with the details of the historian's account. This is the more to be wondered at, as Herodotus himself plainly intimates, that there were many particulars about which he was unable to speak positively<sup>1</sup>; while about some there was a very great disagreement at the time he wrote<sup>2</sup>. COLONEL LEAKE, whose view of the matter seems to have been adopted unhesitatingly by the best modern historians of Greece, gives what appears to me a very false turn to these facts, by the remark, "that, instead of giving a consecutive narrative of the battle, Herodotus has related only a few of the most interesting occurrences; *consistently with that determination not to be responsible for any but ascertained facts*, which is observable in every part of his history of the Persian invasion<sup>3</sup>."

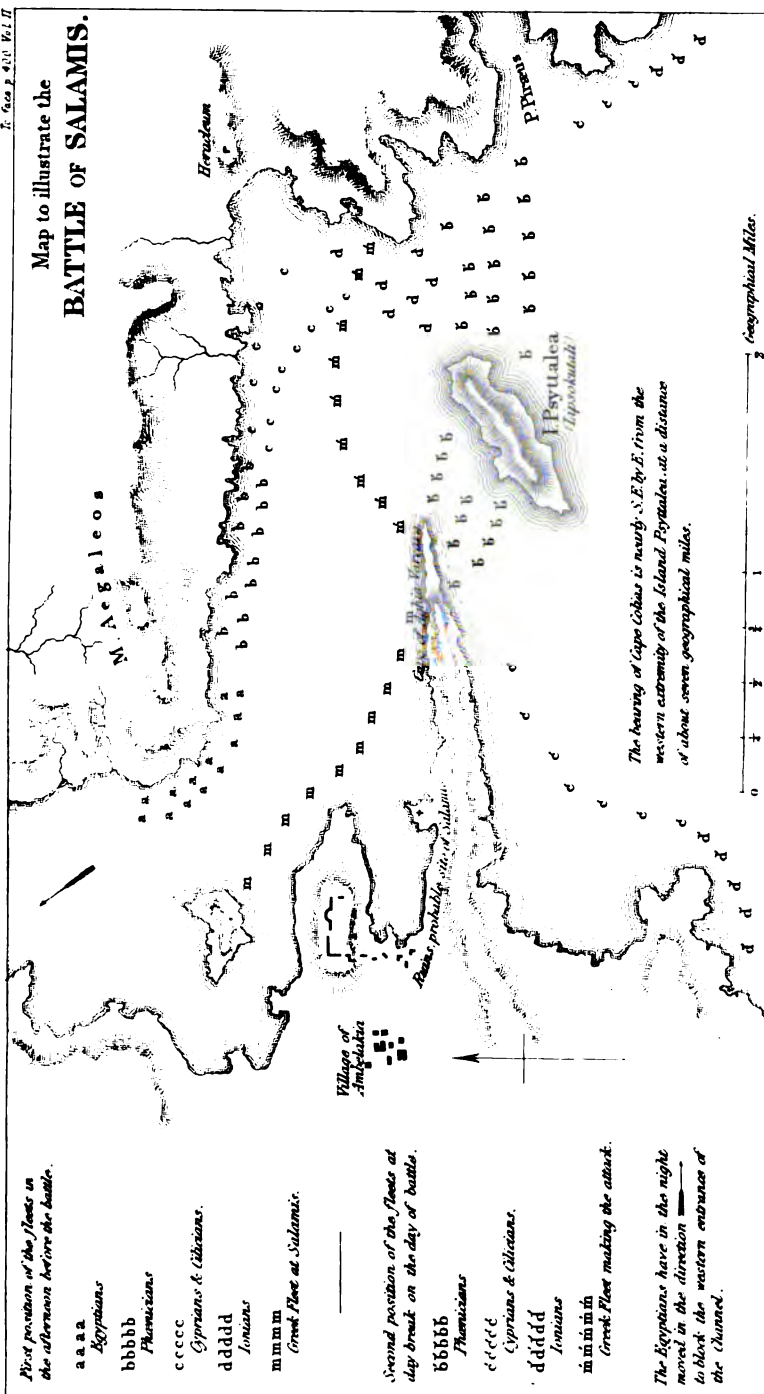
No person can have a higher opinion of the truthfulness of the so-called Father of History than myself, if by this is meant no more than an honest desire to relate such accounts as he received, in the form in which he received them,—to judge on principles of common sense between conflicting statements,—and to avoid the appearance

<sup>1</sup> viii. 87.

<sup>2</sup> viii. 94, where see note 185.

<sup>3</sup> *Athens and the Demi of Attica*, Appendix II. p. 264.

# Map to illustrate the BATTLE OF SALAMIS.





of bestowing credence upon such stories as seemed to him manifestly not to merit it. For this, and for the clear eye of an observer, he deserves entire credit. But neither the character of Herodotus's work, nor any thing which has been related of himself by the ancients, warrant us in attributing to him that searching criticism which should lead us (as it might in the case of Thucydides or Aristotle) to prefer his statements to those of a contemporary witness of the events described,—especially if such a one's position had made him an active participator in them.

Now in the case of the battle of Salamis we have the account of a contemporary, deserving of the closest attention,—which, if it had proceeded from a prose-writer, it would probably have received. But the unconscious association in modern minds between the ideas of *poetry* and *fiction* has, I believe, deprived the great Greek dramatist of his due weight with our historians. Æschylus, who, even if he did not himself take a part in the action<sup>4</sup>, most undoubtedly was perfectly familiar with it under the aspect which it must have borne to those who did take part in it, produced his play *The Persians*, of which it constitutes the main feature, only seven years afterwards, before an audience chiefly made up of the very men who had manned the victorious galleys; to whom consequently every line of his description must have vividly recalled circumstances with which they were perfectly familiar. If his availableness for the purpose of the modern historian is somewhat curtailed in one respect, that before such an audience he could not enter into details with which they were well acquainted, although it would be most interesting for us to know them,—details most appropriate to the historian, and which we are thankful to Herodotus for preserving<sup>5</sup>,—there is on the other hand an advantage which he possesses without a rival. It was alto-

<sup>4</sup> Late writers assert, or assume, that he did (PAUSANIAS, i. 14. 5). But though it is very possible that such was the case, these writers are little to be depended upon for a fact, six centuries old if true, unless it appears that there is some intermediate authority to which they had access. Pausanias seems merely to speak on the strength of the current opinion of his time.

<sup>5</sup> It is only through an indirect allusion that we can at all infer from Æschylus that Athens had been burnt, and that the whole hopes of the citizens lay in the fleet at Salamis:—

ἔτ' ἂρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐστ' ἀπόρρητος πόλις,  
ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὕψτων, ἕρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλὲς.—v. 348, 9.



gether impossible for him, without the certainty of disapproval, to present any view of the transaction which did not commend itself to *Athenian eye-witnesses*,—full, we may allow, of national prejudices and personal vanity, and quite ready to accept any *grouping* of the facts which actually occurred that might most flatter themselves, but still eye-witnesses, who would be at once revolted by any picture which contradicted their actual experience. Herodotus, it should be remembered, whatever weight we may please to attach to his individual judgment, is exempted from this corrective influence. Supposing him to have been actuated by even a *critical* spirit, in the modern sense of the word,—of which however there is not the slightest trace,—his facts were a generation old; the Athenians of his time were the sons and grandsons of those before whom the *Persians* was acted; and in the forty years or more that had elapsed since the battle, its story had been told over and over again in every family, as the twentieth day of Boëdromion returned, and the school-boys had a holiday to go and see the procession of Iacchus. It is not at all necessary to suppose wilful misrepresentation on the part of those who fought their battles over again to their children and grandchildren on their knees, in order to believe that the gallant bearing of the Athenian sailors, and the brilliant acts of individual commanders, together with such exciting incidents as the device of *Artemisia* to escape destruction, were more interesting both to tell and hear, than the accurate notice of times and places and other circumstances attending the movements of the forces engaged; although these were of far more vital importance to success, and by the actual combatants would at the time be felt to be so.

I assume it, therefore, as an axiom, that when *Æschylus* does relate any particulars of the action of such a kind as *must* have come under the notice of eye-witnesses, his narrative possesses paramount authority; and that if any incident, or any special notice of time or place appears in Herodotus irreconcilable with these, it must be regarded as erroneous. On the other hand, if any circumstance recorded by the historian, of difficult explanation when we merely regard its agreement with his main story, be yet found to harmonize well with the course of events contemplated in the dramatic narrative, it is to be received without hesitation.

Now, in the description of Herodotus there is room for the appli-

cation of each of these principles. It is, I believe, quite incompatible with the view of the battle taken by Æschylus, that the engagement should have commenced—which Herodotus *implies* it to have done—with the Persian fleet formed in line *along* the strait between Salamis and the main. This is the position assigned to it by Leake, and it is a view in which he has been unhesitatingly followed. Assuming this position to be the true one, Leake naturally finds a difficulty in the well-known passage of Herodotus <sup>6</sup>, in which it is stated that with a view of enclosing the Greeks between the island Salamis and the main, the Persians caused a squadron of ships at *Ceos* and another at *Cynosura* to close up. *Cynosura* was the name of the cape forming the northern headland of the bay of Marathon<sup>7</sup>, and as this was more than sixty geographical miles from Salamis,—a distance which could not be completed in the time required,—and as HESYCHIUS adds that it was a generic name given to every thing like a peninsula, Leake identifies it with the cape of *St. Barbara* (Aghía Varvára), in the island Salamis. But independently of there being no foundation in ancient writers for this arbitrary allocation, *Ceos*, the island to the s.e. of Sunium, is more than forty geographical miles from Salamis;—a distance almost equally unmanageable in the time which Herodotus allows for the operation. Leake is therefore driven to the necessity of supposing “it is possible that *Ceos* may have been a place in Salamis, or on the Attic coast opposite to Cape *Cynosura*: it is also possible that there is some error in the text<sup>8</sup>.” I will endeavour to show in the sequel that *Ceos* and *Cynosura* are respectively the well-known island and cape, and that the real difficulty is occasioned, not by their distance, but by the erroneous notion conceived by Herodotus of the operations of the Persian fleet, which is to be corrected by the help of the description of Æschylus.

Before, however, proceeding to contrast the narrative of the two writers who come near to the time of the events they describe, it will be well to turn for a while to that of DIONORUS. Of course no one would wish to compare so vague and modern a compiler with Herodotus, if the question were merely between the judgment of the one and the other; but in this instance our attention is attracted by the fact that in his description of this celebrated action, he is not

<sup>6</sup> viii. 76.<sup>7</sup> HESYCHIUS, *sub v.*<sup>8</sup> See note 154 on viii. 76.

epitomizing from Herodotus and superadding further facts from his various collections, but is undoubtedly following an entirely different authority;—a circumstance the more remarkable, as a very short time before, he had been taking Herodotus as his text-book. According to the latter, after the Persian fleet had been collected in the bay of Phalerum, the army having in the mean time overrun the whole of Attica and burnt Athens, a council of war is held, and the result of this is, that on the day before the great engagement, it having been determined to fight by sea in the presence of the king, the fleet (or at least the main portion of it) advances to Salamis, and makes dispositions at its leisure with the intention of engaging the next day; while the vanguard of the army marches the same evening upon the isthmus of the Peloponnese, where the Greeks were assembled to oppose it. Diodorus, for his part, makes the Persian fleet proceed at once from the open sea, to attack the Greeks who are drawn up *across* the strait of Salamis, their line occupying the ferry between the island and the Heracleum on the main<sup>9</sup>. Other circumstances in which he differs from Herodotus will be mentioned in the sequel; but here it is sufficient to direct attention to the important point, that according to the authority he followed (whatever it may have been), the great engagement begins by the Persians attempting to force their way into the eastern entrance of the strait of Salamis, the Greek line being drawn up *across* it to oppose them; while in Herodotus they are supposed to be already within the strait and drawn up in line *along* it, the Greeks being ranged opposite to them along the northern coast of Salamis.

Now if we turn to Æschylus, we find another important variation. His description makes the Persians completely taken by surprise, the Greeks advancing upon them at daybreak quite unexpectedly, and they themselves having made preparations, not for fighting, but only for intercepting an enemy which they imagine to be dispersing stealthily. The narrator attributes the whole calamity which has befallen his countrymen to the false intelligence sent by Themistocles. So indeed do Herodotus and Diodorus. But in those two writers the only benefit resulting to the Greeks from the movements which that intelligence occasioned is, that they are compelled to give up all

<sup>9</sup> xi. 19.

thoughts of retreating, and to put confidence in themselves. Far different is it in the view of the dramatic poet. With him the intelligence becomes the cause of the Persians altering a disposition which was favourable for fighting,—taking up one in which they were quite disqualified for engaging,—and, *while in this*, being brought unexpectedly to an action. This will be plain if attention be given to the several features brought prominently forward in his description, although the very fact of his audience having been engaged in the battle would necessarily (as observed above) prevent him from detailing the manœuvres in the way that would be proper for an historian.

Taking Herodotus as our guide up to the point where Æschylus's description commences, we have the great bulk of the Persian war gallees, on the day before the action, advanced from Phalerum to Salamis, too late in the day to render it desirable to fight; so that all they do is to make at their leisure arrangements for engaging the next day. There is every reason to believe that their disposition was *within* the strait of Salamis, along the coast of the main, from the roots of Mt. Ægaleos on the west to the headland opposite Cape St. Barbara, in Salamis, on the east. This would, in fact, be a very advantageous position. The whole of the coast behind them was lined with the flower of the Persian army, so that if in the approaching engagement the gallees should chance to be driven on shore, they would be secure of protection. Their ships were high out of the water, so that a strong breeze would have been productive of much inconvenience to them by rendering them difficult to steer<sup>10</sup>. Here, being land-locked, they would be to a great extent protected from this evil. The great numbers of their vessels would enable them to extend their line beyond that of the enemy, without at the same time weakening it; and the narrow channel being unfavourable to manœuvring, there seemed every prospect of using with great effect the Sacan and Persian archers from the forecastles of their vessels,—the archers being an arm in which they placed the greatest confidence<sup>11</sup>, and as the

<sup>10</sup> PLUTARCH, *Themistocles*, § 14.

<sup>11</sup> In addition (it would seem) to the native marines, thirty Persians, Sacans, or Medes were embarked in that capacity on each of the ships furnished by the foreign dependencies (vii. 184). These would probably be all archers. The Athenian ships at Salamis had only sixteen marines, of which four were archers, on board of each.

battle of Plataea showed<sup>12</sup>, with perfect reason. It is after this position has been taken up, opposite to the allied fleet of probably less than half the number of vessels, lying in the bight of Salamis to the west of the Silenian promontory (Aghía Varvára), that the treacherous message of Themistocles is brought to the Persian commander. Here the detailed narrative of Æschylus begins; and every single particular of it was doubtless intended to have weight. The instant the Persian admiral receives the intelligence, he obviously dismisses all thoughts of a battle from his mind, and bends his whole attention to taking measures for preventing the escape of the supposed fugitives. Orders are *at once* issued to all the captains for a movement, which is to be carried out as soon as it should be dark<sup>13</sup>. In the mean time every thing is done which could be done, without attracting attention, to facilitate the intended operations. The men have their supper rations distributed to them, and make their oars fast to the pins<sup>14</sup>. *As soon as it is dark*, sailors and marines embark at once, and, encouraging one another with cheers, repair to their respective stations<sup>15</sup>, the orders having been to block each entrance

(PLUTARCH, *Themistocles*, § 14.) Hence the appropriateness of the complaint of the Persian messenger in the play of Æschylus, that the course of events prevented this superiority from being made available:—

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἥρκει τόξα· πᾶς δ' ἀπώλλυτο  
στρατὸς δαμασθεὶς ναίοισιν ἐμβολαῖς.—*Pers.* 278.

<sup>12</sup> See ix. 61.

<sup>13</sup> δ δ' εὐθὺς ὡς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυρεὶς δόλον  
Ἕλληνας ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον,  
πᾶσιν προφωνεῖ τότε ναυάρχους λόγον.—*vv.* 361—3.

<sup>14</sup> δεῖπνόν τ' ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ  
ἐτροποῦτο κόπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρετμον.—*vv.* 375, 6.

<sup>15</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο  
καὶ νύξ ἐπῆρει, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κόπης ἑναξ  
ἐς αὐτὴν ἐχώρει, πᾶς θ' ὕπλων ἐπιστάτης.  
τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὸς μακρᾶς,  
πλοῦσι δ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος.—*vv.* 377—81.

Herodotus, who makes the Persian movement begin *at midnight*, says that it was executed in silence, that the Greeks might not perceive what was being done (viii. 76). But in the view of Æschylus, the only object was to *get the start* of the Greeks in a race to the outlets of the channel. Accordingly, though preparations for getting rapidly under weigh are made in secrecy before sunset, yet when once off, there is no occasion for the observance of silence, and the men encourage one another by cheers as they push for their several stations. The outlets once blocked, the Greeks were caught.

of the channel of Salamis with a triple line of gallees, and to post others all round the island<sup>16</sup>. If the Greeks escape, they are to lose their heads<sup>17</sup>. All night long they are kept cruising: strange! time passes, and the Greeks have never attempted to get away<sup>18</sup>. Morning breaks, and the first thing they hear is the clear sound of the Greek *pæan* re-echoed from the island rocks. A panic comes over them: they have been deluded! that solemn *pæan* means any thing but flight<sup>19</sup>! A trumpet sound kindles up all the region where the enemy is, and immediately there is the simultaneous dash of oars in water, and he is plainly discovered advancing in full force<sup>20</sup>. First, the right wing led, in perfect order, and next the whole fleet advanced; and at the same instant loud shouts were heard, "On, children of Greece! now have ye every thing at stake<sup>21</sup>." The cry of the Persians responds to the sound; there is no time for delay, and ship *at once* turns upon ship with brazen beak<sup>22</sup>, the onset commencing by a Greek galley crippling a Phœnician one. Surprised however as the barbarians are, they do not fly. *A stream* of ships at

<sup>16</sup> τάξει νεῶν στίφος μὲν ἐν στίχοις τρισὶν  
ἔκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἁλιρρόθους,  
ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος περὶξ.—νν. 366—8.

<sup>17</sup> ὡς εἰ μόρον φευξοίαθ' Ἕλληνες κακὸν,  
ναυσὶν κρυφαίως δρασμὸν εὐρόντες τινα,  
πᾶσιν στέρεσθαι κρατὶς ἦν προκείμενον.—νν. 369—71.

<sup>18</sup> καὶ πάννυχον δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν  
ναῶν ἑνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεόν'  
καὶ νύξ ἐχώρει, κοῦ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς  
κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο.—νν. 382—5.

<sup>19</sup> — φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάρους παρῆν  
γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ  
παιῶν' ἐφύμουν σεμνὸν Ἕλληνες τότε,  
ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντες εὐψόχῳ θρόσει.—νν. 391—4.

<sup>20</sup> σάλπιγγ' δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν  
εὐθὺς δὲ κόπης βοθιάδος ξυμβολῇ  
ἔπαισαν ἄλμην βρόχιον ἐκ κελεύσματος,  
θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν.—νν. 395—8.

<sup>21</sup> τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐτάκτως κέρας  
ἤγειτο κόσμη· δεύτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος  
ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν ὁμοῦ κλέειν  
πολλὴν βοήν· ὃ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἔτε, κ.τ.λ.—νν. 399—405.

<sup>22</sup> — κοῦκ ἔτ' ἦν μέλλειν ἀκμή,  
εὐθὺς δὲ ναῦς ἐν νητ' χαλκίῃ στόλον  
ἔπαισεν.—νν. 407—9. Compare note 11, above.

first makes head against the assailants ; but their numbers crowded together in a narrow space prevent mutual aid. They run into each other and sweep away one another's oars. In the mean time the Greeks with no little skill *surround* them, keeping up a continued onset with their beaks<sup>23</sup>, till the whole sea is concealed from view by the wrecks of capsized gallees and the corpses of men. Finally, the whole fleet takes to flight in disorder, followed closely by the victors, who present the spectacle of fishermen pursuing a shoal of tunny-fish and destroying them with broken oars and fragments of wreck. The wail of despair spreads over the *open* sea<sup>24</sup>, until night puts an end to the pursuit.

It appears to me perfectly impossible to reconcile this account with the view which Colonel Leake (justified as he certainly appears to be by the narrative of Herodotus<sup>25</sup>) takes of the relative positions of the two navies at the commencement of the battle. If the triple line of the Persians had been drawn up, as he imagines, *along* the strait which separates Salamis from the main, immediately opposite to the line of the Greeks, they could not have been attacked unexpectedly<sup>26</sup>; the right wing of the enemy would not have been first seen leading the onset; they themselves in their efforts to get into action would have presented nothing like the appearance of a *stream* of ships; there is no reason why they should have run aboard of each other; and least of all—their line extending from the entrance of the Piræus to beyond the western extremity of Mount Ægaleos—would the enemy, who can have extended scarcely half the distance, have been able to *surround* them. It may be added, that when they began to retreat, none but the easternmost part of the line could by any possibility have escaped into the open sea; neither would it have occurred to them to attempt it, when in their immediate rear

<sup>23</sup> τὰ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ βεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ  
ἀντεῖχεν ὡς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν  
ἤθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὐκ ἄλλήλοις παρήν,  
αὐτοὶ δ' ὀφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβολαῖς χαλκοστόμοις  
παλοντ', ἔθραυνον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον,  
'Ελληνικαὶ τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφραδμόνως  
κύκλῳ περὶξ ἔθεινον, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>24</sup> — οἰμωγὴ δ' ὁμοῦ  
κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἑλα.—*vv.* 426, 427.

<sup>25</sup> *viii.* 70, compared with §§ 76, 84, and 91.

<sup>26</sup> Herodotus makes not the Greeks but the Persians the attacking party (*viii.* 84).

the whole coast was lined with their own troops, who, on their beaching their gallees, would have furnished them with effectual protection,—a course as natural in ancient warfare as running under the guns of a friendly battery would be in modern. Moreover the island Psyttalea would not have been in the middle of the line of collision<sup>29</sup>, but quite at the extremity; and the wrecks would have been carried by the afternoon swell rather into the bay at the head of which stands the Heracleum, than, as they actually were, on to Cape Colias<sup>30</sup>.

All these difficulties will be avoided if we take a different view of the object of Themistocles's stratagem, and suppose that his design was not merely to induce the enemy to surround the Greeks and so compel them to fight, but also to bring him into such a position as, at the beginning of the engagement, to be just *entering* the narrow channel where Leake supposes him to be already drawn up in fighting order. Supposing the invading fleet to have taken up the position which Leake assigns to them, the afternoon before the battle—a supposition which has the apparent sanction of Herodotus, and is not opposed to Æschylus—the movements which would follow the change of plan produced by Themistocles's message would naturally bring about this result. The westernmost squadron of the Persian line would move on to block the narrow outlet between Salamis and the coast of Megaris. The squadron at Ceos might from the point of Sunium be signaled to close up near to Ægina, and that at Cynosura to make sail round Sunium; and the remainder of the fleet in the channel, passing outwards by the eastern strait, would take their stations round the s.e. side of the island Salamis, the last of them (which we shall presently see would be the Phœnicians) blocking the narrow entrance with a triple line of gallees. When morning broke the land breeze would be blowing; and if they desired to re-enter the channel, the Phœnician ships, their crews fatigued with their labour throughout the night, would be obliged to pull against it round the head of the Silenian promontory (Aghía Varvára) and through the narrow channel between Psyttalea and the main. The Greeks (I apprehend) timed their movements so as to

<sup>29</sup> ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἕσσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος (viii. 76).

<sup>30</sup> viii. 96.



attack them just at this conjuncture. The right wing would thus be seen by the enemy apparently leading, but the object being to wheel into line by bringing forward the extreme left, the Athenians (which were there stationed) would be quite as likely as any others to be well up in front when the actual shock took place<sup>31</sup>. They would make this with the advantage of the wind, and success would be nearly certain. The headmost ships of the Persians would be crippled, and would drift back upon those who advanced to support them from the rear; these as they pressed forward would enter a continually narrowing channel, and not only fall aboard of each other, but have their oars swept away by those which had been previously crippled. The triple line would be thrown into disorder, and the crowd of advancing vessels, each pressing forward as it best might, would present the appearance so graphically described by Æschylus as "a stream" of ships. As the head of the column got clear of the narrow passage, it would be "surrounded" by the Hellenic line and at once destroyed. This state of things would continue so long as the invaders continued their attempt to force the passage; but when they gave this up and retreated, the pursuit would continue on the *open* sea, over which (as Æschylus says) the cries of the enemy were heard as they were being destroyed.

The description of the naval part of the engagement by the dramatic poet ceases here. The formidable resistance made by the Ionians, of which Herodotus speaks<sup>32</sup>, finds no mention in him. This is exactly what might be expected. At the time *The Persians* was acted liberty had been restored to the Asiatic Greeks, and good taste forbade the mention of any passage of arms between them and their European brethren. But still the course of proceedings in the engagement which the description of Æschylus indicates affords an explanation of what is related in Herodotus respecting

<sup>31</sup> Athenian vanity, a generation afterwards, would scarcely fail to turn this movement to account. To effect the manœuvre it would be necessary for the extreme right of the allies to remain stationary, or even back their galleys, while the speed of the others would be proportioned to their distance from the right, the pivot on which the whole wheeled. This is, I believe, the fact, which in a distorted form became the statement of Herodotus: *οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρόμῳν ἀνεκρούοντο, καὶ ὄκελλον τὰς νῆας* 'Αμεινίης δὲ Παλλήνεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐξαπαχθεὶς, νητὶ ἐμβάλλει (viii. 84).

<sup>32</sup> viii. 85.

the Ionians. If the Persian fleet had, in the night before the battle, taken up the position I have supposed in the order which Diodorus's authority gives, the Ionians would be the furthest removed from the narrow channel where the action commenced, and in fact so placed that they could not have acted until the Phœnicians were out of the way. If, too, the Athenians were the part of the Greek fleet which began the battle, the remainder of the allies would not have come into the front until after the enemy had been forced back through the eastern strait. Hence the Peloponnesian force would be the part of the fleet brought into collision with the Ionian contingent; but this would not be until the channel was cleared and they had got out into the open sea, where naturally the efforts of the Ionians would be more fruitful. But still at the time these were brought into action, they would have been rowing ever since sunset on the preceding day, and would be encouraged to the treason previously suggested to them by Themistocles, by seeing the entire ruin that had fallen upon the Phœnician squadron. It is not therefore a matter of surprise that they too should have given way, although their resistance was beyond all comparison the most effective of any rendered by the several contingents that made up the navy of the invaders.

Various insulated particulars which appear here and there in the narratives of Plutarch and Diodorus, as well as that of Herodotus, receive some illustration from the above remarks. Plutarch says that Themistocles did not begin the action until the usual breeze *set in from the sea*, causing a swell to set into the straits; and that the effect of this was most detrimental to the Persian ships, which were high out of the water and top-heavy, and being caught by the wind could not be steered well; so that they laid their flanks open to the beaks of the Hellenic gallees<sup>33</sup>. Here what Plutarch does is merely to confound the *land* breeze which is blowing at daybreak—the time at which the engagement really commenced—and the *sea* breeze—which sets in late in the forenoon, and which doubtless had the effect he mentions,—not indeed upon ships engaged *within* the channel (where the island Salamis, as above observed, would have served as a breakwater), but upon vessels in the open sea, which, in

<sup>33</sup> *Themist.* § 14.

the course of events I have sketched out, would naturally first come into action several hours after daybreak.

Diodorus also, although here, as elsewhere, his notions of the course of proceeding are extremely vague, goes to confirm the view above taken. He makes (as I have observed) the Greek line of battle to be formed *across* the strait between Salamis and the main (τὸν πόρον μεταξύ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἡρακλείου κατέιχον), not, as Leake makes it, *along* the same. And he also supposes the advance of the Persians to be from the open sea into the narrow. "They held their course," he says, "at first in good order, for they had plenty of sea-room; but on entering the channel they were obliged to withdraw some of the ships from the line, and made terrible confusion. The admiral, too, who led and began the action, was killed after a brilliant struggle, and when his ship was sunk, confusion spread over the barbarian fleet; for orders were given by many, and each one issued different commands; so that they desisted from a forward course, and, backing their galleys, retired into the open sea; upon which the Athenians, seeing the confusion of the barbarians, advanced upon them<sup>34</sup>." . . . . It is obvious that this description is quite compatible with the view which I have taken, and agrees with the narrative of Æschylus as well as the vague account of a writer compiling his history hastily from books five hundred years after the event can be expected to agree with the vivid description of an eye-witness; but that it is altogether incompatible with the notion of Leake.

It is also to be observed that the naval force of the Persians was arranged, according to Diodorus, *by nations*, in order (he says) that the crews who understood one another's language might be near to each other, and able to express to one another the need they might have for assistance. Arranged on this principle, he says, the Phœnicians occupied the right wing, and the Greeks in the Persian service the left<sup>35</sup>. But if this idea was really acted upon, the most natural place for the *Egyptians* would be beyond the Phœnicians on the extreme right: for the great intercourse between Phœnicia and Egypt would certainly produce some facility of oral communication between the maritime and fluvial population of these two countries. Now if the Egyptians really did occupy the extreme right, when the

<sup>34</sup> xi. 19.

<sup>35</sup> xi. 17.

Persian fleet took up the position along the strait of Salamis, which Herodotus indicates, (although Diodorus himself says nothing about it,) *the day before* the battle,—and if the movements were such as I have above supposed<sup>36</sup>,—the Egyptian squadron would be exactly the one whose position rendered it desirable for it to move westward for the purpose of blocking the western channel; and after it had been detached for this purpose, the Phœnicians would *remain* (as Diodorus places them) the extreme right of the Persian fleet. And it also happens that the especial service of blocking the western channel actually was, according to Diodorus's express statement, assigned to the *Egyptians*, although, by the way he mentions the matter, he does not imagine that at the time they were moved they were actually in line in the channel of Salamis, but rather conceives of them as despatched from Phalerum<sup>37</sup>.

Again, Herodotus mentions that when the battle was over, the victorious Greeks towed in to Salamis "as much of the wreck of the destroyed vessels as remained still in that part," but that a large quantity was carried by the west wind on to Cape Colias<sup>38</sup>. This is exactly the description of what would occur under the circumstances which have been sketched out. The conflict beginning at the entrance of the channel of Salamis, just as the head of the Persian column rounded the Silenian headland and the northern extremity of Psyttalea (*the land breeze* blowing at the time), part of the wrecks would be caught by the point and the island<sup>39</sup>, but a large portion would drift out into the open water till the *sea breeze* sprang up, which, as it took them, would carry them in the direction of which

<sup>36</sup> Herodotus says that the Persians surrounded their opponents by moving their right wing round to the island and closing up the eastern channel with the squadrons from Ceos and Cynosura: *ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρας κέρας κυκλοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα· ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσὶ (§ 76).* This, as Leake says, is an impossibility.

<sup>37</sup> xi. 17.

<sup>38</sup> viii. 96.

<sup>39</sup> As, for instance, the body of Artembares was, which

*στύφλους παρ' ἁκτὰς θείνεται Σειληνίαν.—Pers. 303.*

The bodies would not float like the wrecks, and therefore it was the island Salamis and the immediate neighbourhood where *they* were chiefly found.

*πλήθουσι νεκρῶν δυσπότης ἐφθαρμένον  
Σαλαμῖνος ἁκταὶ τᾶς τε πρόσχωρος τόπος.—Pers. 273.*

Herodotus speaks. Had the action taken place where Leake supposes, the wreck could not have been carried any thing like so far along the coast of Attica.

That eminent topographer appears to have been led in no small degree to form the view which he has taken of the position of the Persian fleet, from the interpretation which he has put upon an oracle which Herodotus records and mentions as having been strikingly fulfilled by the course of events. Ruin is predicted in a prophecy of Bacis to the arrogant invaders, "when they with their ships shall have made a bridge from the sacred shore of Artemis, bearer of the sword of gold, to sea-girt Cynosura<sup>40</sup>." Leake imagines this to refer to the Persian line of battle extending, as he supposes it to have done, from a cape of Salamis opposite to the Silenian promontory, on which he believes a temple of Artemis to have stood. As the Silenian headland, which he identifies with Cynosura, would lie opposite to the centre of their assumed line, he argues that by taking up this position they fulfilled the conditions of the prophecy; and that in fact this circumstance was the main cause of Herodotus mentioning Cynosura at all in the passage above quoted<sup>41</sup>. This appears to me a most unsatisfactory explanation of the passage, to say nothing of the gratuitous assumptions which it involves. The way in which the prophecy was fulfilled will be plain

<sup>40</sup> viii. 77. The words are :—

ἔταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαῖον ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν  
νηοὶ γαφυράσσωσι καὶ εἰσαλὴν Κυνόσουραν.

Leake translates this erroneously, "when the barbarians shall cover with their ships the sacred shore of Diana and that of Cynosura," and the erroneous translation masks the meaning of the oracle.

<sup>41</sup> "Thus the point of Cynosura [by which he understands the Silenian headland] and the island of Psyttalea were opposite to the centre of the triple line of the Persians, and near their right was a cape of Salamis, upon or adjacent to which, as we have already seen from Pausanias, stood a temple of Diana; and hence the words of the oracle of Bacis relating to the shore of Diana, which Herodotus has quoted." (Appendix ii. p. 281.) "On the *one side* of the city a temple of Diana, and on the *other* the trophy erected in honour of the victory gained over the Persians." (vol. ii. p. 169.) All that Pausanias really says is, that there is at Salamis the temple and the trophy (i. 36. 1), while Leake has apparently considered that the expression τοῦτο μὲν — τοῦτο δὲ was intended to denote a position such as he has assigned to the two. "Herodotus seems to have introduced the name of Cynosura [in § 76, quoted in note 36, above] solely for the purpose of noticing the fulfilment of the prophecy of an oracle." (Appendix ii. p. 259.)

enough, if we only consider the manner in which the armada of the invaders was moved, before the land and sea forces were united for the last time at Phalerum. It is obvious that with an enormous multitude like that under Xerxes (even allowing an unlimited amount of exaggeration as to its numbers), the great difficulty must have been to move the forces and provide them with supplies. And the way in which this problem was attempted to be solved may be made out by the *indirect* notices of Herodotus, although he was (as may be proved from various passages of his work) quite unable to comprehend the vast scale of oriental strategics<sup>42</sup>. The endeavour of the Persian commander was as much as possible to proceed *pari passu* with the army and the fleet. This was desirable, because wherever opposition was encountered, it was important they should be able to act together; consequently, although great preparation had been made beforehand in forming magazines, it would be impossible to dispense with the attendance of vessels to carry supplies. An army of such magnitude as even to be reported able to drink considerable streams dry, could not by any possibility be moved except in bodies separated from each other by a considerable interval. The same would be the case with the fleet, the crews of which (as is notorious) were in ancient times compelled continually to land. A supply of food and water in a ship of war sufficient to render it able to keep the sea even for a very few days is a thing unheard of in ancient history. And if we turn to Herodotus's account of the march from Doriscus (where the whole force was first assembled) to Acanthus<sup>43</sup>, we see that the mode of advance is obviously planned with a reference to the means of providing supplies. The army moved on three lines; one considerably inland; another along the coast, keeping up a communication with the fleet; and a third between the two. This last was the line of march taken by the guards and the king in person. That the main force of the army was included in the second of these divisions can scarcely be questioned. The first having to pass through a mountainous region, would be lightly equipped, and thus would be more able to provide for its own subsistence by foraging, without depending altogether upon the commissariat. The third, with the king in person, moving

<sup>42</sup> See notes 268 on i. 77, and 234 on iv. 83.

<sup>43</sup> vii. 121.

along the line of the inhabited towns, where stores were laid up<sup>44</sup>, would also be provided for. But the second must have been mainly supplied through the medium of the fleet, with which it kept up a close communication. The extreme importance of maintaining this was perhaps the cause that the division advanced under the immediate command of Mardonius<sup>45</sup>, the general of greatest reputation in the service. When the central division arrived at Acanthus, the nature of the shore necessitated a change of plan for a time. It was no longer possible to keep up a constant communication between the army and the fleet; and accordingly the latter was ordered to make all sail for that point at which such a communication could be restored, viz. the bay of Therme<sup>46</sup>. There a halt was again made, and the land force encamped along a considerable line of coast, "from the city Therme and Mygdonia, as far as the river Lydias and the Haliacmon, which form the boundary between Bottiæa and Macedonia"<sup>47</sup>.

From Therme a second simultaneous move of both army and navy took place. And in fact here their difficulties really began. There was now a prospect of meeting an enemy in force, which involved the necessity of concentrating the war galleys to a considerable extent; and when steps for securing this had been taken, the evil that had been foreseen occurred,—there was no port large enough to receive the whole in the event of foul weather<sup>48</sup>. There can be no question that it was the expectation of resistance from the Greek fleet at Artemisium, that induced the Persians to bring on the same day to Sepias, so large a force as to be obliged to anchor in eight lines off the shore<sup>49</sup>. The land forces were being pushed forward to Thermopylæ, and it was necessary to get the fleet into the bay of Pagassæ to co-operate with them<sup>50</sup>. The enormous loss which was sustained on this occasion would undoubtedly prevent a similar risk from being unnecessarily incurred; and when the pass of Thermopylæ was at last forced, and the Greek fleet retreated to Salamis<sup>51</sup>, the two arms of the invading force once more found themselves united, with nothing in the shape of an enemy to stop them until another concen-

<sup>44</sup> vii. 109, *et seq.*<sup>45</sup> vii. 49.<sup>46</sup> viii. 40.<sup>47</sup> vii. 121.<sup>48</sup> vii. 183.<sup>49</sup> vii. 121.<sup>50</sup> vii. 183. Compare viii. 66.<sup>51</sup> vii. 127.

tration should be effected in the ports of Attica. The army advanced without the least resistance, over-running Attica and sacking Phocis; and Xerxes had his head-quarters at Athens<sup>52</sup>, with a large force ready to be pushed on to the isthmus<sup>53</sup>, at the time when the fleet entered the port of Phalerum. The question now is, what was the nature of their movements to reach this point: and common sense would suggest that squadrons were advanced in succession, perhaps within signal distance of each other, but at any rate not so near as gratuitously to risk the safety of the ships, and increase the difficulty of procuring water and other necessities for the crews. Wherever there was an extensive beach upon which the galleys might be hauled up, there, in the nature of things, it would be arranged for a large number to assemble. This would doubtless be the case at *Eretria* in Eubœa, which lies most opportunely for re-assembling the fleet after its necessary delay in passing through the narrow channel between Aulis and Chalcis. After Eretria, the next beach of any capacity would be that of the bay of *Marathon*, some fifteen miles off, in running for which the point *Cynosura*, its northern extremity, would be the natural landmark. And here, I apprehend, is to be found the solution of the problem offered by Bacis's prophecy. Seven *stades* only from Eretria, at the hamlet Amarynthus, was the temple of *Artemis Amarusia*<sup>54</sup>, a deity worshipped with the greatest pomp under this name by Athenians as well as Eretrians<sup>55</sup>. A fleet of 800 or 1000 ships crossing to Marathon in the order in which they would have to take up their station on their arrival, when seen from the hills overhanging Bhamnus or Tricorythus, could hardly fail to suggest to the imagination of a spectator the notion of bridging over the sea between the two points. Again, as between Marathon and Phalerum there is no facility for beaching any large number of ships, the advance from the one to the other would naturally be by detached squadrons, and the great bulk of the fleet might very well be reported at head-quarters while the rear still remained on the safe shore of Marathon (*ἀμφὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν*), and while an intermediate squadron had been advanced only as far as Ceos in their course round the southern foreland of Attica. In such circumstances the signaling them to close up, under the impression which the Persian admiral had

<sup>52</sup> viii. 66.<sup>53</sup> viii. 71.<sup>54</sup> STRABO, x. p. 324.<sup>55</sup> PAUSANIAS, i. 31. 5.



formed of the intentions of the Greeks, would be exactly what we might look for. By so doing the more advanced ships would be in a position to sweep the channel between the islands of Salamis and Ægina; and it is exactly here that if any Greek vessels had stolen out from Salamis in the night, they would have been found when day broke.

I will conclude these remarks by a reference to one other passage of Herodotus, which confirms the view just taken of the movement of the squadron from Ceos. When Aristides, in the night before the engagement, arrived suddenly in Salamis and informed Themistocles that the enemy's fleet had surrounded the island, he said "that he had come from Ægina, and found great difficulty in getting out to sea without being seen by the squadron of observation<sup>56</sup>." Herodotus indeed makes him add, by way of explanation, "that the whole Greek position was surrounded by Xerxes' vessels." But this circumstance would have been a hindrance to him, not in getting out from Ægina, but in getting in to Salamis. If however the squadron of observation he meant was the one which had been signaled to close up from Ceos, the difficulty is exactly what would have occurred. According to Æschylus's view, the false intelligence of Themistocles is conveyed to the Persian commander-in-chief a considerable time before sunset<sup>57</sup>. Orders would instantly be telegraphed to the squadrons at Ceos and Cynosura, and they would get under way with all speed: and this would easily bring the former into the neighbourhood of the island Ægina before it was too dark to distinguish them. Thus commanding the space between the two islands, the difficulty of Aristides would be to get past them, which is exactly what appears to be indicated by the phrase (*μόγισ ἐκπλῶσαι*). The vessels actually surrounding Salamis would occasion him comparatively little difficulty. He was probably only in a small boat, much more speedy, and less distinguishable at night-time than a trireme would be; and when he approached the southern shore of Salamis, it would be easy for him to watch his moment, row in to land, and proceed over the hills to the Grecian camp on foot.

<sup>56</sup> viii. 81 : ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν, καὶ μόγισ ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας.

<sup>57</sup> This must have been the case; for the time was sufficient to give orders to each of the captains, and for them in their turn to get their several gallees ready to start the instant it should be dark. The entirely different view of Herodotus is remarked above, note 15.

The battle of Salamis has so long been popularly considered as an example of what may be effected by mere valour against enormous odds, that possibly some may experience a feeling of unwillingness to take any view of the subject which diminishes the disparity between the contending navies. But this is scarcely a reasonable way of looking at a matter of history. Bravery does much when directed by skill; but all experience leads us to doubt statements of any great results effected by it when without this guidance. If the foregoing views are well-founded, our wonder at the extraordinary success of the Greek fleet may perhaps be diminished; but certainly in at least as great a degree must our admiration of the acuteness and resolution of its commander be increased. With an overwhelming force opposed to him actually drawn up in order of battle, a friendly coast lined with the flower of the Persian army in its rear, he succeeds, first of all in detaching a large portion of the ships opposed to him, and placing them in a quarter where it was out of the question that they should be active; secondly, in getting the remainder out of the position they occupied into one incomparably inferior; thirdly, in exhausting the enemy's crews by keeping them in motion all night<sup>58</sup>; and, finally, in bringing them on a sudden to action in a way which rendered their peculiar armament unavailable, and under circumstances which must have made them feel, not only that their estimate of their foes had been totally wrong, but that probably they had traitors in their own ranks.

<sup>58</sup> It should not be overlooked, that according to *Æschylus's* view the crews of the Persian fleet get their suppers *early*,—not as they would under ordinary circumstances, at nightfall. Hence, when day broke, they had not only been at the oar all night, but likewise fasting for a longer period than customary.

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΕΝΝΑΤΗ.

## ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ.

- 1 ΜΑΡΔΟΝΙΟΣ δὲ<sup>1</sup>, ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμνηε, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἦγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε<sup>2</sup>. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν, πολλῶ τε μᾶλλον ἐπήγρον τὸν Πέρσῃν καὶ συμπροέπεμψε τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισσαῖος<sup>3</sup>· Ἐέρξεα φεύγοντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρήκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
- 2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεταί ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον<sup>4</sup> καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ, λέγοντες
- On the return of Alexander, Mardonius moves towards Athens, assisted by the Thes-salian chiefs.
- The Thebans wish

<sup>1</sup> Μαρδόνιος δέ. The close connexion of this clause with the one which terminates the last book, shows plainly the arbitrary nature of the present division,—which however (it should be remembered) is an essential part of LUCIAN'S story relative to the recitation at Olympia: παρελθὼν ἐς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον οὐ θεατὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀγωνιστὴν Ὀλυμπίων παρέιχεν αὐτὸν, ἔδων τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ κηλὼν τοὺς παρόντας, ἕχρι τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθῆναι τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ, ἐννέα καὶ αὐτὰς ὀβ-σας. (Aelion. § 1.)

<sup>2</sup> ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. DIODORUS makes the number of troops levied by Mardonius, in ad-

dition to the 300,000 left with him by Xerxes, to be 200,000 (xi. 28).

<sup>3</sup> Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισσαῖος. Thorax was one of the Aleuadæ. He is mentioned together with his two brothers, Eurypylus and Thrasydæus, below (§ 58).

<sup>4</sup> κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον, "tried to stop Mardonius." This sense is readily deducible from the original idea of the word καταλαμβάνειν, on which see note 139 on i. 46, and note 55 on v. 21. Compare iii. 36: ἵσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωντόν, "restrain and controul yourself;" iii. 128: κατελάμβανε ἐρίζοντας, "stopped their disputing;" iii. 52: Περικλῆς τούτοις αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε, "Periander at-

ὥς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεώτερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου οὐδὲ Mardonius  
 ἔων ἵεναι ἑκαστέρῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον<sup>1</sup> ποίειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ Bootia, and  
 τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψῃται<sup>2</sup>. “κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν from thence  
 Ἑλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, ὅπερ καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, to attempt  
 χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίγνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποισι<sup>3</sup>. εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις to gain par-  
 τίζαν in the  
 τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν,” ἔφασαν λέγοντες, “ἔξεις ἀπόνως ἅπαντα several Hel-  
 lenic states;  
 τὰ κείνων βουλευόμενα. πέμπει χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας  
 ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσιν πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις  
 ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηιδίως μετὰ τῶν στα-  
 σιωτῶν<sup>4</sup> καταστρέψαι.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον ὁ δὲ οὐκ 3  
 ἐπείθετο<sup>5</sup>, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινὸς τις ἐνέστακτο ἡμέρος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα but he per-  
 sists in ad-

tempted to manage him by these re-  
 marks.”

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον. Before these  
 words is to be supplied the verb ἐκέλευον,  
 or some one of similar sense, derived by  
 inference from the οὐκ ἔων which has  
 gone before. See note 301 on vii. 104.

<sup>2</sup> καταστρέψῃται. This is the reading  
 of all the MSS. But Bekker adopts the  
 correction καταστρέψεται, which is in ac-  
 cordance with the invariable use of Hero-  
 dotus. Compare i. 8: ποίει ὅκως ἐκείνην  
 θέσσει γυμνήν. i. 9: σοὶ μελέτω τὸ  
 ἐνθεύτεν ὅκως μὴ σε βῆται ἰόντα διὰ  
 θυρέων. iii. 36: ὅρα ὅκως μὴ σε ἀπο-  
 στήσονται Πέρσαι. iii. 135: ἐδέετο αὐ-  
 τοῦ ὅκως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λάδα ὅπως ἔξει. v. 109: ποίειν χρεόν  
 ἔστι ὁμάς ὅκως τὸ κατ' ὁμάς ἔσται ἡ  
 ἰωνίη ἐλευθέρη. ix. 91: ποίει ὅκως αὐ-  
 τὸς ἀποπλεύσει.

<sup>3</sup> κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἑλληνας  
 ὁμοφρονέοντας . . . ἀνθρώποισι, “for that  
 in point of actual force, those Hellenes who  
 before acted together, were enough to make  
 it difficult for even all the world to hold  
 their own against them.” The sentence if  
 continued as begun would have ended with  
 the words: καὶ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους κατα-  
 πολεμῶν οἷός τε, or some equivalent  
 phrase. But as good manners would  
 have forbidden the putting this sentiment  
 in its direct form to the Persian com-  
 mander, the normal structure is aban-  
 doned, and an *anacoluthon* results. See  
 notes 412 on i. 117, and 200 on viii. 100.  
 So too is to be explained the sentence ii.  
 66: ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα  
 τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καταλαμβάνει. The normal  
 structure would have been ταῦτα δὲ γινό-

μενα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις λυτεῖ. But the au-  
 thor rightly understanding that it was not  
 affection for the animals perishing, but a  
 superstitious interpretation of the pheno-  
 menon which caused the mourning, inti-  
 mates as much by changing the form of  
 the sentence.

<sup>4</sup> μετὰ τῶν στασιωτῶν, “with the aid  
 of your partizans.” That there was a  
 very powerful party, even in Athens,  
 favourable to Persian schemes, is plain  
 from the story told by PLUTARCH (*Aris-  
 tid.* § 13). A number of Athenians of  
 noble families, who had been ruined by  
 the war, met together in a house at Pla-  
 tæa, at the very time the two armies were  
 in position over against one another, to  
 concoct a scheme for betraying their  
 country to the invader; and it was only  
 the tact of Aristides which baffled their  
 attempt. The manuscripts S and V have  
 μετὰ στρατιωτῶν, “with the aid of a  
 military force.” Neither of these read-  
 ings appear to me to be a corruption of  
 the other. See a similar variation in iii.  
 144, and note 308, thereon.

<sup>5</sup> ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο. The Attic orators  
 assert that one Arthmius of Zela was  
 sent into the Peloponnese with a large  
 amount of secret-service money, for the  
 purpose of sowing dissension among the  
 allies. DEMOSTHENES professes to quote  
 from an inscription on the acropolis at  
 Athens, in which a sentence of outlawry  
 against him for that offence stood regis-  
 tered. (*Philipp.* iii. p. 122.) There is  
 no direct notice of this in Herodotus, but  
 there is not wanting very plain indirect  
 evidence that such a policy was pursued.  
 See note 34 on § 12, below.

vancing on Athens, which he occupies, ten months after its first capture.

ἐλέειν ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσεων ἐδόκεε βασιλεῖ δηλώσειν ἔοντι ἐν Σάρδισι, ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας. ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὗρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπνυθάνετο εἶναι, ἐν τε τῇσι νηυσὶ αἰρέει τε ἐρήμον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατητὴν δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

He sends one Muri-chides, a Helleaspon-tine, to Salamis, with new overtures.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον, φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε, προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας<sup>10</sup>, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφεας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης<sup>11</sup>, ὥς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης πάσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας καὶ ἐούσης ἤδη ὑπ' ἐωυτῶ τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς

5 Lycidas, a member of

Σαλαμῖνα. Ὁ δὲ, ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν, ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην<sup>12</sup>, ὥς οἱ

<sup>10</sup> προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας. As this passage is commonly interpreted, προέχων is taken in a very unusual sense, as meaning "previously aware of." But both προέχω and its derivative πρόσχημα uniformly express the notion of "standing forward," or "putting forward." And the meaning of this passage seems to be that Mardonius sent a communication to the Athenians, *on the face of which* he acknowledged their enmity to Persia, but appealed to their sense of their own interest. I should translate, "putting forward indeed the unfriendly disposition of the Athenians, but hoping that they would relax in their perverseness, seeing that the land of Attica was overrun entirely, and now under his absolute command." This is exactly the view of the case, which, after the final defeat of the Persians, would be most palatable to Athenian vanity. Their enemy is made to bear testimony to their disinterested patriotism in the very wording of his overtures to them.

<sup>11</sup> ἐλπίζων δὲ σφεας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, "but expecting that they would relax something of their perverseness." The construction is the same as that of *ὅπως τῆς ὀργῆς* (i. 156; iii. 52).

<sup>12</sup> Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην. BISHOP THIRLWALL, who follows the account given by Herodotus of the outrage which follows, remarks that "it is somewhat

perplexing to find this incident related by DEMOSTHENES (*De Cor.* p. 296) of one *Cyrsilus*, whom, as it would appear from the comparison he draws, he conceived to have excited the anger of his countrymen by opposing Themistocles the year before, when he proposed the evacuation of Attica. It can scarcely be doubted, that the orator alludes to the same occurrence which the historian describes. Perhaps the easiest solution of the difficulty would be to suppose that Lycidas had also been called *Cyrsilus*,—a name which might imply that he had already made himself odious or contemptible by overbearing manners." (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 327, note.) This explanation is, in my opinion, scarcely more satisfactory than the one offered by Valckenaer, viz. that on two occasions happening within a year of each other, two different persons brought upon themselves the fury of the populace by the same proceeding, and that while the one of these is noticed by Herodotus, the other is alluded to by Demosthenes. In the time of the orators, the battle of Salamis and the energetic conduct of the Athenians antecedently to it, had become so completely the principal national boast, that it is only natural that anecdotes of which the character was mainly ethical should be referred to that time rather than the year following. See, for an exemplification of

ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης the council, is stoned to death for proposing to entertain them.  
 προφέρει, ἐξενέικαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνῶμην  
 ἀπεφαίνεται, εἰ τε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου εἴ τε οἱ  
 καὶ ταῦτα ἑάνδανε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι, οἳ τε  
 ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες Λυκίδα  
 κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδα ἀ-  
 πέπεμψαν ἄσινεά· γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν  
 Λυκίδα, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων The women stone his wife and children afterwards.  
 διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικί, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα, ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Λυκίδω οἰκίῃν ἦσαν αὐτοκελές<sup>13</sup>, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

Ἔς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε· ἔως μὲν 6  
 προσεδέκοντο τὸν<sup>14</sup> ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἤξειν τιμωρή- Circumstances under which the Athenians cross to the island  
 σοντὰ σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερά τε  
 καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίηον, ὁ δὲ ἐπῶν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ ἐλέγετο  
 εἶναι<sup>15</sup>, οὕτω δὴ ὑπέξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν  
 ἐς Σαλαμῖνα· ἐς Λακεδαιμονίαν τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους<sup>16</sup>, ἅμα μὲν  
 μεμφομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν  
 βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφῶν ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν  
 Βοιωτίνην, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης  
 μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν προεῖπαί τε, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμνηεῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι,  
 ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται<sup>17</sup>. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι at the time

the way in which the historic details of an ethical story vary, notes 90 on ii. 30, and 9 on iii. 4.

<sup>13</sup> αὐτοκελές. One manuscript (F) has αὐτομολές. But the word seems to be genuine, and to have the force of αὐτόκλητοι.

<sup>14</sup> τόν. Gaisford, on the authority of five MSS, omits the article. But it is found in the rest.

<sup>15</sup> καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ ἐλέγετο εἶναι. The manuscripts A, B, S, V, have ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίνην ἐλέγετο εἶναι, which may perhaps be defended, if the reading of Gaisford and the MSS in i. 21, ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, is the true one. But such a construction is not the usual one in Herodotus. (See note 72 on that passage.) The connexion of the particle δὴ with ἤδη is well shown by this expression. The rumour of the enemy having reached Boeotia was what made the cup of impatience run

over. The Athenians were uneasy at the Lacedæmonian slowness, but still refrained from incurring the inconveniences of crossing to Salamis; when however at last (καὶ δὴ) accounts reached them of Mardonius being in Boeotia, then, under such circumstances (οὕτω δὴ), they transported all their moveables, and went over in person. See note 21 on § 7, below, and note 6 on i. 1.

<sup>16</sup> ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους. Aristides appears to have been the framer of the resolution in virtue of which these commissioners were sent. In subsequent times he himself was said to be one. But PLUTARCH remarks that his name does not occur in the decree, but those of Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides. (Aristid. § 10.)

<sup>17</sup> ὅς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται. See above, note 307 on viii. 144.

of the Lacedæmonian  
*Hyacinthia*.

7  
Commiss-  
sioners ar-  
rive in  
Sparta with  
strong re-  
presenta-  
tions from  
the Atheni-  
ans, and a  
demand that  
an army  
shall accom-  
pany them  
back.

ὄρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφί ἦν Ῥακίωθια<sup>18</sup>. περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφί τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ εἰείχεον καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξεις ἐλάμβανε.

7 Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἐκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· “ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μῆδων, τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀποδοῖ, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ' ἴσῃ τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιῆσασθαι, ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης· ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώραν πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐλώμεθα, ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες<sup>19</sup> καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιούμενοι προδοῦναι, οὐ καταινέσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαιώτερόν ἐστι ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον<sup>20</sup> ἥπερ πολεμέειν οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον ἐὼν νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεὶ τε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν

<sup>18</sup> καὶ σφί ἦν Ῥακίωθια. The celebration of the *Carnea* had last year interposed an obstacle to the concentration of a force at Thermopylæ (vii. 44); nevertheless king Leonidas absented himself from it. The *Hyacinthia* however was a festival which seems to have been of a more popular character; for all the citizens, and indeed the slaves also, took a part in it. This would be very natural if it were a festival of the ante-dorian times; and that it was so seems certain, both from its nature (see note 207 on ii. 79) and from the circumstance that during its celebration Sparta was deserted for *Amyclæ*. (POLYCRATES *ap. Athenæum*, iv. p. 139.) See note 189 on v. 72. To neglect the ceremonial would consequently have been a much more dangerous experiment on the temper of the bulk of the citizens, than the proceeding of Leonidas was, even supposing the Spartan magnates to have been strongly inclined to march—itsself a doubtful matter. (See note 34 on § 12.)

<sup>19</sup> Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες. It is not very plain to what *Zeus* the ambassadors refer under this title. Perhaps it

may be the Olympian. But, on the other hand, it is far from impossible that it was the deity worshipped under the name of Πανελλήνιος at *Ægina*; for the temple there was regarded as possessing a peculiar sanctity. It was mythically connected with *Æacus*, by whose mediation alone the Delphic oracle declared that *Hellas* could be relieved from a drought which desolated both the region within and that without the isthmus. (Pausanias, ii. 29. 6.) It will be remembered, that the presence of the *Æginetan* *Æacids* was considered of vital importance at *Salamis*, as well as on another occasion (v. 80; vi. 84), and that the Delphic deity expressly required an offering from the *Æginetans* after that victory. Up to this time, therefore, the reputation of the *Æginetan* *Zeus* must have been very great. After the battle of *Platæa* (in which the *Æginetans* appear not to have taken any active part), the Olympian *Zeus* may reasonably have been preferred. See below, § 81.

<sup>20</sup> κερδαιώτερον . . . μᾶλλον. See note on vii. 143, above.

τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον  
 ἐν τέλει ἐστι, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποίεσθε<sup>21</sup>.  
 συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτὴν προ-  
 δεδώκατε, περιειδέτε τε ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον.  
 ἐς μὲν νῦν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μνηνίσουσιν οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε  
 ἐπιτηδέως· νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας  
 ἐκπέμπειν, ὥς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκάμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ  
 γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτῆς, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεωτάτων ἐστὶ  
 ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον<sup>22</sup>.” Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ 8  
 ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι· τῇ δὲ The Ephors  
 ὑστεραίῃ, ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην. τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίησαν, ἐξ ing them an  
 ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν answer day  
 Ἴσθμὸν ἐτείχεον, σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, by day for  
 καὶ σφί ἦν πρὸς τέλος. οὐδ' ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ αἴτιον, διότι ἀπικο- until at last  
 μένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδὴν μεγά- the lines at  
 λην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποιήσαντο the Isthmus  
 οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἴσθμὸς σφί ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ ἐδόκεον are com-  
 Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δέεσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὴν plete.  
 Ἀττικὴν, οὐκ ἔτι ἐτετείχιστο· ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδη-  
 κότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

Τέλος δὲ, τῆς τε ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων 9  
 ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιούσδε· τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσεως A strong re-  
 μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι<sup>23</sup>, Χίλεις, ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακε- presentation  
 δαίμονι μέγιστα ξείνων<sup>24</sup>, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν in behalf of  
 the Athe-  
 nian de-

<sup>21</sup> καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποίεσθε, “come to take no account of the Athenians.” So above (§ 6), καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, “came to be talked of as being in Boeotia.” See note 15, above.

<sup>22</sup> ἐπιτηδεωτάτων ἐστὶ ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον. The suggestion of the Thriasian plain as a desirable locality for engaging an enemy who was possessed of an overwhelming force of cavalry, strikes at first as somewhat strange. But apparently the Athenians considered that the command of the sea would give them great advantages if the enemy were brought to action there. They would have menaced his rear by crossing over from Salamis; and in the event of his

being defeated, might have closed up the pass from the Thriasian plain into the plain of Athens. This would have compelled Mardonius to retire into Boeotia by Phyle alone, if the victorious Peloponnesians succeeded, as they probably would have done, in stopping the road by Cēnoe, by which alone Cithæron could be crossed.

<sup>23</sup> τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσεως μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι, “on the eve of the last audience there was to be.” Compare viii. 141.

<sup>24</sup> δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστα ξείνων. That a Tegean should then have great influence at Lacedæmon, probably arose from the circumstance of the Achaean party being likewise strong there, and at the time jealous of their influence



mand is  
made by  
one Chi-  
leus, a  
Tegean,

10  
and 5000  
Spartans  
under Pau-  
sanias are  
despatched  
before day-  
break by  
the Ephors,  
unknown to  
the em-  
bassy,

δη οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεις ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε  
“οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι Ἀθηναίων ἡμῶν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμῖων  
τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ  
ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτάται” ἐς τὴν  
Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ’ ἐσακούσατε, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθη-  
ναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι.” Ὁ μὲν σφι ταῦτα  
συνεβούλευε· οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον, αὐτίκα, φράσαντες  
οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις τοῖσι ἀπηνυμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, νυκτὸς  
ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων, [καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ  
ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἰλωτῶν\*,] Πausanίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου  
ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγένετο μὲν νυν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου  
τοῦ Δεωνίδεω· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τοῦτου ἐπίτροπός τε  
καὶ ἀνεψιός· Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ, ὁ Πausανίεω μὲν πατήρ Ἀναξ-  
ανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς, οὐκέτι περιῆν· ἀλλὰ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ  
τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν”, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν

being impaired. Leonidas, the hero of Thermopylae, had married the daughter and heiress of Cleomenes, who scorned the name of Dorian, and called himself an Achaean. The child Pleistarchus was therefore the representative both of the Eurystheneid line of kings and of the Achaean party, while his uncle Cleombrotus (his legal guardian) was by a different mother from Cleomenes, and (by the death of his elder brother Dorieus) had become representative of the Dorian party. That his son Pausanias should have retained the partialities of his grandmother's connexions, seems likely from his association of Dorieus's son Euryanax with himself in the command of the army (§ 10). Under these circumstances there was apparently some cause for uneasiness on the part of the Achaean faction; and the existence of this would give great weight to the representations of an ally who belonged to the same race.

\* μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτάται. This phrase appears to have been taken by POLYÆNUS as if specially referring to the means of invading the Peloponnese, which the possession of the Athenian fleet would confer upon the Persians: πολλὰς διαβάσεις ἔχουσιν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἱ βάρβαροι (v. 30). And PLUTARCH puts the matter with special reference to the utility of the lines at the isthmus: τοῦ διατευχίσματος οὐδὲν ὑφελός

ἐστὶ Πελοποννήσῳ, ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι Μαρδονίῳ προσγένωνται (ii. p. 871). The phrase became in subsequent times almost a proverbial one. Plutarch has μεγάλας ἐν Ἀντιόχῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀναπεπτάσας κλισιάδας (Comparat. Arist. c. Cat. § 2): μεγάλας αὐτῇ κλισιάδας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀνοίγοντος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ πλοῦτος (Alci- biad. § 10): μεγάλας μὲν τῷ ἀθῷ λεῶ κλισιάδας ἀνοίγοντες (De Iside et Osiride, § 23). ST. PAUL uses the same figure in 1 Cor. xvi. 9, and 2 Cor. ii. 12; but in Coloss. iv. 3, ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου, this does not seem so clear.

\*\* [καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἰλωτῶν.] These words do not exist in S and V, nor in the translation of Valla. Wesseling supposes them to have been introduced into the text from § 28.

\*\* ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν. THIRLWALL considers that the retirement of Cleombrotus to Sparta from the lines across the isthmus, took place during the time that the Athenian envoys were at Sparta; and he endeavours to explain the conduct of the Lacedæmonians,—which on the face of things he regards as capricious and childish,—from this circumstance. “If Cleombrotus brought his army back during the ten days that the envoys were detained, his illness and death, and the appointment of the new

χρόνον τινὰ βιὸς ἀπέθανε. (ἀπῆγγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τὸδε<sup>20</sup>. θνομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ<sup>21</sup>.) προσαιρέεται δὲ ἑωυτῷ Πausanias Εὐρύνακτα τὸν Δωριεύς, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἔοντα τῆς αὐτῆς. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Πausanias ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· 11 οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρῃ ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες<sup>22</sup> ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε· ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τῆδε μένοντες, ἿΤακίνιά τε ἄγετε, καὶ παίζετε καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ὡς ἀδικέμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, χήτι συμμάχων<sup>23</sup>, καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται καταλυσάμενοι δὲ, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλεὺς γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἂν τι

commander-in-chief, might render so long a delay unavoidable, and the departure of Pausanias, instead of having been deferred to the last moment, may have taken place at the very first that admitted of it; yet it may at last have been both sudden and secret." (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 329.) But it seems extremely unlikely that the army of the confederates should have been employed during the winter months in completing the lines. There is no instance of any thing like such a continued retention of a whole army under arms in ancient history, and the commissariat requisite for the purpose would have far exceeded the resources of the country. The course of events seems to have been, that immediately after the battle of Salamis, the thought of attacking the Persian army occurred to Cleombrotus. But the eclipse seemed to forbid the step. The Persian army appeared to be in full retreat, and it was the Spartan principle to give a *point d'or* to a flying enemy. Accordingly he broke up his position and returned home, imagining the war at an end. But in the spring Mardonius showed that he was going to try his fortune again. He had halted in Thessaly, and his movements "woke the Greeks up" (*ἤγειρε*). The land force had been disbanded and not reassembled: οὕτως συνελήγετο (viii. 13).

<sup>20</sup> ἀπῆγγε δὲ τὴν στρατιήν . . . διὰ τὸδε. There is nothing at all in the text to jus-

tify the assertion that the eclipse "terrified Cleombrotus so that he returned home with his army." All that would be gathered from the omen by the Spartan chief would be, that the step he contemplated was not to be made. If he put any more special interpretation upon the appearance of the sun, it would probably be one unfavourable to the prospects of Xerxes. See the passage of ARISTOPHANES cited in note 133 on vii. 37.

<sup>21</sup> ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρόθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. LARCHER states, on the authority of M. Pingré, that there was an eclipse of the sun of from six to seven digits on the 2nd of October, B.C. 479. Petavius had considered the one in the text to have happened on the 2nd of October, the year before. Larcher believes that it is the eclipse of 479 to which Herodotus refers, but that he puts it *before* the battle of Plataea, whereas it did not occur until afterwards. If so, the story relative to Cleombrotus (who would have been dead when the eclipse really took place) must have grown up some time after the actual event. See, for what appears like a parallel case to this, note 132 on vii. 37.

<sup>22</sup> ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες, "intending, at last." See above, note on § 6.

<sup>23</sup> χήτι συμμάχων. This is the reading adopted by Gaisford, on the authority of S and V. Most of the MSS have χήρετ τε, and two χήτι τε.

which is surprised on hearing it, and follows with 5000 more picked hoplites from the perioecian Lacedaemonians.

12

The Argives send intelligence of this move to Mardonius,

ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλῶν." ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὄρκου, καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ<sup>22</sup> στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· (ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους<sup>23</sup>.) οἱ δὲ ὥς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτεον τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ εἶναι ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι, ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι, τῶν περιόικων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὄπλῃται τῷτὸ τοῦτο ἐπόλεον.

12

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠπειγόντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Πausaniew ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα, τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδόνιῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξίεναι<sup>24</sup>. ὃς ἐπεὶ τε ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Μαρδόνιε, ἐπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὥς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἴσχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξίεναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος." Ὁ μὲν δὴ, εἶπας ταῦτα, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω· Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἐτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ,

13

<sup>22</sup> ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ. Two manuscripts (F and c) have Ὀρεστέῳ. The *Oresteum* here mentioned is apparently in the vicinity of Tegea, upon the mountain Maenalius, τὸ Ὀρέστειον Μαυναλίας as *THUCYDIDES* calls it (v. 64). The town was a very ancient one, and in the local traditions reputed to have been founded in the third generation after *Pelagius*, by his grandson *Orestheus*, from whom it was at first called *Oresthasium*. The name was afterwards called *Oresteum*, from *Orestes*. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 3. 2.) From an anecdote related of an heroic action of a hundred volunteers of the town, who, by the sacrifice of themselves, purchased the return of the population of Phigalia, it may be inferred that the name could not have been changed, and consequently the tutelary hero altered, until the latter part of the seventh century B.C. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 39. 3.) But the dramatic poets paid no regard to such chronological considerations. EURIPIDES makes the Dioscuri say to *Orestes*:

Σὺ δ' Ἀρκάδων χρὴ πόλιν ἐν' Ἀλφειοῦ  
ροαῖς  
οἰκεῖν, Λυκαίων πλησίον σηκώματος·  
ἐπάνυμος δὲ σου πόλις κεκλήσεται.  
(*Electr.*, 1273.)

In the *Orestes*, too, Apollo orders him to pass a year before Iustration in the Parrasian plain, of which he says:

κεκλήσεται δὲ σὴς φυγῆς ἐπάνυμος  
Ἀζᾶσιν Ἀρκάσιν τ' Ὀρέστειον καλεῖν.  
(1647.)

<sup>23</sup> ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. See note on ix. 55.

<sup>24</sup> ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξίεναι. In what way did the Argives expect to be able to hold the Spartans in check? Certainly it could not have been by any force they could hope to bring into the field. Possibly they tried to foment the jealousy of the pure Spartans at Lacedaemon against the Achaean portion of their fellow countrymen. They had been so much alarmed by the designs of Cleomenes, as to render this no difficult task. A current report in Hellas in the time of Herodotus, was that the Argives actually invited the Persians, in consequence of the blow which had been struck by that king (viii. 152). If there is any truth in the statements of the Attic orators, there was no want of money for the purpose of furthering intrigues in the Peloponnese. See note 9, above, and note on § 88, below.

ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν νῦν ἢ πυθέσθαι, ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων who ravages Attica and falls back upon Boeotia,  
 εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε  
 οὔτε ἐσίνετο<sup>35</sup> γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν<sup>36</sup>, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου  
 ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθε, πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα  
 λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Πανσανίῳ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν,  
 ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἰ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν  
 τειχεῶν ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ  
 συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἵππασίμη ἢ  
 χώρα ἦν ἢ Ἀττικὴ, εἰ τε νικῶτο συμβαλὼν ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν  
 ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεειῶν<sup>37</sup>, ὥστε καὶ ὀλέγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν.  
 ἐβουλεύετο ὦν, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας, συμβαλεῖν πρὸς  
 πόλε τε φιλίῃ καὶ χώρῃ ἵππασίμη<sup>38</sup>.

Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε· ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ 14  
 ἦλθε ἀγγελίη, πρόδρομον<sup>39</sup> ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἦκειν ἐς Μέγαρά,  
 Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, θέλων  
 εἰ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι· ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε  
 ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρά· ἢ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώραν after first attempting fruitlessly to cut off the advanced guard of the enemy in Megara.

<sup>35</sup> ἐσίνετο. This is the reading of all the MSS but one (S), which has ἐσινέετο, and this is adopted by Gaisford. In iv. 123, the same MS alone has συνέεσθαι, which he also adopts. In v. 81, that MS has the common form ἐσίνοντο, and so have all the others except one (M). But Gaisford here adopts the exceptional reading. I have throughout preserved the common form, it being sanctioned by the majority of MSS, and the Ionic form apparently arising from an arbitrary alteration to produce conformity with the canons of the Alexandrine grammarians. In the existing state of the text, it appears in most instances quite futile to attempt to ascertain what form the author actually used; but the safest course probably is, in every case to adopt the common form, unless the weight of MS authority decidedly predominates on the other side.

<sup>36</sup> οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν. While Mardonius held the country, it would have been bad policy in him to have injured the crops, as he would in so doing have been impairing his own resources. When, on the other hand, he determined to retreat into Boeotia, it became no less desirable to prevent them from falling into the hands of the

enemy. To the reasons assigned in the text for his evacuation of Attica, may be added that by this means he approached nearer to his own magazines, and removed the allies farther from theirs.

<sup>37</sup> ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεειῶν. If he had fought the battle in the Thriasian plain, and been defeated, he would probably have had to withdraw by the pass of Phyle alone. See above, note 22. If again he had engaged in the plain of Athens, his only road in case of defeat would have been by Decelea.

<sup>38</sup> ἵππασίμη. The manuscripts V, P, K, F, a, and c, have the form ἵππασίμη, and S τῇ ἵππασίμη, although the same unanimously agree in ἵππασίμη in the preceding sentence.

<sup>39</sup> πρόδρομον. This is the conjecture of Schweighäuser, and adopted by Bekker. The MSS and Gaisford have πρόδρομος. But ἀγγελίη πρόδρομος is an expression which occurs nowhere else, and affords no satisfactory sense, while πρόδρομοι ἵππες is found in iv. 121, and πρόδρομοι in iv. 122, for the advanced posts; and in vii. 203, it is asserted of the body of troops under the command of Leonidas: ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκουεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων.

15 Mardonius marches by Decelœa, Sphendales, Tanagra, and Scolus, where he constructs a fortified camp within the Theban territory.

τὴν Μεγαρίδα. (ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης " τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπῆκετο.) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέες εἶσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ· οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελῆς· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων· οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγήοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας· ἐνθεύτην δὲ ἐς Τανάγρην· ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον, ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν<sup>41</sup>. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καλπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὔτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκῆς μεγάλης ἐχόμενος. βουλόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνειν ὁκοῖον τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποίεετο. παρήκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξέμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ἑρμιάς· κατέειπε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν<sup>42</sup>, παρὰ<sup>43</sup> τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον· οὐ μέντοι τό γε τείχος τοσοῦτον ἐποίεετο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστά κη μέτωπον ἕκαστον.

16 Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγῖος

<sup>40</sup> ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης. See note on viii. 70. Some difficulty has been occasioned by the circumstance that Delphi is considerably to the west of the Megarid; so that the plunder of that temple by the Persian detachment militates against the assertion in the text. This difficulty may be explained away by considering that ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ refers only to the second campaign under Mardonius in person. But I rather doubt whether this is the true solution. The determination of the cardinal points is a much more recent discovery than the time of Herodotus; and it seems likely that the narrator, taking an imaginary standing place at the Dardanelles, would consider generally that the farther the invader went, the greater his westing would be. In fact, the text does not mean, "This was the westernmost point of Europe reached," but "This was the farthest point of Europe, looking westward, which was reached."

<sup>41</sup> ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. I suspect that the two next sentences are transposed in the MSS from their original order, and that the text ran: ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν βουλόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, κ.τ.λ. PAUSANIAS

speaks of Scolus as if it had been on the Platean side of the Asopus, and apparently forty stades down the stream from the point where the road from Platea to Thebes crossed that river. That this log fortification, or *palæ*, was actually completed before the general action, seems to follow from the account of the difficulty of its capture (§ 70, below).

<sup>42</sup> κατέειπε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν. Just at the entrance of the domain of Platea were the barrows (three in number) of the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, and other Greeks, who fell in the battle. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 2. 5.)

<sup>43</sup> παρὰ. The MSS vary between this word and *περὶ*. I suspect that not only is *περὶ* the true reading, but that ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων and *περὶ Ἑρμιάς* are alternative readings which have become combined in the MSS. *Erythræ* and *Hysie* are mentioned by PAUSANIAS as if the ruins of the two were close to each other, on the right hand of the road leading from Eleuthere to Platea. Just after returning to the main road, the tomb of Mardonius was seen, likewise on the right of Hysie (ix. 2. 1 and 2). See note 197 on v. 74, above.

ὁ Φρύνωνος, ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος, παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως<sup>44</sup>, ἐκάλεσε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους· κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι ἔποντο· ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιούμενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. τὰ δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ· ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θερσαῖος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο· κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα· καὶ σφῶν οὐ χωρὶς ἐκατέρους κλίνειν, ἀλλὰ Πέρσῃν τε καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν κλινῇ ἐκάστη· ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων<sup>45</sup>, τὸν Πέρσῃν τὸν ὁμόκλινον, Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἰέντα, εἶρεσθαι αὐτὸν ὀποδαπὸς ἐστὶ; αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς εἴη Ὀρχομενίος· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν “ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλευέσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύομενον; τούτων πάντων ὄψεαι, ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος, ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους.” ταῦτά τε ἅμα τὸν Πέρσῃν λέγειν, καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων· αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν “οὐκᾶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστὶ λέγειν, καὶ τοῖσι μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐν αἴνῃ εἶναι” Περσέων; τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ξείνε, ὃ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπων· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς·

He and fifty of his principal officers are entertained by one Attaginus, a Theban, in Thebes.

Story told to the author by Thersander of Orchomenus, who was one of the company.

<sup>44</sup> παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως. The constitution of Thebes appears at this time to have been a very close oligarchy, the members of which (to judge from the instance of Attaginus and some of his party, see below, § 88) were men of very great wealth. The Theban orator in THUCYDIDES, iii. 62, so describes the matter: ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτέγχετο οὐτε κατ’ ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσάνομον πολιτεύουσα οὐτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δὲ ἐστὶ νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ συμφρονεστάτῳ ἰσχυριζάμενοι, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννῳ, δυναστεία δὲ ὧν ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. Of course, after the defeat of Mardonius, and the expulsion of the heads of the Persian party (below, § 88), the constitution would be in some way or other changed. At the time of the battle of Ctenophyta, which happened quite at the beginning of the year 456 B.C., it was a democracy;

and the consequence of the loss of the battle was the destruction of that form of government. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. 2. 6.)

<sup>45</sup> διαπινόντων. This phrase is especially applicable to the conviviality of a drinking party, where the cup is passed from the one to the other, and so goes through the whole number. Similarly διακελεύειν is to pass an order through a number of persons, from one to the other. The expression rests on the same idea with the English phrase, “to drink about.” Compare v. 18, ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε.

<sup>46</sup> ἐν αἴνῃ εἶναι. This same expression is applied to Prexaspes, iii. 74, and to Themistocles, viii. 42: πυθανόμενοι ὥς εἴη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστη τῶν στρατηγῶν.

ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συγχοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδε-  
δεμένοι<sup>47</sup>. ἐχθίστη δὲ ὁδὴν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ  
φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν." ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου Θερ-  
σάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ τὰδε πρὸς τούτοις, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγει  
ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν  
μάχην.

17  
Proceedings  
of Mardo-  
nius to-  
wards a  
body of  
1000 Pho-  
cian hop-  
lites, who  
came late  
into the  
field.

Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ στρατοπεδευομένου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι  
παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιῇ, καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας ὅσοι-  
περ ἐμῆδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων μούνοι δὲ Φωκέες  
οὐ συνεσέβαλον· ἐμῆδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι<sup>48</sup>, οὐκ ἐκόντες  
ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης· ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν  
ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον, ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιον ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς  
Ἀρμοκύδης, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος<sup>49</sup>. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκато καὶ  
οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας, ἐκέλευσέ σφεας ἐπ'  
ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι<sup>50</sup>. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα  
παρῆν ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, διεξήλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ  
στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων<sup>51</sup> ἐόντος φήμη, ὡς  
κατακουτιεὶ σφέας· διεξήλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκῶν τῶντὸ τοῦτο  
ἔνθα δὴ σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίτεε λέγων τοιαύδε· "ὦ  
Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι προ-  
όπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ  
εἰκάζω· νῦν ὦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμῶν χρεὸν ἐστὶ γενέσθαι  
ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιειντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτήσαι  
τὸν αἰῶνα, ἥπερ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μὶρρῳ· ἀλλὰ  
μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἑλλήσι ἀνδράσι  
18 φόνον ἔρραψαν." Ὁ μὲν ὦν ταῦτα παραίτεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππέες, ἐπεὶ  
τέ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαινον ὡς ἀπολεύντες, καὶ δὴ διετεί-

<sup>47</sup> ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι. A similar ex-  
pression is used i. 11: ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν.

<sup>48</sup> ἐμῆδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι,  
"for these too came to profess Persian  
views strongly." The Phocians had at  
first refused to join the invaders (viii. 30),  
but seem to have been thoroughly cowed  
by the sufferings inflicted upon them by  
that division of Xerxes's army which  
overran their territory (viii. 32, 33). The  
expression μηδίζοντες μεγάλως is used of  
the Thebans (§ 40, below), and some of  
the MSS have μεγάλως instead of σφόδρα  
in this passage. The affectation of violent

attachment to the cause of the invader  
was perhaps produced by a desire to out-  
bid the Thessalians, if the statement of  
Herodotus as to the feelings of the Pho-  
cians (viii. 30) be correct; and to the last  
some seem to have stood out, and carried  
on a guerilla warfare against the enemy  
(§ 31, below).

<sup>49</sup> δοκιμώτατος. The manuscripts M,  
P, K, F, have δυνατότατος.

<sup>50</sup> ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἵζεσθαι. See below, note  
on § 38.

<sup>51</sup> Μήδων. S has Μήδον.

νοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσυντες· καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπήκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστασαν, πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνῶσαντες<sup>52</sup> ὡς μάλιστα· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἰππῶται ὑπέστρεφον, καὶ ἀπήλαινον ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξῃσιν τραπομένους, δέισαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαινον ὀπίσω· ὡς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὗτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι<sup>53</sup>. ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἰππῶται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε· “θαρσέετε, ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἔοντες ἀγαθοὶ, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην· καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίῃσι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτε ὦν ἐμέ, οὔτε βασιλέα.” τὰ περὶ Φωκῶν μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἔστρατο- 19  
πεδεύοντο· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ<sup>54</sup> Πελοποννησίοι. The allies  
τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδανε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀρέοντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιῆτας, assemble at  
οὐκ ἔδικαλεον λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὧν *Eleusis* and  
τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ, καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν, ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ march to  
ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἑλευσῖνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρά, ὡς *Erythræ*  
σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε<sup>55</sup>, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι in Boeotia,  
διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος συμμυγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἑλευσίνι. where they  
ὅρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτῆς ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρ- find the  
βάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο enemy en-  
ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος. Μαρδόνιος δὲ, 20  
ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς They are  
πάσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἰππάρχεις Μασίστιος, εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ attacked by  
Πέρσῃσι, (τὸν Ἕλληνας Μακίστιον<sup>56</sup> καλέουσι,) ἵππον ἔχων the Persian  
cavalry under  
Masistius.

<sup>52</sup> πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνῶσαντες. S has πάντες στρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ κυκλῶσαντες. The phrase συστρέφειν is used by Herodotus to denote the policy of Deioces, by which he brought the Median clans into one nation (i. 101). In a military sense συστρέφεσθαι answers to the Latin “conglobari.”

<sup>53</sup> εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. Two of the manuscripts (b and d) have εἴ τι ἀλκῆς ἔχουσι, which Valckenaer would adopt. But a very good sense may be given to the compound verb, even without taking

ἀλκῆς after μετέχουσι,—to which however there is no objection. See note 686 on i. 204, and 63 on vi. 23.

<sup>54</sup> λοιποί. This word is omitted by S.

<sup>55</sup> ὅς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε. Gaisford reads, ὅς σφι ἐκαλλιέρετο, πρόσω. But the form καλλιερῆν is used in the sense required here, not only two lines back, but in vii. 134. Bekker reads accordingly ὅς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο.

<sup>56</sup> Μακίστιον. The name *Marista* is said in Zend to have the signification of μέγιστος. But it does not appear to me likely that the variation of the name to



21

The Megarians are  
hardest  
pressed,

Νισαῖον<sup>17</sup>, χρυσοχάλινόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἵππῳται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα<sup>18</sup>. προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο, καὶ γυναικᾶς σφεας ἀπεκάλεον. Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες ἢ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός· καὶ πρόσσδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγένετο τῇ ἵππῳ· προσβαλούσης ὧν τῆς ἵππου, οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κήρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· “Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μούνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιω ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρήν τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν, καίπερ πιεζέμενοι· νῦν τε, εἰ μὴ τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξις, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε· Πausanias δὲ ἀπεπειράτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἵεναι τε ἐς τὸν χώρον τοῦτον, καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο, καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι

and the  
Athenians,  
under  
Olympio-  
dorus,

22

alone volun-  
teer to re-  
lieve them.

λογιάδες τῶν ἐλοχήγῃ· Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος. Οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι, καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρόντων Ἕλλη-  
νων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι· μαχο-  
μένων δὲ σφεων ἐπὶ χρόνον, τέλος τοιούνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης·  
προσβαλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων  
τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά· ἀλγήσας δὲ,  
ἴσταται τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασίστιον· πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ  
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο· τὸν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι

Masistius  
is slain  
with much

Macistius arose out of any consciousness of this, and a desire to convey the sense of the word. I should rather conceive it to have sprung out of a kind of jesting allusion to the stature of the Persian chief. (See § 25.) Both PLUTARCH and PAUSANIAS speak of the individual by the name *Masistius*, without any hint of a variation.

<sup>17</sup> Νισαῖον. The manuscripts S, F, c, have Νησαῖον. Of these horses see note 307 on iii. 106, and 141 on vii. 40.

<sup>18</sup> προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα. The manoeuvre apparently was an attack by squadrons, each successive one delivering its javelins as it reached the line of the Greeks, but not attempting to break the

phalanx. After the discharge of the missiles, each squadron would make room, by a movement in column, for its successor to attack. The greater the rapidity with which the whole were brought up one after the other, the more effective the operation would be; and this rapidity no doubt it was which prevented the troops from discovering that their commander had fallen, until the whole body had delivered their missiles and reassembled themselves. When this at last took place, they were in a situation to charge in a body, which they accordingly did (ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα, §§ 22, 3).

καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι· ἐνεσκέυ-  
αστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσειον λεπιδωτὸν κατύπερθε  
δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνδεδύκει· τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν  
θώρηκα, ἐποίεον οὐδέν· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ μαθῶν τις τὸ ποιούμενον, παίει  
μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δὲ  
κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθει τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα  
μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα· ἀναχωρήσιός τε  
γυνομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γενόμενον, ἐπεὶ τε δὲ  
ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν<sup>59</sup>, ὥς σφέας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων  
μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαινον τοὺς ἵππους  
πάντες, ὥς ἂν τὸν γε νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 23  
οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντας,  
τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐβώθει<sup>60</sup>,  
ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὀξεῖα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μὲν νυν μοῖνοι  
ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον·  
ὥς δὲ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησαν, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππῶται  
ὑπέμενον, οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι· ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπόλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες<sup>61</sup> ὦν  
ὅσον τε δύο στάδια, ἐβουλεύοντο ὃ τι χρεὸν εἶη ποιεῖν; ἐδόκει  
δὲ σφι, ἀναρχίης ἐούσης, ἀπελάνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. Ἀπικο- 24  
μένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασ-  
στίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε  
αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια<sup>62</sup>, οἰμωγῇ τε  
χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ· ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτὴν κατεῖχε ἡχώ<sup>63</sup>.

A hard fight  
takes place  
for the pos-  
session of  
his corpse,  
which at  
last the  
confederates  
carry off.

24  
Public  
mourning  
of the Per-  
sians for  
Masistius.

<sup>59</sup> ἐπόθεσαν. This is the reading of all the MSS, but it is probably corrupt. The most probable conjecture is ἐπόθησαν, a word used by Herodotus in the sense of "missed" (iii. 36).

<sup>60</sup> ἐβώθει. See note 4 on viii. 1, above.

<sup>61</sup> ἀποστήσαντες, "having retired." The word seems used technically to denote the manoeuvre which was the opposite of προσελαύνειν.

<sup>62</sup> σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. I am not aware of any thing confirming the inference which might be drawn from this passage, that the Persians cut the manes and tails of their horses as a mark of mourning. But such was really the practice of their

Thessalian allies. PLUTARCH (*Pelopid.*, § 33.) Thus EURIPIDES makes Admetus on learning the death of his wife, give the order:

τέθριππά τ' οἱ ζεύγυνσθε  
καὶ μονάμπυκας  
πώλους, σιδήρῳ τέμνετ'  
αὐχένων φόβην.

(*Alcest.* 428.)

<sup>63</sup> ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτὴν κατεῖχε ἡχώ. This is not to be considered a simple exaggeration, meaning that the sound was so great that the noise of the mourners in the camp was heard all over the country. A general order was no doubt given for the highest funeral honours to be bestowed on Masistius; and

Exultation of the allies, who move from the neighbourhood of Erythrae to that of Platæa and the Gargaphian fountain, and occupy a position accessible to cavalry.

25 ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετὰ γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρὰ τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλείῃ. Οἱ μὲν νυν βάρβαροι τρώπῃ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσιν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο, ἐθάρσυσάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἄμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θῆς ἄξιος, μεγάλῃς εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος· τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξεις ἐφοίτεον θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον μετὰ δὲ, ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χώρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεωτέρος σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ εὐδρότερος· ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χώρον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην<sup>64</sup> τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τοῦτῃ ἐοῦσαν, ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὼν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι· ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα, ἦσαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος παρὰ Ὑσιῶς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος<sup>65</sup>, διὰ ὅχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χωρίου.

26 Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων πολλὸς<sup>66</sup> ὠθισμὸς

the result of this would be a wailing and lamentation wherever troops were posted. If the numbers of Mardonius's army were any thing like what is related, the extent of his line must have been such that the assertion in the text may well be true, almost to the letter. A traveller would no sooner get beyond the sound of the cries of one body of troops than he would begin to hear those of another.

<sup>64</sup> Γαργαφίην. This is the reading of all the MSS except 8, which both here and below (§ 49) has Γαρσαφίην. The fountain has been identified with one named in the present day *Vergentiani*, a copious stream just on the left of the road leading from the pass of Cithæron (formerly called *Δρύος κεφαλαι*) to Platæa. During the summer months it supplies with water the villages of Gondara and Velia, the former of which is supposed to occupy the site of part of *Hysie*. From the pass *Δρύος κεφαλαι* to the vestiges of the ancient Platæa is about three miles, and about half-way is a low range of hills running northward from the main range of Cithæron, and forming a watershed be-

tween one of the feeders of the Asopus, which falls into the *Ægean*, and another river, probably the *Oeroe*, the waters of which after passing by Platæa fall into the gulf of Corinth. Both the Asopus and this river have separate branches in the mountain, and the latter precisely forms that sort of island, described by Herodotus (below, § 50). Its streams, like those of other Grecian rivers, are merely torrents in the winter; but the Asopus, which is rather more considerable, has stagnant pools in different parts of its channel, even throughout the summer. (COLONEL SQUIER, *ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 338.)

<sup>65</sup> τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος. This fane stood on the right hand of the road which led direct from Platæa to Thebes (THUCYDIDES, iii. 24), and must have been quite close to the former.

<sup>66</sup> πολλός. Several of the MSS have πολλῶν, but Gaisford has followed the reading of S and V. It is defended by the general use of Herodotus. Compare vii. 225: Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων

Τεγεῆται τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔδικαλεον γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἔχειν Dispute for precedence between the Tegeans and Athenians.  
 τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε· “ἡμεῖς αἰεὶ κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξις ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιόν” καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεὶ τε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρώντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρύσθεος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον. τότε εὐρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρήγμα τοιόνδε· ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ<sup>65</sup>, ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἰζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιούσι· τότε ὦν λόγος Ἵλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι, ὥς χρεὼν εἶη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου, τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον τοῦτόν οἱ μονομαχεῖν ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξε τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα, καὶ ἔταμον ὄρκια ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε· ἦν μὲν Ἵλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια· ἦν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν· ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων συμμάχων ἐθελουτῆς Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου, τοῦ Φηγεός<sup>66</sup>, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος· καὶ ἐμονομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ἵλλον ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες<sup>70</sup>, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμο-

ῶθισμός ἐγένετο πολλός. viii. 78: ἐγένετο ὠθισμός λόγων πολλός.

<sup>65</sup> τὸ παλαιόν. S and V have τὸ πάλαι, which perhaps may have been altered in the other MSS for the sake of symmetry.

<sup>66</sup> Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. The Ionians referred to here are the inhabitants of the Megarid, who, according to the *Attic traditions*, although not according to their own, were Ionian, and ethnically identical with the race inhabiting Attica, until the invasion of the latter by the Peloponnesians in the time of Codrus. (See the note 203 on v. 76.) Herodotus, therefore, would seem here to be giving an *Athenian* account of the incident which he describes.

<sup>67</sup> Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου, τοῦ Φηγεός. PAUSANIAS (viii. 5. 1) makes not *Phe-*

*geus*, but *Cepheus*, to be the grandfather of Echemus. It need not necessarily be supposed that he found a different reading in Herodotus. The traditions of the Greeks were, he says, very different from one another, and especially in the genealogies (viii. 53. 5). Phegeus has every mark of being a genuine Arcadian name. The combat in which Hyllus was slain was on the confines of the Megarian and Corinthian territory.

<sup>70</sup> ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες. What these privileges were, it is now impossible to do more than conjecture; but it seems likely that the influence of the Tegean Chiloas mentioned above (§ 9) was not a merely personal one, but arose, partly at least, out of the position which he held as representative of his countrymen at Sparta. It will be seen, that in

νεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μὲν νυν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα· ἀλλὰ δίδόντες αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν, παρίεμεν τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου φαμέν ἡμέας ἰκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν, κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρὶς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγγεμένου ἔργου, ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας<sup>71</sup> ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίζονται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους· οὕτω ὦν ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, ἥπερ Ἀθηναίους<sup>72</sup>. οὐ γάρ σφί ἐστι ἔργα οἷά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὐτ' ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά."

- 27 Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε· "ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἶνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεστής<sup>73</sup> προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἑκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέρχασθαι χρηστὰ, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλώσαι πρὸς ὑμέας, ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώϊόν ἐστι, εὐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ, πρώτοις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι<sup>74</sup>."

the disposition of the troops, the Tegeans are quite separated from the rest of the Arcadians, and placed next to the five thousand Spartans,—in a more honourable position therefore than even the picked Lacedæmonian perioecian hoplites, —καὶ τιμῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς (below, § 28). Perhaps one of the conditions under which they submitted to the supremacy of Sparta, after the long series of wars, was that they should in all respects be on a superior footing to these, and always rank next to the pure Spartans. This, in time of war, would give them one of the wings where the force was purely Peloponnesian, and in time of peace might entitle those of them that were in Sparta to an honourable place at festivals, and such like distinctions. It would be only natural, if the Tegeans stood in a better position than the non-Spartan Lacedæmonians, that the latter should be exceedingly pleased with any opportunity of humbling them, and should for this purpose take advantage of the new case which offered, of Athenians joining the Peloponnesian confederacy. The terms in which they decided in favour of the claim of these contain a supercilious reflection on their opponents. See note 77 on § 27, below.

<sup>71</sup> πρὸς ὑμέας. See above, i. 67.

<sup>72</sup> οὕτω ὦν ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, ἥπερ Ἀθηναίους. This passage is generally considered as an instance of the use of the positive adjective in precise equivalence to the comparative; and if it be not corrupt, it certainly is so; for there is nothing in the words which allow even of the inference of a comparative sense, such, for instance, as in the passage of THEOCRITUS (ix. 20):

ἔχω δέ τοι οὐδ' ὅσον ἔραυ  
χείματος ἢ νωδὸς καρύων, ἀμύλοιο παρόν-  
τος,

or as in πρώτοις εἶναι ἢ Ἀρκάσι in the next section, supposing the reading of S to be adopted. I doubt whether any real case can be produced from early authors of an interchange of degrees such as that in the text. But the manuscripts are unanimous; and the reading, if corrupt, is probably as ancient as the Alexandrine times, when apparent solecisms came to be studiously imitated, and thus to produce real ones.

<sup>73</sup> ὁ Τεγεστής. See note 511 on i. 152.

<sup>74</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. This appears to be the reading of all the MSS except one (S), which omits the word μᾶλλον. Gaisford however follows it, considering the word μᾶλλον in the rest to have been in-

Ἡρακλείδας τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους πρότερον, ἐξελαννομένους ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοῖατο φεύγοντες δουλῶσιν πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι, τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατεῖλομεν, σὺν κείνοισι μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον τοῦτο δὲ, Ἀργεῖους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους, ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φάμεν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας, τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμῶδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλοῦσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν<sup>15</sup>. καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωϊκοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλείπομεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνήσθαι καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἔοντες ὧντοὶ νῦν ἂν εἰεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἔοντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἰεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μὲν νυν ἔργων ἅλως ἔστω. ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδοδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τέοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν, καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ· οἷτινες μῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνόμαχῆσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ, καὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτ' ἐπιχειρήσαντες, περιγενόμεθα, καὶ ἐνίκησαμεν ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα<sup>16</sup>. ἀρ'

serted as a gloss. This is possible; but it seems to me more probable that it has been omitted from S by an error of the copyist, who originally left out ἡ also.

<sup>15</sup> ἐσβαλοῦσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν. The celebrated Hill of Mars was the site of the Amazonian encampment, and their settlement upon it was in the Attic older legends represented as an ἐπιτειχισμὸς against Athens. In this way Æschylus alludes to it (*Eumenid.* 685—690). See note 273 on v. 94. The historical fact lying at the bottom of the myth is the existence of a community in Attica, identical in religious traditions and in race with another localized in the neighbourhood of the river Thermodon. This race formerly spread over the north and west coasts of Asia Minor, and into the islands, Ephesus, Smyrna, Cuma, Myrine, Paphos, and other places, being said to be named after Amazonian founders. In the time of STRABO they were said to exist continuously to the Gargares, whom Metrodorus the geogra-

pher placed on the northern flanks of Caucasus (xi. c. 5, pp. 418—420). He remarks that the traditions of this race are the only instance in which it is impossible to draw the line between fable and history. On the subject of them, the essay entitled *Amazons* in the CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL MUSEUM (vol. i. p. 106) may be studied with great advantage.

<sup>16</sup> ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. Few persons will be inclined to believe that troops from so many different nations were embarked in six hundred ships for the purpose of invading Greece; but it would be very interesting to discover the origin of the notion. It seems possible that its source is some arrangement (perhaps for the purpose of military service) in which the subjects of the Persian king were classed under forty-six different heads. Such, for instance, may have appeared on the στήλαι which Darius set up at Byzantium (iv. 87, where see notes 245 and 247). The circumstance of the Athenians having been alone at the battle

οὐ δίκαιοι εἶμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξις εἵνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι εἶμεν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι ἡμέας εἶναι ἐσάναι, καὶ κατ' οὐσιντας πάντη γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγήεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένον." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιοικότερους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἤπερ Ἀρκάδας". οὕτω δὲ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς Τεγεῆτας.

The Lacedaemonians unani- mously decide for the Athenians.

28 Arrange- ment of the line of the allies,

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε" οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, ἐόντας Σπαρτιήτας, ἐφύλασσαν ψιλοὶ τῶν εἰλωτῶν πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφί εἶλοντο ἐσάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεῆτας, καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς· τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὀπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι· παρὰ δὲ σφί εὗροντο παρὰ Πανσανίῳ" ἐσάναι Ποτιδαιγῶν τῶν ἐκ Παλ-

of Marathon, not only served them in good stead for the purpose of gratifying their national vanity, but likewise enabled them to put the facts of the transaction in their own way without the danger of contradiction,—a circumstance of which they took full advantage, if we may believe THEOPOMPUS, who speaks of this as one of several matters, in which ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις ἀλαζονεύεται καὶ παρακρούεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας. By the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, every other state was heartily weary of it; and when an Athenian put it forward, a hubbub was sure to follow: τὰ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἐδύιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὀχλοῦ μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλομένοις, ἀνάγκη λέγειν. (THUCYDIDES, i. 73.)

"Ἀρκάδας. The use of this word should not be overlooked. It seems to be substituted intentionally for Τεγεῆτας by the Lacedaemonians. The Tegeans probably would not feel flattered by being massed together with the inhabitants of insignificant hamlets under this name. (See note 70 on § 26, above.)

"ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε. PAUSANIAS, describing the statue of Zeus at Olympia, which was put up there by the allies who

fought at Plataea (below, § 81), gives a somewhat different list of the contingents from Herodotus. The names of the states were inscribed on the base of the statue, and stood in the following order: Lacedaemonians; Athenians; Corinthians and Sicyonians; Aeginetans; Megarians and Epidaurians; Tegeans and Orchomenians; Phliuans, Troezenians, and Hermionians; Thrynians; Platæans; Mycenæans; Ceans and Melians; Ambracians; Tenians and Lepreatæ from Triphylia; Naxians and Cytherians; Styres from Euboea; Eleans, Potidæans, and Anactorians; Chalcidians from the Euripus (v. 23, 1). Those in italics are not mentioned by Herodotus, who, on the other hand, introduces Eretrians, Leucadians, and Pales from Cephallenia. Also he makes Eleans form part of the army at the isthmus the year before (viii. 72). DIODORUS expressly declares that they did not take an active part against the invader.

"εὗροντο παρὰ Πανσανίῳ," they obtained leave from Pausanias." The request was doubtless made on account of Potidæa having been a colony from Corinth. (THUCYDIDES, i. 56.)

λήνης τοὺς παρέοντας τριηκόσιους. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι· τούτων δὲ, Σικωνῆσιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἶχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι. Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Λεπρετηέων διηκόσιοι· τούτων δὲ, Μυκηναίων καὶ Τирυνθίων τετρακόσιοι. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Φλιάσιοι χίλιοι· παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστασαν Ἑρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι· τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι· τούτων δὲ, Ἀμπρακιητέων<sup>80</sup> πεντηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστασαν· τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Παλῆες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Αἰγινητέων πεντηκόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων, Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι· ἐστρατήγεε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ and numbers of the aggregate of the several contingents. 29

Δυσισμάχου. οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὀπλίται, συνάπαντες ἔοντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτὰ. Ὀπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι· ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τότε τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξις πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἔοντων ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα· καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρητητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοὶ, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἕκαστον ἔων ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι<sup>81</sup> ἦσαν ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες<sup>82</sup> καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε<sup>83</sup>. Τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος 30

Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σὺν τε ὀπλίτησι καὶ

<sup>80</sup> Ἀμπρακιητέων. S and V have Ἀμπρακιωτέων, but all the other MSS support the reading of the text. In § 31, below, S has Ἀμβρακιώτας, and V and d Ἀμπρακιώτας. In iv. 123, the forms Μαίητιν and Μαίητέων are supported by all the MSS.

<sup>81</sup> πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι. According to Herodotus's own statement, the numbers of the light-armed troops, independently of the Helots, should be 33,700, or 800 less than he here puts them at. But the incorrect number seems to arise only from an error of cal-

culation, and not from any lacuna in the MSS, as the aggregate of the various contingents agrees with the sum given in the text for the numbers of the hoplites.

<sup>82</sup> καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες. These words are omitted from S and V, but apparently only by an error of transcription in the archetypal MS.

<sup>83</sup> πέντε. Two MSS have ἑπτα, which, as in other respects they do not vary from the others, would give too great a numerical force of the light-armed troops by 1000.



ψυλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἔνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μῆς χιλιάδος πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι· σὺν δὲ Θεσπιδέων τοῖσι παρϑούσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἔνδεκα μυριάδες· παρήσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιδέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιέοντες<sup>81</sup>, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

31

The enemy follow the allies to their position at Plataea. Order of their line.

Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον<sup>82</sup> βάρβαροι, ὡς ἀπεκήδενσαν Μασίστιον<sup>83</sup>, παρήσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ρέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσονται ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδόνιου· κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας· καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιέασαν<sup>84</sup>· πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξις πλεῖνας ἐκεκοσμέατο, καὶ ἐπεῖχον τοὺς Τεγεῖτας· ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· ὃ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτοῦ δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας, ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων· τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεῖτας· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαίητας, καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικωνίους. Μήδων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους, καὶ Λεπρεῖτας τε καὶ Τιρινθίους, καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλιασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδοὺς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετριέας, καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε· οἱ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακίητας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους, καὶ

<sup>81</sup> οἱ περιέοντες. Thespiae had been destroyed by the army of Xerxes the year before, on which occasion the inhabitants found refuge in the Peloponnese (viii. 50). But the phrase seems to refer especially to the loss they sustained at Thermopylae, where 700 were with Leonidas (vii. 220), and remained voluntarily with him after his position was turned (vii. 222, where see note 557).

<sup>82</sup> ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (F), which has ἀμφὶ περὶ Μαρδόνιον,—obviously an union of two alternative readings.

<sup>83</sup> ὡς ἀπεκήδενσαν Μασίστιον, "as they finished lamenting for Masistius." Compare ii. 40: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποτύφονται, "when they have done beating their breasts." ii. 73: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, "when it has completed its practice."

THEUCYDIDES uses the word ἀπαλγεῖν to denote the remission of pain which followed the paroxysms of the plague patients in Athens (ii. 61). An excellent illustration of this force of the preposition is supplied by some verses of ALEXIS as corrected by Valckenaer:

καλλὴ γ' ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπο-  
λέσαι  
πρώτιστον, ἀφυβρίσαι τ', ἀπανθή-  
σαντα δὲ  
σκληρὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ καταστήναι πάλιν.

<sup>84</sup> περιέασαν. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the single manuscript S, all the rest having περιέσαν, which I should prefer. Still, in i. 187, the simple form *has* is adopted on the authority of the majority of MSS, and in ii. 19 they are unanimous for *ha*.

Δευκαδίου, καὶ Παλέας, καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς, καὶ Μηλιάς τε καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς, καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμῆδισαν· ἀλλὰ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠῦζον, περὶ τὸν Παρηγησὸν κατειλημένοι<sup>88</sup>. καὶ ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμεώμενοι, ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἡγον τήν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιήν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔοντας Ἑλλήνων ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας<sup>89</sup> τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους<sup>90</sup> κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὀνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τάπερ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμειγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηήκων, καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων (οἳ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι<sup>91</sup>) μαχαιοφόροι· οἵπερ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μῦθοι μάχιμοι· τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἔων ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο, ἔοντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἅμα Ἑξέξη ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὥς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται<sup>92</sup>. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμὸν· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἡριθμήθησαν· ὥς δὲ ἐπικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλαγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν· ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

32

Numbers of Mardonius's army.

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες<sup>93</sup> οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τε ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἑλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἶπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν, ἔοντα Ἡλείῳ καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμυδέων Κλυτιάδην<sup>94</sup>, Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποίησαντο λεωσφέτερον

33

Both sides sacrifice for auspices, the allies by *Tisamenus* of *Elis*. Circumstances

<sup>88</sup> περὶ τὸν Παρηγησὸν κατειλημένοι. See viii. 32, and note 48 on § 17, above.

<sup>89</sup> ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας. These were the contingent furnished by Alexander the king of Macedonia, who commanded them in person (§ 44, below).

<sup>90</sup> τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους. These would doubtless be the clansmen and retainers of the Aleuadae and Scopadae, serving with Mardonius.

<sup>91</sup> οἳ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι. Of these soldiers see note 506 on ii. 164.

<sup>92</sup> τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὥς καὶ πρότερον

δεδήλωται. These numbers are given above (viii. 113), but there the thirty myriads seem to include the cavalry. And of these thirty myriads, six attempt unsuccessfully to take Potidea (viii. 126), and suffer very great loss before they raise the siege (viii. 129). Diodorus puts the numbers of the allies at 100,000, and those of the invading army at half a million (xi. 30).

<sup>93</sup> πάντες. This word is omitted in S and V.

<sup>94</sup> γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμυδέων Κλυτιάδην. This is the reading of all the MSS except

under which  
he was made  
a Lacedæ-  
monian  
citizen.

Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου<sup>91</sup>, ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε· ὁ μὲν δὲ ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου, προσεῖχε γυμνασίοις ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας· ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε<sup>92</sup> νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικούς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρήτους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήιον, μισθῷ ἐπειρώντο πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλεΐδων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων· ὁ δὲ ὀρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους Σπαρτιῆτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀντιμία, σημαίνων σφί, ὡς ἦν μιν πολιήτην σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα· ἐπ' ἄλλῃ μισθῷ δ' οὐ Σπαρτιῆται δὲ, πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δευρὰ ἐποιεῦντο, καὶ μετέλεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης· τὸ παράπαν τέλος δὲ, δειμάτος μεγάλου.

S, which has Κλυτιδίδου instead of Κλυτιδίδην. But it occasions a good deal of difficulty; for both Ἰαμιδης and Κλυτιδίδης are gentile names; and CICERO (*De divinatione*, i. 41) expressly states that there were in Elis two families especially distinguished for their skill in divination, the *Iamidae* and the *Clytiidae*. It would seem certain, therefore, that if Tisamenus belonged to the one, he could not bear a name implying that he was a member of the other. It is remarkable too that PAUSANIAS, in relating the story of this Tisamenus, and obviously from this passage of Herodotus, does not mention the name *Clytiades* at all (iii. 11. 6). Under these circumstances I am inclined to suspect, that here, as in many other places, alternative readings have been combined in the text. The tradition relative to Tisamenus may very well have varied, some accounts making a member of one of the two families, and some one of the other. Thus some of the MSS will have run: τὸν, λόντα Ἡλείον Κλυτιδίδην, and others: τὸν, λόντα Ἡλείον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδίδων. After the two variants were incorporated into one, the scribe of S (or of its archetype) appears to have endeavoured to soften down the incongruity by making Tisamenus the son of a Clytiades.

<sup>91</sup> μαντευομένῳ . . . περὶ γόνου. Schweighäuser seems to think that there must be some error in the text, because in the answer of the oracle there is no reference to the subject about which Tisamenus inquired.

But although the desire of a family may have been the special cause which took him to Delphi, there may well have been something in the reply which led to further inquiries as to his career in after-life. Besides, it seems to have been no uncommon practice at Delphi to make answer quite beside the scope of the question put by the votary. (See iv. 150 and 155.)

<sup>92</sup> παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε, "he had it turn on the issue of one fall in wrestling." In the way in which PAUSANIAS puts the matter, one is led to suppose that having beaten Hieronymus in running and leaping, and probably been beaten by him in throwing the javelin and the discus, the victory remained to be finally determined by the issue of the wrestling bout. The expression παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα may be illustrated by ISÆUS (iii. p. 41): παρὰ τέτταρας ψήφους μετέσχε τῆς πόλεως, "his citizenship was established by four votes,"—that number being the excess of the majority. DEMOSTHENES (c. *Aristocrat*, p. 688): παρὰ τρεῖς μὲν ἀφείσαν ψήφους τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ ζημῶσαι, "they acquitted him, saving him from capital punishment by three votes." The common formula παρ' ὀλίγον is a familiar instance of the same idiom.

<sup>93</sup> τῆς χρησμοσύνης, "of their need." This word seems to have been employed by *Heracitus* as a philosophical term, and the opposite of *κῆρος*. PHILO JUDÆUS, speaking of the professors of one particular form of pantheism, says that such a one

λου ἐπικρεμαμένον τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος, καταίνεον μετιόντες· ὁ δὲ γνούς τετραμμένους σφέας, οὐδ' οὕτω ἔφη ἔτι ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοις μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἑγήνην<sup>34</sup> γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμμέετο Μελάμ-  
 ποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιλῆην τε καὶ πολιτην, αἰτεόμενος· καὶ  
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους, τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὡς  
 μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναι-  
 κας τῆς νούσου, μισθὸν προοτεινато τῆς βασιλῆης τὸ ἥμισυ  
 οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ' ἀπίοντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο  
 πολλῶ πλεύνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὲ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους  
 προοτεινέτο, ἦσαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται,  
 ὁρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φὰς, ἦν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι  
 μεταδώσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιλῆης, οὐ ποιήσιν τὰ βούλονται·  
 οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν, καταίνουσιν καὶ ταῦτα.  
 Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιήται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως  
 συνεχώρεόν οἱ· συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων,  
 οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαινεύμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισα-  
 μενὸς ὁ Ἡλείος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταίρει· μούνοι δὲ  
 δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτησι πολίται<sup>35</sup>.  
 οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἶδε ἐγένοντο· εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος, οὗτος ὁ ἐν  
 Πλαταιῇσι· ἐπὶ δὲ, ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους<sup>36</sup>

34  
 Similar  
 story of  
 Melampus.

is Ἡρακλείου δόξης ἐταῖρος, "κόρον καὶ χρησιμοσύνην," καὶ "ἐν τῷ πᾶν," καὶ "πάντα ἀμοιβῇ" εἰσάγων. (*Legum allegoriae*, iii. p. 89, Mangey.) In another passage, giving a mystical meaning to the practice of dividing into portions an animal offered as a victim, he says, ἡ δὲ εἰς μέλη τοῦ ζώου διανομὴ δηλοῖ, ἥτοι ὡς ἐν τὰ πάντα, ἡ δὲ εἰς ἐνὸς τε καὶ εἰς ἑν' ὑπερ οἱ μὲν κόρον καὶ χρησιμοσύνην ἐκάλεσαν, οἱ δ' ἐκπύρῳσιν καὶ διακόμηνσιν. (*De animal. sacrificio idoneis*, p. 242.) PLUTARCH (*De ei Delphico*, § 9) refers to the same nomenclature: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἴσος ὁ τῶν περιδίων χρόνος, ἀλλὰ μέζων ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας, ἦν κόρον καλοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ τῆς χρησιμοσύνης ἐλάττω.

<sup>37</sup> τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἑγήνην. Tisamenus appears to have had a grandson of the same name with his brother. He was said to have been Lysander's seer, and by

his auguries to have brought about the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami. This was the tradition attached to a bronze statue of him which PAUSANIAS saw at Sparta (iii. 11. 5). But the statue certainly cannot have been an original one; for it stood by the side of the altar of a temple dedicated to Augustus Cæsar. See note 109 on i. 31.

<sup>38</sup> μούνοι δὲ δὴ . . . πολίται. The instance of Tyræus refutes this observation. (PLUTARCH, *Apophth. Lac.*, § 15, p. 230.) But it has been before remarked, that Herodotus appears to be ignorant of all the particulars of the Messenian wars, with the common narrative of which Tyræus is mixed up, and to which Pausanias's apophthegm recorded by Plutarch refers.

<sup>39</sup> πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους. This battle will probably have been at the

γενόμενος· μετὰ δὲ, ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι<sup>100</sup> πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας, πλὴν Μαντινέων ἐπὶ δὲ, ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ<sup>101</sup>. ὕστατος δὲ, ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ<sup>102</sup> πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

36

The omens unfavourable on both sides for attacking.

37

Story of Mardonius's sect, Hegesistratus of Elis.

Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ὁ Τισαμενός, ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἕλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἀμυνομένοισι· διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι, οὐ. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά· ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλὰ· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἕλλησιν ἱροῖσι ἐχρέετο<sup>103</sup>, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησί-στρατον, ἄνδρα Ἡλείῳν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιτῶν λαβόντες ἔδρασαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

time when the Achaean population were possessed of considerable influence in Argos, after the revolution noticed in vi. 83, where see note 189. Just before the battle of Plataea the alliance of Tegea and Sparta must have been very close. (See note 70 on § 26, above.) But the policy of Pausanias seems to have been an opposite one to that of Cleomenes; for he voluntarily associated with himself Eurynax, the son of the self-banished Dorieus. See note 24 on § 9, above.) The rejection of the claim of the Tegeans therefore to the second post of honour may very well have been afterwards followed by the abridgement of other special privileges, and thus they may have become alienated from Sparta, and disposed to take part with Argos, at that time stripped bare of the Cadmeo-dorian part of her citizens.

<sup>100</sup> ἐν Διπαιεῦσι. *Dipaeus* was an Arcadian hamlet in the region of Mænalus. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 11. 7.) The battle fought against "all the Arcadians" will, I apprehend, have occurred in that war which was kindled by Cleandrus the prophet from Phigalia, mentioned in vi. 83, where see note 190.

<sup>101</sup> πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ. See note 138 on iii. 47. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS, but P, K, and F, have πρὸς Ἴσθμῳ, which Gaisford adopts. PAUSANIAS, going through the five victories, thus describes this one: τέταρτον δὲ ἡγωνίσαστο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας ἀπὸ τῶν Εἰλώτων. ἀπέστησαν δὲ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ Εἰλωτες ἀλλὰ τὸ Μεσσηνιακὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων Εἰλώτων ἀπο-

σχισθέντες . . . τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσέβοντο· εἶσαν Τισαμενῶ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ πεπαισμένοι (iii. 11. 8). In the passage of Pausanias, Wesseling proposes to read τοὺς ἐξ Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας τῶν Εἰλώτων (which Bekker adopts), and in the text here Palmer (likewise followed by Bekker) changes the reading of the manuscripts P, K, F, into πρὸς Ἰθώμην. But there seems no reason at all for either change. It is true that there is no mention elsewhere of a battle at the Isthmus, but neither is there of any one at Ithome, unless that at Stenyclerus (§ 63, below) may be deemed such; and in that the Messenians were victorious. From the words of Pausanias one may gather that a considerable body of Helots, the descendants of the Messenians who survived the second Messenian war (which ended with the capture of Ithome) were at the Isthmus, and revolting, took refuge at Ithome. There may very well have been a conflict with them before they fled thither, and the importance of this may have arisen not so much from the amount of their force as from the helplessness of Sparta, just at that time overthrown by an earthquake. See ARISTOPHANES, quoted in note 138 on iii. 47.

<sup>102</sup> ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ. This is the battle mentioned by THUCYDIDES, i. 108.

<sup>103</sup> ἐχρέετο. This is the reading of B and Aldus, and is adopted by Gaisford. S and V have ἐχράτο, and M, P, K, F ἐχρέατο, which is apparently a corruption from ἐχρέετο.

ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς  
 πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος<sup>104</sup> πολλά τε καὶ λυγρὰ, ἔργον  
 ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγῳ· ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ,  
 ἐστυγνέοντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμνηχανῶτο ἀν-  
 δρειότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν σταθμισάμενος γὰρ  
 ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδὸς, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν  
 ἑωυτοῦ, ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὥστε φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων,  
 διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην<sup>105</sup>, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευό-  
 μενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος· οὕτω  
 ὥστε, Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διζημένων, τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι  
 ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης,  
 ὁρέοντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κάκεινον οὐ δυναμένους  
 εὐρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους, καταφεύγει ἐς  
 Τεγέην, ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμήν Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον<sup>106</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> πεισόμενος. This reading is supported by A, B, F, S, P. Aldus and one manuscript (b) have πησόμενος, which would be a legitimate form from a present πῆσθω, of which a trace appears in the substantive πῆμα, the aorist ἔπαθον, and the participle πῆσας. See ÆSCHYLUS, *Agam.* 1633: πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάττιζε, μὴ πῆσας μογῆς.

<sup>105</sup> ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην. PLUTARCH (*De fraterno amore*, § 3) calls Hegesistratus an Arcadian seer. Possibly this may arise from a misconstruction of the circumstance of his taking refuge in Tegea. At the same time, there was always a friendly intercourse between Elis and Arcadia, and possibly there may have been a branch of the Telliads in the latter country as well as the former. The very strongest community of feeling existed between the Eleans, Arcadians, and Messenians throughout the second Messenian war. Theoclus, an Iamid, was the adviser of Aristomenes from the very beginning to the end of the war, the Arcadians were his fast allies, and the palladium of Messenian independence was a brass jar containing a secret ritual of the Great Goddesses written on sheets of lead, described in a dream to Epaminondas as τὴν γραῦν τὴν ἐν χαλκῷ καθειργμένην θαλάμῳ καὶ ἤδη λειποφυχοῦσαν. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 26. 7.) The common bond therefore of the three parties was an attachment to the antedorian religion of the Peloponnese, and the modes of life to which it belonged.

In accordance with this, when Epaminondas 287 years afterwards re-established the Messenians in their own country, the religious solemnities performed by the confederates belonged, without any exception, to the ante-dorian period. The Thebans and Epaminondas sacrificed to Dionysus and the *Ismenian* Apollo, the Argives to their Here and the *Nemean* Zeus, the Messenians to the *Ithomatan* Zeus and the Dioscuri, and their priests to the Great Goddesses and Caucon. The Arcadians furnished victims for the whole; and the whole invoked in *common*, as ἡρώας συνολικούς, Messene, the daughter of Triopas (of whom see notes 492 and 587 on Book I.) in the chief place, and after her Eurytus (a hero to whom libations were offered preliminary to the orgies of the Great Goddesses, PAUSANIAS, iv. 3. 10; iv. 33. 6); Aphareus, and his sons Idas and Lynceus (the hereditary hierophants of the Great Goddesses, PAUSANIAS, iv. 2. 6); and of the Heracleids only Cresphontes and his son Æpytus (the grandson of an Arcadian king, and re-established in his Messenian dominions by Arcadian arms, PAUSANIAS, iv. 3. 6). The only music allowed was Boeotian and Argive wind instruments, and the melodies most conspicuous were those of Saccades and Pronomus. (PAUSANIAS, ll. cc.)

<sup>106</sup> ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμήν Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. This time must have been antecedent to that arrangement by

ἰγίης δὲ γενόμενος, καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα, κατεστήκει ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος· οὐ μέντοι γε ἐς τέλος οἱ συνήρκει τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον ἤλω γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπέθανε. ὁ μὲν νυν θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταιϊκῶν τότε δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένους οὐκ ὀλίγου, ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατὰ τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων<sup>107</sup> καὶ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος.

38 Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλίερε ὥστε μάχεσθαι, οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν<sup>108</sup> μάντιν Ἰππόμαχον, Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα) ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγευίδης ὁ Ἔρπνος, ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος, συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ

39 ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμβουτο συγχροῦς. Ἡμέραι δὲ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὁκτῶ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκείνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὐ ἔχουσιν, ὡς εὐφρόνῃ ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας, αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι<sup>109</sup>. τὰς Βουωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς Κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς Κεφαλὰς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἵπποται οὐ μᾶτῃν ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζυγία τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἵποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι· ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνεον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου ὡς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαινον περιβαλλόμενοι<sup>110</sup> παρὰ τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

which the Tegeans obtained the peculiar privileges at Lacedæmon of which they boast above (§ 26), or at least antecedent to the time when they were secured and ratified by the common practice.

107 κατὰ τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, "in accordance with his hatred of the Lacedæmonians." Compare viii. 30: κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν.

108 ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν, "exclusively for themselves." So above (§ 17) the commander of the Phocian contingent orders his men ἵεσθαι ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, "to take

up a position by themselves in the plain;" and the Amazons, unwilling to join the tribe of their new husbands, urge them to form a separate settlement, οἰκέμεν ἐν' ἡμέων αὐτέων (iv. 114).

109 αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι. This pass is apparently to be looked for to the west of that which lay between Enoe and Hysie, and led direct to Thebes. It was probably a mere mountain track, not a road, and like the packhorse routes in Switzerland.

110 περιβαλλόμενοι, "securing them." The metaphor is apparently taken from a

Mardonius is advised to watch the passes of Cithæron,

and eight days after the arrival of the armies in presence of each other, cuts off a convoy bringing supplies to the allies.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι 40  
 βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήϊσαν  
 οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι·  
 ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἢ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς  
 "Ἑλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως  
 ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης<sup>111</sup>. τὸ δὲ  
 ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι, μάλα ἔσκον οἱ  
 ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

The next two days the Greeks are constantly galled by the enemy's cavalry.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο 41  
 τούτων· ὥς δὲ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρῃ ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλα-  
 ταιῇσι, οἱ τε δὴ "Ἑλληνες πολλῶ πλευνες ἐγεγόνεσαν, καὶ Μαρ-  
 δόνιος περιημέκτεε<sup>112</sup> τῇ ἔδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδονί-  
 ος τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος<sup>113</sup>, δς ἐν ὀλγοῖσι  
 Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρῃ· βουλευομένων δὲ αἶδε  
 ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι· ἡ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου, ὥς χρεδὸν εἶη ἀναξεύξαντας  
 τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν<sup>114</sup>, ἵεναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ  
 Θηβαίων, ἔνθα σῆτόν τε σφί ἐσενηνεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον  
 τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι· κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἱζόμενους διαπρήσσεσθαι  
 ποιεύντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον, πολλὸν  
 δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων  
 φειδομένους μηδεὶς, διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς "Ἑλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ  
 μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστέωτας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι· καὶ ταχέως σφέας  
 παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην, μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας<sup>115</sup>.  
 τούτου μὲν νυν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὥς προειδότες

On the eleventh day a dispute takes place between Mardonius and Artabazus as to the best course to pursue.

person who wraps a mantle round him. It is used above, 371: ἰδὲ περιβαλλόμενος ἐν τῷ κέρδεα, and viii. 8: πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιβάλετο.

<sup>111</sup> κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, "took the lead until it came to fighting." There is in this phrase and in the succeeding one, μάλα ἔσκον οἱ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς, an insinuation unfavourable to the prowess of the Thebans which bespeaks a hostile feeling towards them.

<sup>112</sup> περιημέκτεε. See note 134 on i. 44.

<sup>113</sup> Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος. In the roll of the army (vii. 66) this individual is represented as the commander of the Parthians and Chorasmians,—names which

do not appear in the list of troops brought into line at Plataea (ix. 30). But it is possible that a change of command had taken place when Xerxes determined upon retreating; as we find Artabazus at the head of a detachment from the 300,000 troops selected by Mardonius (viii. 126—129). It will be observed, that the system of corruption which he recommends had been tried by himself at Potidæa, and with apparent success until detected accidentally.

<sup>114</sup> ἀναξεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν. See note 118 on viii. 60.

<sup>115</sup> συμβάλλοντας. One manuscript (S) has συμβαλλόντας. The sense seems rather to require κινδυνεύειν συμβαλλόντας.



- πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρῃ τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρῃ, καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένην δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλὰ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην<sup>116</sup>, μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων τὰ τε σφάγια τὰ Ἥγησιστράτου ἔαν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμφ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους
- 42 συμβάλλειν. Τούτου δὲ οἴτω δικαιοῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδεὶς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμφάμενος ὦν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἶδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων, ὡς διαφθερέονται<sup>117</sup> ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι; συγόντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδόντων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδόντων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· "ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν, ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος· ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν<sup>118</sup> ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι, οὔτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο<sup>119</sup> οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίας οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὐνοοὶ ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι, ἤδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων." ταῦτά σφι εἶπας, δεύτερα ἐσήμεινε παραρτέεσθαι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα<sup>120</sup> ποιεέσθαι, ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.
- 43 Τούτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Ἑγγέλεων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιη-

An oracle is said to portend destruction to Persians after sacking the temple of Delphi.

This oracle really re-

<sup>116</sup> συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην. This clause is not to be taken after δοκέειν, but after Μαρδονίου ἢ γνώμῃ ἦν. "The view of Mardonius was more a violent and headstrong one, and in no respect inclined to mild measures. [It was to the effect] that he thought their own force far superior to that of the Greeks, and that they should fight as soon as possible, and not look on at the assemblage of additional troops in greater numbers than were already concentrated." There seems to have been a kind of reaction in the mind of Mardonius, perhaps arising from mortification at the disappointment of his

schemes; for it is plain that the policy recommended by Artabazus had been pursued by himself. (See above, notes 9 on § 3, and 34 on § 12, and 282 on viii. 136.)

<sup>117</sup> διαφθερέονται. This is Gaisford's reading. The MSS vary between διαφθερέονται (which is adopted by Wesseling and Bekker), διαφθορεύονται (the reading of S and V), and διαφθερόντας.

<sup>118</sup> διαρπαγὴν. One manuscript (S) has ἀρπαγὴν.

<sup>119</sup> τοῦτο. S omits this word.

<sup>120</sup> εὐκρινέα. S has εὐκρινεα, and P εὐρικρινέα.

μένον<sup>121</sup>, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐστὶ<sup>122</sup> ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην πεποιημένα·

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῇ λεχεοῖη  
Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον, καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰσθμῶν  
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ Λάχεσιν τε μόρον τε  
τασοφόρων Μῆδων, ὅταν ἀσμιον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ.

lated to some *Persians* and *Encheles*, but there are some oracles of *Bacis* and *Musæus* which did apply to the *Persians*.

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μουσαίου<sup>123</sup> ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας· ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξύ Τανάγρας τε καὶ Γλίσσαντος.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ 44  
Μαρδονίου, νύξ τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὥς δὲ Τραχέρη of  
πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο, καὶ ἡσυχίῃ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ the Macedonians.  
στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ, τῆνικαῦτα  
προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος  
ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων<sup>124</sup>, ἐδίχτητο  
τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν· τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν  
πλεῖνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· ἐλθόντες δὲ  
ἔλεγον, ὥς ἄνθρωπος ἥκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ  
Μῆδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοὶ ἔπος, στρατηγούς δὲ  
ὀνομάζων, ἐθέλειω φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα 45  
ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἶποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε  
Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε· “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι<sup>125</sup>, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ

<sup>121</sup> ἐς Ἰλλυρίους τε . . . πεποιημένον. This is the application of the oracle adopted by EUBIPIDES (*Bacchæ*, 1333), who makes Dionysus prophesy to Cadmus:

πολλὰς δὲ πέρις ἀναρίθμη στρατεύματα πόλεις· ὅταν δὲ Λοξίου χρηστήριον διαρπάσωσι, νόστον ἄλλιον πάλιν σχήσουσι.

<sup>122</sup> ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐστὶ. S has τὰδε μὲν instead of τὰ μὲν, and F leaves out ἐστὶ, which S inserts after μάχην. Gaisford prints ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην, &c., and continues the sentence on after the citation of the verses, as if πεποιημένα were to be understood after Μουσαίου.

<sup>123</sup> Μουσαίου. This is a conjecture of Bekker's, the MSS all having Μουσαίῳ. For the way in which that reading is to be explained, see the last note.

<sup>124</sup> στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μα-

κεδόνων. Herodotus has mentioned this individual so often before, that it was scarcely necessary for the purpose of perspicuity again to describe him. Perhaps he is so described here on account of his father having recently died.

<sup>125</sup> ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. The στρατηγοί, whom Alexander named as persons whom he wished to see, are *Athenians*, possibly individuals with which he had dealings on the occasion of his embassy to Athens in the previous winter (viii. 136, seqq.). But still he thinks it desirable to make himself known to them at the end of his speech, as if he had been an entire stranger. PLUTARCH describes him as asking for *Aristides* (*Aristid.* § 16). In the course of a generation or two the celebrity of *Aristides* was sure to attract to him the floating traditions relative to the incidents of the war. See note 86 a on vi. 37.

ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιούμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Πανσανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἑλλήν γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαῖον, καὶ αὐτ' ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὄρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λέγω δὲ ὦν, ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε· νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἔαν χαίρειν, ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφανσκοῦση συμβολὴν ποίεσθαι· καταρρώθηκε γὰρ μὴ πλείυνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε· ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάλλεται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος, καὶ μὴ ποιῆται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες· ὀλίγων γὰρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία<sup>126</sup>. ἦν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναί τινα χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλώσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας, ἀπῆλυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τάξιν.

46 Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, ἔλεγον Πανσανίῃ τάπερ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου· ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας<sup>127</sup>, ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἡῶ ἢ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεὼν ἐστὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στήναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ὑμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν, ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τε εἰμεν καὶ ἀδαεῖς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Σπαρτιηγέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπειρήται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροί εἰμεν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα χρεὼν ἐστὶ ἵεναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ὑμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον." πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε· "καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ τε εἶδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας,

Dread of being opposed to the Persians induces Pausanias to attempt an alteration in his line,

<sup>126</sup> ὀλίγων γὰρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. This statement is not at all easy to reconcile with the argument of Artabazus (§ 41), that they should fall back on Thebes, where there were ample supplies both for horse and man. There can be no question that, with the superiority

in cavalry possessed by the Persians, it would have been perfectly easy to maintain an uninterrupted communication between Thebes and the army in camp.

<sup>127</sup> καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας. See note 158 on § 60, below.

ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τάπερ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρωδέμεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι· ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασιν<sup>128</sup>. καὶ ἐτοίμοι εἰμεν ποιεῖν ταῦτα.” Ὡς δ' ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, 47 ἥως τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις<sup>129</sup>. γνόντες δὲ οἱ *Βοιωτοὶ* τὸ ποιεῦμενον, ἐξαγορεύουσι *Μαρδονίῳ*· ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο, παράγων τοὺς *Πέρσας* κατὰ τοὺς *Λακεδαιμονίους*. ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ *Πανσαυλῆς*, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἦγε τοὺς *Σπαρτιήτας* ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ ὁ *Μαρδόνιος* ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ *Μαρ- 48* δόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς *Σπαρτιήτας* ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὥς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένουτές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῆξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν<sup>130</sup> ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἶδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιουμένους, αὐτοὺς τε ἀντὶ δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους· ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα· ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος, ὥς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλούμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μύνουσι Πέρσῃσι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐόντες ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὖρομεν, ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν, τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε δεδόξωσθε<sup>131</sup> εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς<sup>132</sup>, ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν μαχεσόμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκῇ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡμέας μύνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσόμεθα.

<sup>128</sup> ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασιν. 135.  
See note 23 on viii. 10.

<sup>129</sup> ἥως τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις, “with the very break of day they changed their respective positions.” See note 551 on vii. 218.

<sup>130</sup> στάσιν. S and V have τάξιν.

<sup>131</sup> δεδόξωσθε. See note 370 on vii.

<sup>132</sup> πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς. The phrase *βάρβαροι*, applied by the invaders to their own troops, plainly shows the Hellenic origin of this challenge of *Μαρδόνιος*. See note 126 on i. 37, note 104 on iii. 36, and note 243 on v. 91.

49 He attacks the whole line of the allies with his cavalry, and destroys the Gargaphian fountain, from whence the whole army was supplied with water.

ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν." Ὁ μὲν, ταῦτα εἰπας τε καὶ ἐπισχῶν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδέν ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα· ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γεγόμενος καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκη<sup>133</sup>, ἐπήκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὥς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππῶται, ἐσυνέοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντες τε καὶ τοξεύοντες, ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε εἶναι καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι<sup>134</sup>. τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην<sup>135</sup>, ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὦν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μῦνοι· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὥς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, οὕτω δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτεον· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γὰρ σφί οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

50 The allies resolve to move to "the island," ten stades off, in the course of the next night.

Τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου γινομένου, οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ, ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Πausanίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ἄλλα γὰρ, τούτων τοιούτων εἶναι, μᾶλλον σφεας ἐπελύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἳ τέ σφεων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὥς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι, ἀποκεκλέατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἣν ὑπερβάλλονται κελύνη τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν μὴ ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἵεναι· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίου ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλεως. νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἡπείρῳ· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιβαιρώνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ

51 "The island" is formed by two branches of a river named Oëroë.

<sup>133</sup> περιχαρὴς γεγόμενος καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκη. That this is a Hellenic view of Mardonius's sentiments, and can have no foundation of truth, seems perfectly certain. See the contemptuous way in which he speaks of the want of strategical skill among the Greeks (vii. 9). He was not likely to have his spirits elevated on finding that he was opposed by as good a general as himself, and one who did not intend to give up the advantages of a

strong position. With the expression ψυχρῇ νίκη compare ψυχρῇ ἐπικουρίῃ, vi. 108.

<sup>134</sup> προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι. Not "unable to engage in close fight," but "impossible to bring to close fight." Compare ἄποροι προσμίσγειν, which is said of the Scythians (iv. 46) from the same cause.

<sup>135</sup> Γαργαφίην. See above, note 64 on § 26.

τρία στάδια· καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὸντὸ οὖνομα δέ οἱ Ὀδερὸν θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι<sup>136</sup>. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χώρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μετανασθῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἵππες σφέας μὴ σινολατο, ὥσπερ κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων<sup>137</sup>. μετακινέσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ δευτέρῃ φυλακῇ<sup>138</sup>, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίαιτο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμεωμένοις, καὶ σφείας ἐπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππότες. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χώρον τοῦτον τὸν δὴ ἢ Ἀσωπὶς Ὀδερὸν περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὥς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι<sup>139</sup>.

Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, κεινὴν μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν, προσ- 52  
κειμένης τῆς ἵππου, εἶχον πόνον ἄρτυον ὥς δὲ ἢ τε ἡμέρῃ ἔλπεγε καὶ οἱ ἵππες ἐπέπαντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γενομένης καὶ εὐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἐς μὲν τὸν χώρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόφ' ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ, ὥς ἐκινήθησαν, ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιῶν πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑραῖον<sup>140</sup>. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιῶν, εἴκοσι

On the army getting into motion at night, the greater part retreat as far as the Heraeum at Plataea, twenty stades from the Gargaphian fountain.

<sup>136</sup> θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. See note 353 on vii. 129. This stream appears to have been crossed by the road running from Plataea to Thebes, but at what distance from Plataea does not appear. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 4. 4.) See COLONEL SQUIRE quoted in note 64, above.

<sup>137</sup> ὥσπερ κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων, "as they did, while they were directly exposed to them."

<sup>138</sup> δευτέρῃ φυλακῇ. The Greeks divided the interval of time between sunset and sunrise, not, like the Romans, into four parts, but into three. The second watch would therefore, at this time of the year, commence nearly two hours before midnight.

<sup>139</sup> ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι, "for they had been blocked up in Cithæron." The convoy in question had apparently intended to enter Boeotia by the way of Œnoe, but was unable to descend into the plain for fear of the enemy's cavalry.

<sup>140</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑραῖον. The deity in this temple was called "Ἡρα τελεία or "Ἡρα νυμφευομένη. She was a θεὸς γαμήλιος, and a festival called *Dædala* was celebrated by the Plateans in her honour every seventh year, or oftener. Every sixtieth year there was a grander celebration, in which were associated together with Plataea, Coronea, Thespie, Tanagra, Chæronea, Orchomenus, Lebadea, and Thebes, and other smaller townships. Fourteen images of oak, attired as brides, were drawn in chariots along the banks of the Asopus, and from thence to the summit of Cithæron. There an altar was built up of square logs of wood like masonry, and heaped with fascines, and, a bull being sacrificed to Zeus and a cow to Here, by each of the townships taking part in the ceremony, the victims were burnt together with the wooden brides upon it. The altar itself at last taking fire, the whole produced a bonfire seen far and wide. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 3. 9.) It is this Here, whose temple was enriched,

53 σταδίου ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱρού τὰ ὄπλα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο· Πausanias ordering the Lacedæmonians to move, *Amompharetus*, commander of the *Pitane* battalion, refuses to stir.

Πausanias halts the Lacedæmonians to avoid sacrificing him.

σταδίου ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱρού τὰ ὄπλα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο· Πausanias ordering the Lacedæmonians to move, *Amompharetus*, commander of the *Pitane* battalion, refuses to stir.

οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιαρχῶν πείθεσθαι Πausanias Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω, λοχηγῶν τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου<sup>141</sup>, οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύγεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην· ἐθώμαξέ τε ὀρέων τὸ ποιούμενον, ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ· ὁ δὲ Πausanias τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρύαναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποיעῖντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκείνους σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείνου ταῦτα νενωμένους, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ, ἣν ἀπολίπῃσι ποιεῖντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτὸς τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὡς οὐ χρεὸν εἶη ταῦτα ποιέειν.

54 Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον, μῦνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεγέτων λελειμμένον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίουν τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθῃσαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὥς ἄλλα φρονέοντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων<sup>142</sup>. ὥς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα

The Athenians do not move as agreed upon from distrust of the Lacedæmonians.

and added to with the spoils of Platæa, when the Spartans and Thebans destroyed the town in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. (THUCYDIDES, iii. 64.)

<sup>141</sup> τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου. See note 136 upon vi. 57. It is scarcely useful to speculate much upon the cause of Herodotus's error with regard to this battalion's name. Possibly the story of Amompharetus, a Spartan of the old school, may be derived from the same source as that of Archias and Lycopas, the two brave soldiers who fell at Samos. This last was told to Herodotus (or his informant) by an individual who resided at Pitana (iii. 55). Now if this person himself served under Amompharetus at Platæa, and the battalion contained others from the same deme; he would, in speaking of Amompharetus, very naturally use such an expression as "our colonel,"—which might no less naturally be interpreted as in the

text, by any one who assumed that the Lacedæmonian army was organized as an aggregate of local militia.

<sup>142</sup> ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὥς ἄλλα φρονέοντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. The attribution of treachery to the Lacedæmonians was a popular topic at Athens. EURIPIDES:

Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια, ψευδῶν ἑνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν, ἐλικτὰ, κοῦδεν ὀγίγεις ἀλλὰ πᾶν περίε φρονούντες.—(Andromache, 446.)

ARISTOPHANES doubtless spoke the current sentiments of his countrymen in the person of Hierocles:

συνθήκας πεποίησθ', ἄνδρες χαροποιῖς πιθήκοις, &c.—(Peace, 1065.)

and where he describes the Lacedæmonians as persons οἷσιν οὐτε βωμὸς, οὐτε πίστις, οὐδ' ὄρκος μένει. But history

ὀφόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ  
 τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῖνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· ἐπειρεσθαι τε Παν-  
 σανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἶη ποιεῖν; Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κήρυξ ἐς τοὺς 55  
 Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τέ σφεας κατὰ χώραν τεταγμένους, καὶ ἐς  
 νείκεα ἀπυγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρῶτους· ὥς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο  
 τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὃ τε Εὐρύαναξ καὶ ὁ Πausanίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν  
 μένοντας μούρους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἐπειθον ἐς δὲ ἐς νείκεά  
 τε συμπεσόντες ἀπικέατο, καὶ ὁ κήρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατο  
 σφι ἀπυγμένοις· νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος, λαμβάνει πέτρον  
 ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι χερσὶ, καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Πausανίω,  
 ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους· ξείνους  
 λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους<sup>143</sup>. ὁ δὲ μαυόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα  
 καλέων ἐκείνον, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ  
 ἐντεταλμένα, λέγειν ὁ Πausανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρούσα σφι πρή-  
 γματα, ἐχρήϊξέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσαι τε πρὸς ἑω-  
 τοὺς<sup>144</sup>, καὶ ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τάπερ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς. Καὶ 56  
 ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινο-

At daybreak  
Pausanias

does not bear out the charge of any especial bad faith on the part of the nation, in the proper sense of the word. No doubt the predominance of one party or the other in the government of Sparta produced a corresponding variation in the external policy of the country. A Spartan statesman had, in his foreign as well as his domestic policy, constantly to steer between Scylla and Charybdis, to avoid on the one hand the danger of alienating the Achæan population, and on the other that of endangering the Cadmeo-dorian supremacy; and a course so fettered would always, when seen from without, assume a tortuous appearance. The light in which the Romans viewed Carthage, and that in which the continental nations of modern Europe are apt to view Great Britain, furnish something of a parallel. Napoleon, had he invaded this country, would doubtless have complained of treachery, on finding that he was not joined by the whigs. In the text, the charge against the Lacedæmonians is made to cover the fault of obstinacy or unskilfulness committed by the Athenians, who did not obey the orders of the general commanding.

<sup>143</sup> ξείνους λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. The peculiarity of the Lacedæmonians to use

the term ξείνοι where others would say *βάρβαροι*, has been remarked above (§11). It would be a mistake however to infer any especial mildness of feeling towards the foreigner from this circumstance. The Latin word "*hostis*" at one time was used in the sense of "peregrinus," that which was in later times called "*hostis*" being denoted by the word "*perduellis*." (FESTUS v. *Hostis*.) This circumstance is thus commented on by CICERO: "Equidem illud etiam animadverto, quod, qui proprio nomine *perduellis* esset, is *Hostis* vocaretur, *lenitate verbi tristitiam rei mitigante*. '*Hostis*' enim apud majores nostros id dicebatur quem nunc '*peregrinum*' dicimus." (*De officiis*, i. 12.) But the real state of the case is, that both ξείνος in Greek and '*hostis*' in Latin originally meant "an alien;" and from the foreigner being in most instances an enemy, came to involve from the very beginning the idea of hostility. The process of association is exactly the same as that which produced the use of the English word "unkindness,"—originally the feeling towards those who are not of the same *kin* or *kind*, i. e. ἀλλοφύλους.

<sup>144</sup> προσχωρήσαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, "to close up to his own division."



moves on, expecting that the abandonment of Amompharetus will put an end to his perverseness.

μένους πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἤως καταλάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος<sup>145</sup> ὁ Πausanίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, (τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο,) σημήνας ἀπήγγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἤισαν τὰ ἐμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ἰπρωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος, φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ,

57 κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ, ἀρχὴν τε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Πausανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν προτερεόντων<sup>146</sup> δὲ τῶν σὺν Πausανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθεὶς τέχῃ<sup>147</sup> ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόγον τὰ ὄπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στίφος· τὸ δὲ, ἀπελθὼν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια, ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόγον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα<sup>148</sup> ἰδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χώρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται<sup>149</sup>. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα, ἣν μὴ ἀπολίπη τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφαρέτος τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθεῖο ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους. καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα<sup>150</sup>. οἱ γὰρ ἱππῶται ἐποίησαν οἶον καὶ

After proceeding ten stades, he halts in the vicinity of the river Moloëis, in a place called Argiopium, where a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter stood.

<sup>145</sup> κατήμενος. See note 225 on iii. 83.

<sup>146</sup> προτερεόντων. This is the unanimous reading of the MSS here; although in § 66, below, some have προτερεών.

<sup>147</sup> ἰθεὶς τέχῃ, "plainly," i. e. without any attempt to disguise the matter.

<sup>148</sup> Μολόεντα. One manuscript (K) has Μολίοντα, and another (S) Μόδεντα.

<sup>149</sup> τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται. Herodotus makes no mention of the story connected with this temple, which PLUTARCH relates (*Aristid.*, § 11). The Athenians were promised victory by the Delphic oracle, on condition of their previously offering prayers to Zeus, the Cithæronian Here, Pan, and the nymphs called *Sphragitides*, of sacrificing to Androcrates and certain other local heroes, and also fighting the battle in their own territory in the plain of the Eleusinian Demeter and Core. They were puzzled at this, as the oracle seemed to fix upon two distinct localities; when Arimnestus, the

Platæan commander, had a dream, which induced him to take counsel with some of the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen. After consultation with them, it was found out that there was an extremely ancient temple dedicated to the Eleusinian Demeter and Core near Hysie, under the flanks of Cithæron. On arriving there, it appeared that the site was most favourable for infantry to resist cavalry in, and just by was a chapel of the hero Androcrates. To conform to the oracle the better, the Platæans decided on throwing down the landmarks between their own territory and Attica. THIRLWALL (*History of Greece*, ii. p. 334) regards this story as "perhaps an Athenian or Platæan tradition, not generally current." It appears to me to be a story of a later time than that of Herodotus, and such seems to be the opinion of Thirlwall with regard to the latter part of it.

<sup>150</sup> καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν . . . προσέκειτο πᾶσα. Translate, "and exactly as Amom-

εώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεὶ ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χώρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρησι ἡμέρησι, ἤλαινον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω· καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιοχομένους ὑπὸ 58  
νύκτα, εἶδε τε τὸν χώρον ἐρήμον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισσαῖον Θώρηκα  
καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήϊον, ἔλεγε "ὦ Speech of Mardonius to the Aleanes on discovering that the Lacedaemonians had moved.  
παῖδες Ἀλένῳ, ἔτι τί λέξετε, τὰδε ὀρέοντες ἐρήμα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρῶτους· τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετασταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξις εἶδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιοχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὀρέομεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεὶ σφας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἄψευδῆς ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἔοντες<sup>151</sup> ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεκνύατο<sup>152</sup>. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπειροῖσι πολλὰ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συνηδέατε<sup>153</sup>. Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεῦμην, τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους, καταρρωδήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεὼν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον<sup>154</sup> ἵεναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστρῳ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος· νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί· ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας." Ταῦτα εἰπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ, διὰ 59  
βάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν, κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρυσκόντων· ἐπεῖχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεάτας μούνοους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατῳρα· Πέρσας δὲ ὀρέοντες ὠρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες, αὐτίκα πάντες

pharetus's troops effected a junction with them, the whole cavalry of the barbarians charged." For the construction, see note 551 on vii. 218.

<sup>151</sup> ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἔοντες, "that being, after all, *nobodies*." Compare SOPHOCLES, *Aj.* 1136: οὐ γὰρ ἥξιον τοὺς μηδένους.

<sup>152</sup> ἐναπεδεκνύατο. This is the reading of all the MSS; but in i. 176 they all agree in the form ἀπεδείκνυντο.

<sup>153</sup> συνηδέατε. The MSS vary between συνηδέαται and συνηδέσται. But ε and αι are continually interchanged by the copyists, having been for several centuries pronounced alike in modern Greece. The word in the text is regularly derived from συνηδεα, a familiar variation of συνηδεν, the praeperfect of συνοῖδα.

<sup>154</sup> ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον. See note 118 on viii. 60.

He crosses the Asopus and presses onward after the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans.

ἦσαν τὰ σημήϊα, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος<sup>155</sup> εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήϊσαν, ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι<sup>156</sup> τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

60 Pausanias sends to the Athenians for support,

Παυσανίης δὲ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππέα λέγει τάδε· “ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἡ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων νῦν ὦν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ποιητέον ἡμῖν<sup>157</sup>. ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους· εἰ μὲν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὥρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρὴν δὲ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’ ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ὑμῖν νῦν δὲ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπασα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἵνα. εἰ δ’ ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν, ὑμεῖς δ’ ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον εἶναι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοις<sup>158</sup>,

61 but the attack of the Thebans and other Greeks in the Persian service prevents them from affording it.

ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν.” Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὥρματο βοηθέειν, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν καὶ σφί ἦδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθήσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενόν σφεας ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὲ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῖται, ἔοντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν πεντακισμῦριοι,

<sup>155</sup> ἕκαστος. A, B, F, have ἕκαστοι. But the singular is found in i. 169: ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος μαχόμενοι.

<sup>156</sup> ἀναρπασόμενοι. S and V have ἀρπασόμενοι. But all the rest have the compound, which, in viii. 28, is the unanimous reading of all the MSS.

<sup>157</sup> τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ποιητέον. This is the reading of S. The other MSS, which Gaisford follows, have τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον, which not impossibly may be a union of two alternative readings,—τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν and τὸ ποιητέον.

<sup>158</sup> συνοίδαμεν ὑμῖν . . . εἶναι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοις. Compare v. 91: συγκινώσκονεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασιν ὀρθῶς. This tribute of praise to the Athenians for their general conduct

throughout the war, coming in the midst of an urgent despatch from a Lacedæmonian commander on the field of battle, bespeaks, like many other features in the narrative of the campaign, an Athenian authority. It is quite of a piece with the representation (§ 46, above) that from terror of the Persians Pausanias wished to change his position so as to get the Athenians opposed to them,—an arrangement which would have been tantamount to conceding them the post of honour in the whole allied army. The hostile feeling of the narrator (or rather his authority) shows itself by the remark (§ 54, above): ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων.

Τεγεῖται δὲ τρισχίλιοι<sup>100</sup>. οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδ' ἅμα ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ σφί ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστὰ, ἐπιπτόν τε αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῶ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα<sup>101</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως οὕτω, ὥστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων, ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Πausanίην πρὸς τὸ Ἑραῖον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος<sup>101</sup>. Ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλευμένου, προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι 62 οἱ Τεγεῖται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους· καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πausανίῳ ἐγίνετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστὰ. ὥς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχῃ· ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκειε,

A general action begins.

<sup>100</sup> *δόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι . . . τρισχίλιοι.* These numbers would be thus made up :

Spartan hoplites .	5,000 (§ 28, above)
Light troops attached to them	35,000
Lacedæmonian hoplites (picked perioeciæans)	5,000 (§ 11, above)
Light troops attached to them	5,000 (§ 29, above)
Tegean hoplites .	1,500 (§ 28, above)
Light troops attached to them	1,500 (§ 29, above)
	53,000

<sup>100</sup> *φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα.* This expression is well elucidated by the sculptures of Nimroud. The shield used in some cases is so large as to cover the whole body, and to be carried by a second warrior who attends the archer. Sometimes two archers are represented with one oblong shield between them. In sieges this is sometimes furnished with a square projection like a roof at right angles to the body of the shield, which served as a partial defence of the head against missiles discharged from the walls by the defenders. (LAYARD, *Nineveh*, ii. p. 345.) These last seem to be the *γέρρα* of the text. Fixed in the ground they formed a palisade (see below, § 99), from which the short spear carried by the archer projected

in front. Behind this he discharged his reed arrows from a long bow (vii. 61).

<sup>101</sup> *ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.* The hope which Pausanias prayed might not be frustrated, apparently was that the whole army of the enemy might be brought to action at close quarters. The important thing for the allies was, to neutralize the power of the enemy's cavalry, especially the horse-archers. Now the retreat of the allied force had done much towards this. The Persian army imagining their opponents in full flight, followed them in a disorderly manner, *ὡς ποδῶν ἑκαστος εἶχον* (§ 59). When the whole had crossed the Asopus, the space between the Lacedæmonian line and the enemy must have been so narrowed, that such manoeuvres on the part of the cavalry as had been so effective the day before, were out of the question. But instead of coming to the charge, as seemed certain, the Persians pitch their shields in the ground and begin a galling fire of arrows. It appeared, for the moment, as if the advantage gained was again to be lost, and the hope of a decisive engagement frustrated. The problem for Pausanias was to keep his troops perfectly in hand, without any show of a disposition to attack, until the onset of the enemy became so general, that they no longer would have it in their power to avoid a pitched battle.

ἤδη ἐγίνετο μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον, καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς δ' ἀπύκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μὲν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἔσσανες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι· ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἔοντες, καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν, καὶ οὐκ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίῃν προεξαίτουσιντες δὲ κατ' ἓνα, καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλευνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας, καὶ διεφθείροντο.

- 63 Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἔων Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ, ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀριστοὺς χίλους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μὲν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντείχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε, καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκείνων τεταγμένον, ἔον ἰσχυρότατον, ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· πλείστον γὰρ σφεας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθῆς, ἐρήμος ἐούσα ὄπλων.
- 64 πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἔοντες γυμνήτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῖντο. Ἐνθαῦτα ἦ τε δίκη τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον<sup>162</sup>, τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτεσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπιτελέετο· καὶ νίκην ἀναίρεται καλλίστην ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Πausanίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται<sup>163</sup> ἐς Λεωνίδην ὧντοί γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἔοντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου<sup>164</sup>, ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου· ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ<sup>165</sup>, πολέμου ἔοντος, Μεσση-

Mardonius is slain by one *Aeimnestus*, a person of note in Sparta,

<sup>162</sup> κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον. This is the oracle from Delphi, spoken of above (viii. 114).

<sup>163</sup> τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται. See above, vii. 204.

<sup>164</sup> ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου. PLUTARCH (*De oraculorum defectu*, § 5) says that Mardonius was killed by a blow with a stone, — a fate which had been foretold by the vision which his emissary had in the cave of Trophonius. If killed by a stone, however, he would hardly have fallen by the hand of any Spartan of consideration. Plutarch (l. c.) makes the name of the individual who slew Mardonius to be *Arimnestus*, which is the reading of S, d, and Valla in this passage. See note 183 on § 72, below. It is observable that

THEUCYRIDES (iii. 52) speaks of a *Plataean* named *Lacon*, a son of one *Aeimnestus*. This goes somewhat to confirm the reading in the text. We may conceive the words ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου not to mean a *Spartan* of consideration, but a foreigner (perhaps a *Plataean* citizen) of great influence in Sparta, like the Tegan Chileus (above, § 9). If he were in such a position, it is not unnatural that he should call his son *Lacon*, on the same principle that the son of Archias of Pitana was named *Samius* (iii. 55).

<sup>165</sup> ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ. The engagement in which *Aeimnestus* was slain doubtless took place in the third Messenian war, of which see note 101 on § 35, above. From the way it is mentioned, one may conceive

νίοισι πᾶσιν καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι. Ἐν δὲ 65  
Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,  
ἔφειγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωυτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ  
τείχος τὸ ξύλινον<sup>166</sup> τὸ ἐποίησαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαίδι. θῶμα and the Per-  
δὲ μοι ὄκως, παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων, οὐδὲ εἰς totally  
ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανόν. routed.  
περί τε τὸ ἶρόν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον δοκέω δὲ, εἰ τι  
περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ σφεας οὐκ  
ἐδέξατο, ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἶρόν τὸ ἐν Ἑλευσίνι ἀνακτόριον<sup>167</sup>.  
αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἀρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς 66  
λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων Artabazus  
οὐδὲν ἦννε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔων ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιῖδε, ὡς οὐκ carries off  
ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοις: his division  
τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος· εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ἀλλά of 40,000  
καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων<sup>168</sup> περὶ ἐωυτὸν· τούτους, ὄκως men into  
ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, εὐ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι Phocia.  
ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένους<sup>169</sup>, παραγγείλας κατὰ τῶντὸ

Aeimnestus surprised by a sudden revolt, and cut off before relief could reach him. The name Stenyclerus of itself would indicate a naturally strong position; and no doubt Aeimnestus commanded the garrison which was intended to maintain military possession of the country. Stenyclerus was in the centre of Messenia, and was on that account, according to EPHORUS, selected by Crespontes as the seat of his government (*ap. Strabon.* viii. c. 4, p. 183). Ithome was the acropolis of it, as the Acrocorinthus was of Corinth; and Demetrius Phalereus compared the hold upon the Peloponnese which was secured by the possession of these two points, to the mastery over a bull which is obtained by getting hold of his two horns. (STRABO, l. c.)

<sup>166</sup> ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον, "into the log-fort," the fortified camp, which Mardonius is spoken of as designing to construct, above, § 16.

<sup>167</sup> ἀνακτόριον. Gaisford adopts this form, but the MSS are equally divided between it and ἀνάκτορον. It is originally, not the whole temple, but that part which constituted the sanctuary, where the sacred images were kept. A portion

of the temple at *Celeæ* (five *stadæ* from Phlius), in which orgies exactly similar to those at Eleusis were celebrated every three years, was likewise called by the name ἀνάκτορον (PAUSANIAS, ii. 14. 4), and this is probably the reason why Herodotus uses the qualificatory words: τὸ ἐν Ἑλευσίνι. EUSEBIDES applies the term ἀνάκτορον to the fane of Apollo at Delphi (*Andromache*, 1157), to that of Artemis in Tauri (*Iph. Taur.* 41 and 66), and to those of the local Trojan deities (*Troad.* 15).

<sup>168</sup> ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. See note 251 on viii. 129.

<sup>169</sup> ἦγε κατηρτημένους. The MSS vary between ἦγε and ἦγε, and κατηρτισμένους and κατηρτημένους or κατηρτημένους. Gaisford prints ἦγε κατηρτισμένους. I should translate, "led out in marching order." The great mass of the army had rushed to battle in a tumultuary manner, on seeing the Lacedæmonians retreating before the Persians. Artabazus seems to have kept his corps back until they had put on what answered to the *kit* of the modern soldier,—a very reasonable precaution even in the event of the allies being beaten, as he would then have been prepared to fol-

ἵναί μιν πάντας τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγήηται, ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν ὀρέωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα<sup>170</sup>. ταῦτα παραγγέλλας, ὥς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατὸν<sup>171</sup>. προτερῶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ<sup>172</sup>, ὧρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὲ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχιστὴν ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων, οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος, ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὥς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἀπικέσθαι· καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐβелоκακέοντων, Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συγχρόν· οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων<sup>173</sup>, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην, μαχεόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἐβелоκακέοντες οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὥς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ἥπερ οἱ Πέρσαι· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὄμιλος οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀπο-

67

Of all the Greeks in the Persian army the Boeotians alone made a stout resistance.

δεξάμενος ἔφευγον. Δηλοῖ<sup>174</sup> τε ἐμοὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτηντο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον, πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτῆς· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα ἀπείργουσα τε τοὺς φιλίους

68

The Persian force appears to have been the only part of the invading army to be relied on.

low them up. There is no reason to suppose that he foresaw the defeat of his own party, still less that he contributed to it by deserting them, although it is very natural that this would be the Hellenic interpretation of his proceeding. At the Persian court his reputation, which had been high before, was raised by his conduct at Plataea,—that is, doubtless, by the skill with which he brought off his division (viii. 126).

<sup>170</sup> ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν ὀρέωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. Compare ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα (vi. 116); ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον (above, § 59); ὡς τάχους εἶχε ἑκαστος (viii. 107).

<sup>171</sup> ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατὸν. He led the troops out *professedly* (δῆθεν) to battle. Compare vi. 1: ὡς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος, "as if, forsooth, he was entirely ignorant of the things going on."

<sup>172</sup> προτερῶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ. See note 146 on § 57, above.

<sup>173</sup> οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, "for the Median party in Thebes." There

appears to have been an oligarchy established in Thebes at this time, whose sentiments were opposed to those of the commonalty. PAUSANIAS (ix. 6. 1) speaks of it as if it had been an inroad upon the ancient constitution (ἡ πατρὶος πολιτεία); but this can scarcely be true, if he means that there was ever a democracy in Thebes before the times of the Persian invasion. It is very likely, however, that the government had gradually become confined to a few powerful families, in the sequel of that policy of centralization which had been pursued for some time past, and which alienated Plataea and Hysiae from the Boeotian confederacy.

<sup>174</sup> δηλοῖ. This word is not to be taken as an impersonal verb. Its real nominative is the sentence, τὸ τότε τοῦτους φεύγειν, gathered by inference from the words εἰ καὶ τότε ἔφευγον. Translate, "and if these even then took to flight (as they did) before crossing swords with the enemy, because they saw the Persians also doing so, it proves to me, &c."

φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἶποντο, τοὺς 69  
 Ξέρξῳ διώκοντες τε καὶ φονεύοντες· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ  
 φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ  
 τὸ Ἑραῖον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε  
 καὶ νικῶν οἱ μετὰ Πausανίῳ οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα  
 κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς  
 ἰπωρέας καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσιν ἄνω, ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱοῦ τῆς  
 Δήμητρος· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλιασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου  
 τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο  
 οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλιάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων  
 ἱππῶται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον, ἤλανον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς  
 ἵππους· τῶν ἱππάρχῃς Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου ἐσπεσόντες  
 δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν  
 διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ 70  
 ἀπώλονται· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς  
 τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθισαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν  
 ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι· ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὡς  
 ἡδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,  
 κατεστήκεε σφι τειχομαχίῃ ἔρρωμενεστέρῃ· ἔως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλεον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχεῖν<sup>175</sup>. ὡς δὲ σφι οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγένετο τειχομαχίῃ καὶ  
 χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν  
 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τεύχεος, καὶ ἤριπον· τῇ δὲ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.  
 πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν  
 Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 καὶ τὴν φάτιν τῶν ἵππων εὐῶσαν χαλκῆν πᾶσαν καὶ θέης  
 Ἀξίην. τὴν μὲν νυν φάτιν ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς  
 τὸν νῆον τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης<sup>176</sup> Τεγεῆται· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τῷτό, ὅσαπερ  
 ἔλαβον, ἐσῆνεικαν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν  
 ἔτι στίφος ἐποίησαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τεύχεος, οὔτε τις αὐτῶν  
 ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο· ἀλύκταζον<sup>177</sup> τε οἷα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι

Of the  
 Greeks not  
 actually  
 engaged in  
 the battle,  
 the Mega-  
 rians and  
 Phliasians  
 suffered  
 much from  
 the Theban  
 cavalry.

The Per-  
 sians retreat  
 to the for-  
 tified camp  
 and defend  
 themselves  
 successfully  
 against the  
 Lacedæmo-  
 nians, until  
 the arrival  
 of the  
 Athenians,  
 who make a  
 breach in  
 the wall, by  
 which first  
 the Tegeans  
 and after-  
 wards all  
 the rest  
 pour in.

<sup>175</sup> ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχεῖν. Schweighäuser expresses surprise that they should not have set fire to the log-fort. It was doubtless constructed of perfectly green wood.

<sup>176</sup> Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης. Of the temple of

this deity, see note 221 on i. 66.

<sup>177</sup> ἀλύκταζον. The form ἀλαλύκτημαι (as from a present ἀλυκτέω) occurs in the *Iliad*, x. 94, where the Scholiast explains it by the word *θεορόβημαι*.



τε καὶ πολλὰι μυριάδες κατελιγμέναι <sup>178</sup> ἀνθρώπων παρὴν τε τοῖσι "Ελλήσι φονεύειν οὕτω, ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἑννεήκοντα, Τεγεγετῶν δὲ ἑκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα <sup>179</sup>.

71

Among the enemy the Persian infantry, the Sacan cavalry, and, as an individual, Mar-donius, most distinguished themselves. Among the allies the bravest man was Aristode-

Ἡρίστεισε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων, πεζοὺς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππους δὲ ἢ Σακέων ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δὲ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεγετῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἄλλω μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημῆσθαι, (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἐώντους ἐνίκων,) ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσενέχθησαν, καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας· ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μόνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς, εἶχε θνείδος καὶ ἀτιμίην <sup>180</sup>. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἠρίστεισαν Ποσειδωνίος τε καὶ Φιλοκίων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης· καίτοι, γενομένης λέσχης <sup>181</sup> ὃς

<sup>178</sup> κατελιγμέναι. This is a conjecture of Schweighäuser's, but undoubtedly a true one. Of the word *εἰλέω* (to crush) and its derivatives, see the excellent article in BUTTMANN's *Lexilogus*.

<sup>179</sup> Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης . . . πεντήκοντα. By the way in which these numbers are mentioned, one may expect that the loss sustained by the corps of 5000 Lacedæmonian perioeciæns, and by the light-armed troops, which together amounted to 74,500 (above, § 29), is not taken into account. The public monuments gave 1360 as the whole number slain on the side of the allies. (PLUTARCH, *Aristid.* § 19.) Herodotus only mentions 759, including the 600 Megarians and Phliasians cut down by the Theban cavalry (above, § 69). According to CLIDEMUS, all the Athenians who fell belonged to the tribe *Eanlis*. The numbers of the enemy slain are quite incredible. The whole number of the allied force under arms, including the light troops, was, according to Herodotus's highest statement, 108,200, and the number of the enemy destroyed more than 267,000, giving a proportion of between two and three for every man engaged on the side of the victors. It is a curious circumstance that this was almost exactly the case at Meenae, where nearly 6000 Beloochees were killed and disabled by Sir Charles Napier's little

army of 2000. But the destructive power of the British artillery, which is described on the latter occasion as "blowing the enemy away by twenties at a time," prevents the two examples from being at all parallel. Besides, of the whole army of the confederates, only the Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, Athenians, and perhaps the Plateans, amounting on the whole to only 71,200, were actually engaged. And it must not be forgotten, that the 300,000 do not include either the Greeks in the Persian service (estimated by Herodotus at 50,000, § 32) or the cavalry. All the killed and disabled from these, therefore, would have to be added to the above number. But in fact the numbers of the Persian army, if not of both, obviously rest upon very loose *data*. See above, note 92 on § 32.

<sup>180</sup> εἶχε θνείδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. See above, vii. 231.

<sup>181</sup> γενομένης λέσχης, "on a discussion having taken place." The word *λέσχη* originally signified nothing more than a seat in a warm situation, defended either by its situation or by artificial means from the cold winds, and consequently offering an agreeable place of resort, especially to the aged, in a country where so much time was habitually past out of doors, and where fires, except for purposes of utility, were unknown. As civilization advanced,

γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος<sup>122</sup>, ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων, mus in the author's opinion, but the Spartans placed three others before him.  
 Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερώς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρ-  
 εούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα  
 ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα· Ποσειδώνιον δὲ, οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν,  
 ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσοῦτον τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ  
 ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες,  
 πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι  
 ἐγένοντο· Ἀριστόδημος δὲ, βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προ-  
 ειρημένην αἰτίην, οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

Οὗτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο· Καλλι- 72  
 κράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ Anecdote of Callicrates, the handsome Spartan.  
 στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων

the sunny bench or sunny walk became in some cases a stately building, something like a cloister. Such was the *Lesche* at Delphi (PAUSANIAS, x. 25, seqq.), ornamented by the paintings of Polygnotus, which, it is calculated, occupied a length of ninety or one hundred feet of wall. But in general the *Leschæ* were smaller. An extant example of one probably is the semicircular high-backed stone seat in the old *ἀγορὰ* at Pompeii, calculated to hold ten or a dozen persons. From their object it is very natural that they should have been dedicated to Apollo (CLEAN-THES *ap. Photium*, v. λέσχη, who indeed is said in some places to have been invoked under the appellation λέσχης δρειος. (*Id. ib.*).

From their facing the south for warmth, the epithet *ἐπ' αἰῶλης* (which is only a Doric form of *ἐφ' αἰῶλης*) seems to have been currently applied to them. HESIOD (*ἔργ.* 491) couples *χάλκειον θῶκον καὶ ἐπαλῆα λέσχην* together, as the places haunted by the idle in the winter for the warmth which might be obtained there. They are found in a similar combination in the *Odyssey*, xviii. 329:

οὐδ' ἐθέλεις εἶδεν χαλκῆλον ἐς δόμον  
 ἐλθὼν  
 ἥε που ἐς λέσχην.

It is plain that, resorted to in the first instance for the sake of the animal enjoyment of warmth, they would necessarily become places for gossip and chit-chat, especially as they were frequented most of all by the aged, whose chilled blood most required the comfort they furnished, and who, while sitting idle in them, would de-

light in talking over the wonders of their youth. Accordingly at Athens it is said that the number of *Leschæ* amounted to no less than 360. (SCHOL. *ad Hesiod. ἔργ.* 491.) They formed in fact the substitute for the coffee-houses and clubs of modern times. PERSEUS (v. 177) recommends a bountiful largess to the ambitious ædile, that the "aprici senes" may recollect his exhibition of the *Floralia*. In modern times the analogous motive held out would be, that the entertainment might become "club-talk" (*πρὸς ῥυαχὴν*).

From this use of the λέσχαί the several secondary senses in which the word is employed derive themselves most readily. The *company* gathered within the seat would naturally, after the analogy of the English "club," be called by the same name as the *place* of their gathering. This is the use of the word in ÆSCHYLUS (*Eumenid.* 365), where the Erinyes describe their exclusion from the circle of the Olympian gods by the words: Ζεὺς γὰρ αἰματοσταγὲς ἀξιώμισον ἔθνος τῶδε λέσχας ἄς ἀπῆξιόσατο. The several senses of "a meeting for the purpose of conversation,"—"the conversation held in such a meeting,"—and "the kind of conversation held in such meetings" (*i. e.* gossip),—are familiar to every one, and require no particular illustration.

<sup>122</sup> ὅς γε γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος. The more correct expression would have been, τίς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος. But the text is defended by vi. 124: ὅς μόντοι ἦν δ' ἀναδέξας οὐκ ἔχω προστέρω εἰπεῖν, and vi. 37: πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακητῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων δς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παισαυνης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὁ δ' ἐξευνεγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεε τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον<sup>183</sup>, ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστὶ οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ ἄξιον, προθυμειμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

73

Among the Athenians the most distinguished was Sophanes of Decelea. Mythical anecdote of the Deceleans.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχιδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεήθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν ποτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι· ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομίδην Τυνδαρίδαι ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθει, καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενον τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι, καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πᾶσιν τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενον σφί το πᾶν πρήγμα, κατηγγέσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας· τὰς δὲ Τιτακὸς, ἐὼν αὐτόχθων, καταπροδίδοι Τυνδαρίδῃσι· τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεύσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελεῖν τε καὶ προεδρίῃ διατελεῖν ἐς τότε αἰεὶ ἔτι εἴδουσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινεομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης

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ἀποσχέσθαι<sup>184</sup>. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων, διζοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει τὸν μὲν, ὡς

<sup>183</sup> Ἀρίμνηστον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the manuscripts M, P, K, F. Others, including S and V, have Ἀεῖμνηστον. In § 64, above, where the majority have Ἀεῖμνηστον, S, d, and PLUTARCH have Ἀριμνήστον. PAUSANIAS was told that *Arimnesius* was the leader of the Platæans, both at the battle of Platæa and that of Marathon. His statue stood at the feet of an image of *Athene Areia*, in the temple which was built with the spoils which fell to the share of the Platæans at the battle of Marathon (ix. 4. 2). When the Platæans made their defence against the charge of the Thebans after the capture of their town, one Lacon, the son of an *Aeimnestus*, was their spokesman. This Lacon was the Lacedæmonian consul (πρόξενος) at Platæa. (THUCYDIDES, iii. 52.) All the MSS of Thucydides have Ἀεῖμνηστον.

<sup>184</sup> Δεκελέης ἀποσχέσθαι. THUCYDIDES, in describing the invasion under king Archidamus, says that the Spartans, after failing in their hope to bring the Athenians to a general action by devastating the region of Acharnæ, proceeded to lay waste some other demes between the ranges of Parne and Brilessus (ii. 23). But although Decelea lay in this direction, the phrase of Thucydides, so far from contradicting Herodotus (as some have supposed), rather indirectly confirms it. And the community of religious traditions, indicated by the story about Helen, suggests that it was not merely the position of Decelea which pointed it out as a favourable site for an ἐπιτεταχισμὸς against Athens. Perhaps the population of it was cognate with the Achæan element at Lacedæmon.

ἐκ τοῦ ζωστήρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρει χαλκῇ ἀλύσει δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρῆν τὴν, ὅπως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βαλλέσκειτο, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξις μετακινήσῃαι μὴ δυναίατο γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων, δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται· ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων, τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβητῶν<sup>155</sup> λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρει ἐπίσημον ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρῆν. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνει λαμ- 75  
πρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένον Ἀθηναίων Αἰγυιαν, Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον<sup>156</sup> ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεια χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε, ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἑδωνῶν<sup>157</sup> ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετὰ τῶν χρυσέων μαχεόμενον.

Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο<sup>158</sup> οἱ βάρ- 76  
βαροι, ἐνθαυτὰ σφι ἐπήλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἥ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλῶτας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εὐόσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος<sup>159</sup> τοῦ Τεάσπιος, ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμη-

Anecdote of a Cean lady, daughter of Hegetorides, who had been forced

<sup>155</sup> ἀμφισβητῶν. This is the reading of Gaisford, following M, P, K, and F; and it is defended by the analogy of ἀμφισβασίη in viii. 81, which Gaisford has restored on the authority of the three last-mentioned manuscripts, and which can hardly be other than the true reading. S, V, d, have ἀμφισβητῶν. See note 41 on iv. 14.

<sup>156</sup> Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον. The incident of the death of this individual is related above (vi. 92), where see note 209. In this passage Valla's version and the manuscripts S and V have Εὐρυβιάδην instead of Εὐρυβάτην, but in vi. 92, they are unanimous in favour of the reading in the text. On the assumption, therefore, that the two stories of the death of Sophanes's opponent proceed from the same source, the reading Εὐρυβάτην is certainly the preferable one. This assumption, however, is not to be regarded as altogether unquestionable one. See note 387 on iv. 150.

<sup>157</sup> ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἑδωνῶν. The settlers in the expedition referred to fell in a sudden attack upon them by the Edonians,

after they had succeeded in getting all the land as far as Drabescus into their hands. Their confusion was said to have been augmented by a thunderstorm, which scattered bolts among them. (PAUSANIAS, i. 29. 5.) This is said to have happened at the time when Lysicrates was archon at Athens, i. e. in the year 453-2 B.C. It is not, however, mentioned by Thucydides in his short summary of the events between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars; perhaps because the expedition was of the nature of a bucaniering attempt, and produced no important political results. A Glaucus son of a Leagrus commanded the small Athenian squadron which interfered in the naval engagement between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. (THUCYDIDES, i. 51.)

<sup>158</sup> κατέστρωντο. See above, note 110 on viii. 53.

<sup>159</sup> Φαρανδάτεος. So Gaisford prints from the majority of MSS. But S and V have Φαρανδάτεος. The individual, however, is doubtless the same as the commander of the Mares and Colchians (vii.

into the  
harem of  
Pharan-  
dates.

σαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ αἱ ἀμφίπολοι, καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρευσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης, ἐχάαιρε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἐόντας· ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκείνα διέποντα Πausanίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὖνομα ἐξ-επισταμένη καὶ τὴν πᾶτριν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Πausanίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης<sup>199</sup>, ῥύσαι με τὴν ἰκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης· σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὦνσας, τοῖσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν<sup>191</sup> ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῶν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἑγητορίδω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω βίῃ δὲ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης.” ὁ δὲ ἀμειβεται τοῖσδε· “γύναι, θάρσει, καὶ ὥς ἰκέτις, καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τοῦτῃ τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα, καὶ εἰς θυγάτηρ Ἑγητορίδω τοῦ Κῶν, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξείνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ κείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων.” ταῦτα εἰπας, τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρευούσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγιαν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

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The Mant-  
ineans and  
Eleans ar-  
rive after  
the termi-  
nation of  
the battle.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπιξιν τῆς γυναικὸς, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπικοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι<sup>192</sup>. μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἦκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι· πυθνανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρτα-βάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίας (Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν<sup>193</sup>). οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἑλεῖοι καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἑλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἑλεῖους τοσαῦτα.

79), who in all the MSS is called either *Φαρανδάτης* or *Φερειδάτης*.

<sup>199</sup> ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης. Pausanias was not really king of Sparta, but guardian of the king Plistarchus, the young son of Leonidas (§ 10, above). But there seems no reason to suppose that the Coan lady forgot this fact in her joy at her deliverance. Pausanias was to all practical purposes during the campaign king of the Spartans, and would naturally be addressed by the title of highest honour, where the object was to conciliate his favour.

<sup>191</sup> ὅπιν. See note 303 on viii. 143.

<sup>192</sup> ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι, “after all was done.” So above: ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον (viii. 94).

<sup>193</sup> Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. These words are not (I apprehend) to be translated as if the Lacedæmonians hindered the Mantineans from pursuing the retreating enemy, but merely to be considered in the light of a statement of their own habitual practice. “The Lacedæmonians forbade the pursuing of a retreating force.”

Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἦν 78  
 Λάμπων ὁ Πύθεω<sup>194</sup>, Αἰγινητέων τὰ πρῶτα<sup>195</sup>, ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον  
 ἔχων λόγον ἵκετο<sup>196</sup> πρὸς Πανσανίην. ἀπικόμενος δὲ, σπουδῇ  
 ἔλεγε τάδε “ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυῖς  
 μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος· καὶ τοὶ θεοὶ παρέδωκε, ῥυσάμενον τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.  
 σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ποιήσῃς, ὅπως λόγος τέ σε  
 ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων, καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσῃται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ  
 ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποίεω ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδεω  
 γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, Μαρδόνιος τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀπο-  
 ταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδούς,  
 ἔπαινον ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὐτὶς δὲ καὶ  
 πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκοποῖσας, τετι-  
 μώρησαι ἐς πατέρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην.” Ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρί- 79  
 ζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε ὁ δ’ ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσδε “ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα,  
 τὸ μὲν εἰνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαι σὺν γνώμῃς μέντοι ἡμάρ-  
 τηκας χρηστῆς· ἐξάρας γὰρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάλῃ καὶ τὸ  
 ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμάνεσθαι καὶ,  
 ἦν ταῦτα ποίεω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον  
 βαρβάροισι ποίεειν, ἥπερ Ἕλλησι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονόμενον.  
 ἐγὼ δ’ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα μήτε Αἰγινήτῃσι ἄδοιμι, μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα  
 ἀρέσκειται· ἀποχρᾶ δ’ ἐμοὶ, Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν  
 ποίεειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν· Λεωνίδῃ δὲ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι,  
 φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι· ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμή-  
 τοις τετίμῃται αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευ-  
 τήσαντες. σὺ μὲντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθῃς  
 ἔμουγε, μήτε συμβουλευσῇς· χάριον ἴσθι τε ἐὼν ἀπαθής.” ὁ μὲν  
 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσεται.

<sup>194</sup> Λάμπων ὁ Πύθεω. It has been thought probable that the Pytheas, whose son makes the disreputable proposal in the text, is identical with the Pytheas whose gallantry excited the admiration of his captors (vii. 181), and who was retaken by an Æginetan galley at Salamis (viii. 92). But if the father had been treated in so honourable a manner, it is unlikely that the son, however intense his hatred of Persia, should indulge in an unworthy insult of the body of Mardonius.

And it is also unlikely, had he done so, that the writer would have omitted to compare his conduct towards that general with the conduct of the Persians towards his own father.

<sup>195</sup> τὰ πρῶτα. This is the reading of the best MSS, and is printed by Gaisford. The old editions have τὰ πρῶτα φέρων.

<sup>196</sup> ἵκετο. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, adopts ἵερο.

Anecdote of the brutality of Lampon the Æginetan,

and the magnanimity of Pausanias.

- 80 Παισανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μήδενα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς λήτης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτας τὰ χρήματα· οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηναὶς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσεούς, καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἀμαξέων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρυσεοὶ τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς<sup>197</sup>, καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας, ἔοντας χρυσεούς· ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδὲ εἰς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἰλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτέων οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κρίναι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν, ἅτε ἔοντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν<sup>198</sup>, παρὰ τῶν εἰλωτέων ὠνεύοντο.
- 81 Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρῆνου ὄφις τοῦ χαλκέου<sup>199</sup> ἐπεστεῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία<sup>200</sup> ἀνέθηκαν· καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχυν χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο· ταῦτα ἐξελόντες, τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν, καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον, καὶ ἄλλα χρήματά τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μὲν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτέων ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ

<sup>197</sup> ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς. See above, note 226 on viii. 113. The *acinaces* probably was gold hilted.

<sup>198</sup> ἅτε ἔοντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν. Larcher quotes as a parallel the case of the Swiss, who, after the battle of Granson, took the silver plate of the Duke of Burgundy, which fell into their hands, for tin, and sold his largest diamond, imagining it to be glass, for a florin.

<sup>199</sup> ὄφις τοῦ χαλκέου. PAUSANIAS (x. 13. 9) says the serpent remained, but that all of the offering which was of gold had gone in the sacred war. He mentions it next in order to the second group described in note 57 on viii. 27, so that it seems probable that that group also stood near the altar, and is different from the one mentioned by Herodotus as οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστέτες. The brazen serpent was removed

by Constantine, together with many other of the relics and offerings at Delphi, and it stands to this day in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. It is described as being about fourteen feet high, and as not being really a three-headed serpent, but three serpents, whose bodies interlaced together form the shaft of a very rapidly diminishing column. Judging however from the figure of it (which is given, from Wheeler and Spon's drawing, in the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*), it presented to the eye of a spectator the appearance of a single three-headed serpent coiled closely round a conical pillar; and it seems not impossible that such was the original idea of the artist, the cone being intended for the *ὀμφαλὸς γῆς*. See note 367 on i. 105.

<sup>200</sup> δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία. See above, note 78 on § 28.

τούτοις δοθῆναι Πausanήν δὲ πάντα δέκα<sup>201</sup> ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὧς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰδε γενέσθαι ὡς Ξέρξης φεύ- 82  
γων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῃ τὴν κατασκευὴν<sup>202</sup> καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ Πausanήν ὄν, ὁρέοντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοις κατασκευασμένην, κελεύσαι τοὺς τε ἀρτοκόπους<sup>203</sup> καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιούς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῃ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν ὡς δὲ κελεύόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίουν ταῦτα, ἐθαῦτα τὸν Πausanήν, ἰδόντα κλῖνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας, καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας<sup>204</sup>, καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δεῖπνου, ἐκπλα- γέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ, κελεύσαι ἐπὶ γέλῳ τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους<sup>205</sup> παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον<sup>206</sup>, τὸν Πausanήν γελάσαντα μεταπέμφασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς· συνελθόντων δὲ τουτέων, εἰπεῖν τὸν Πausanήν, δεικνύντα ἐς ἐκατέρην τοῦ δεῖπνου τὴν παρασκευὴν<sup>207</sup>. “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μῆδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δεῖξαι· ὃς τοιήνδε δίαταν ἔχων, ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω οἰζυρὴν<sup>208</sup> ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος” ταῦτα μὲν Πausanήν λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ὅτ’ ὁ 83  
μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὗρον συχοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τότε ὕστερον ἔτι τούτων, τῶν νεκρῶν περιφιλοθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιεὺς ἐς ἓνα χώρον· εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφήν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐούσα 83

Anecdote illustrating the contrast between Persian luxury and Spartan homeliness.

Much buried gold and silver was afterwards dug up by some of the Plataeans. Also some re-

<sup>201</sup> πάντα δέκα, “ten of every article.” See note 213 on iii. 74.

<sup>202</sup> κατασκευήν. ATHENÆUS (iv. p. 138) quotes this passage with the variation of παρασκευήν.

<sup>203</sup> ἀρτοκόπους. ATHENÆUS has ἀρτο-ποῖους. It is certainly not impossible that in the uncial MSS the two words should be interchanged; but see note 163 on i. 51.

<sup>204</sup> εὖ ἐστρωμένας . . . ἀργυρέας. The manuscript S leaves out this clause, obviously owing to an ocular error on the part of the transcriber. ATHENÆUS

leaves out the word εὖ.

<sup>205</sup> τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους. ATHENÆUS has the dative: τοῖς ἑωυτοῦ διακόνοις.

<sup>206</sup> ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον. Compare i. 125: οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον.

<sup>207</sup> δεικνύντα ἐς ἐκατέρην τοῦ δεῖπνου τὴν παρασκευήν. S and V omit ἐς, and F, a, f the article before παρασκευήν. ATHENÆUS cites the passage: ἐπιδείξας ἐκατέρου τῶν δεῖπνων τὴν παρασκευήν.

<sup>208</sup> ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω οἰζυρὴν. ATHENÆUS has ὡς ἡμᾶς οὕτω ταλαίπωρον.



markable  
bones.

ὁστέου ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου, ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μονοφυέας ἐξ ἐνὸς ὁστέου πάντας<sup>209</sup>, τοὺς τε ὀδόντας καὶ τοὺς γομφίους· καὶ πενταπύχθεος ἀνδρὸς ὅστέα ἐφάνη.

84

The body  
of Mardo-  
nius was  
secretly  
buried.

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο ὑπ' ὅτεν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πολλοὺς δὲ τινας ἤδη καὶ παιτοδαπούς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντew<sup>210</sup> τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον. ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι· ἔχει δὲ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης<sup>211</sup>, ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος, θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἐτάφη. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες

85

Tombs of  
the several  
Hellenic  
states on  
the field of  
Platæa.

ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν λήτην διελοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωντῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι<sup>212</sup>. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριεῖς ἐποίησαντο θήκας· ἐνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας<sup>213</sup> ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύν τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, οἱ εἰλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον. Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας· καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐωντῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλιάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας<sup>214</sup>.

<sup>209</sup> ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μονοφυέας ἐξ ἐνὸς ὁστέου πάντας. Larcher mentions several instances recorded by the ancients of this peculiarity,—among others, Pyrrhus king of Epirus, and a son of Prusias, king of Bithynia.

<sup>210</sup> Ἀρτόντew. The MSS are unanimous in this form here. But see note 353 on iii. 128, and note 219 on vii. 67.

<sup>211</sup> ἔχει δὲ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης. See note 10 on vii. 3.

<sup>212</sup> ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωντῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. PAUSANIAS, in describing the barrows of the dead, says that there are separate tombs for those of the Athenians and those of the Lacedæmonians who fell, but that the rest of the Greeks were buried together, and that an altar of Zeus Eleutherius stands not far from this last mound. It seems not impossible that the mounds he saw were the three Lacedæmonian barrows, and that he mistook that of the helots (which would naturally be much the largest) for the common sepulchre of all the Greeks. Epitaphs, said to be by Simonides, were upon the other two (ix. 1. 5).

<sup>213</sup> τοὺς ἱρένας. This is a conjecture of Valcknaer's, which is adopted by Schaefer and Gaisford. The MSS have *ἱρέας*. *Iren* or *Eiren* was the phrase applied at Sparta to denote a youth in the first two years after the termination of boyhood. (PLUTARCH, *Lycurg.* § 17.) The eldest boys were called *μελλεῖρες*. If, however, Amompharetus was only of the age of nineteen or twenty, it seems strange that he should be in command of a *lochus* (§ 53, above). I should almost be inclined to suspect that the whole clause, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος . . . ἦσαν οἱ ἱρέες, is an addition of later times, when perhaps the additional feature of being in the bloom of youth had been added to the personal qualities of the Spartan hero. If we suppose him in command only of a battalion of youths like himself, this could hardly have been called by a local name. See above, note 141 on § 53.

<sup>214</sup> τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. These are the six hundred slain by the Theban cavalry who covered the retreat of the Persians to their fortified camp. See above, § 69.

τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Cenotaphs afterwards made.  
 ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ  
 πυυθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστύ<sup>215</sup> τῆς μάχης, ἐκάστους  
 χῶματα χῶσαι κεινὰ<sup>216</sup>, τῶν ἐπυγυνομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων.  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ Λίγυιητέων ἐσκέ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ  
 ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα, δεσθέντων τῶν Λίγυι-  
 νητέων, χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξευνον  
 ἔοντα αὐτῶν.

Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, 86  
 αὐτῖκα βουλευομένοισι σφὶ ἐδόκει στρατεύεσθαι<sup>217</sup> ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, Eleven days after the battle the allies invest Thebes, and demand to have the Persian partizans given up to them, especially Attaginus and Timagenides.  
 καὶ ἐξαίτεω αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας<sup>218</sup>. ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν  
 Τιμηγευίδην καὶ Ἀτταγίνον, οἱ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν  
 ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐκιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ  
 ἐξέλωσι· ὡς δὲ σφὶ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκιδόναι  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκιδόναι, τὴν τε  
 γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ 87  
 ἐπαύοντο σινεόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τι-  
 μηγευίδης τάδε· “ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι  
 Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι  
 Θήβας, ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὦν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῇ ἢ  
 Βοιωτῇ πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηζόντες  
 πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαίτεούνται, χρήματά σφὶ δώμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινού

<sup>215</sup> ἀπεστύ. Gaisford has ἀπεστοί. See note on i. 85. The word in the text is adopted from the conjecture of Valcknaer. The Ionic dialect is especially partial to forms in *vs*. Thus Herodotus uses *κτιστὺς* below, § 97; *λυστὺς* above, v. 6; *καταπλαστὺς*, iv. 76. HESYCHIUS interprets the word ἀπεστὺς by ἀποχώρησις.

<sup>216</sup> ἐκάστους χῶματα κεινὰ. This assertion seems quite incompatible with the existence of the names of the cities thus disparaged upon the base of the brazen statue of Zeus Eleutherius. See above, note 78 on § 28. But the account which PLUTARCH (*Aristides*, § 21) gives of the discussions which followed the battle shows how very much statements varied. He makes all the Greeks resign their pretensions to credit in favour of the Plataeans,—of whom Herodotus makes no

mention whatever,—and says that an annual congress of the Greeks was held at Plataea in memory of the battle,—of which there is no trace elsewhere. But Plutarch is no doubt following the local traditions prevalent at Plataea in his own time, and these would naturally be shaped to the glorification of Plataeans. There was a festival held on the spot on the third day of Boedromion, which was considered to be the day on which the battle had been fought. For *Cleades*, the reputed builder of the Aeginetan cenotaph, the manuscripts M, K, P, F, *δ* have *Aleades*.

<sup>217</sup> στρατεύεσθαι. So Gaisford prints from the majority of MSS. M, P, and F have *στρατεύειν*.

<sup>218</sup> τοὺς μηδίσαντας. See note 44 on § 16, above.

σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμῆδίσαμεν<sup>210</sup>, οὐδὲ μῦνοι ἡμέες· εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθῶς δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσιν, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην<sup>211</sup> παρέξομεν." κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ἐς καιρὸν αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Πausανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι, θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ὡς δὲ ὠμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοισι, Ἀτταγίνος μὲν ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος· παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Πausανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμού παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταίτιους· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν, καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποιθῆσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοῶν, τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε, καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε<sup>211</sup>. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβησι γενόμενα.

88  
Attaginus escapes, but the rest are put to death by Pausanias.

89  
Anecdote of the hurried retreat of Artabazus through Thrace to Byzantium.

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος, φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ καὶ πρόσω ἐγένετο· ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον, καὶ ἀνειρώτευν περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος, γινούς ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλοι σφί πάσαν τὴν ἀληθητήν τῶν ἀγῶνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτός τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἶετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα· ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος, οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξαγόρευε οὐδὲν, πρὸς τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοὶ, ὡς ὁράτε, ἐπεύγομαί τε κατὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐλὼν ἐς Θρηῆκην, καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τι πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμός ἐστι· τοῦτον καὶ

<sup>210</sup> σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμῆδίσαμεν. See above, note 173 on § 67.

<sup>211</sup> ἐς ἀντιλογίην. This phrase, which is repeated in the next section, is a very peculiar one, and is not similarly used, so far as I am aware, in any other writer. ἀντιλογίη appears to be 'the pleadings on each side.' Translate ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν: "we will give ourselves up to be tried."

<sup>221</sup> ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. THIRLWALL designates this act as "the first indication that appears of the imperious character of Pausanias." I should

be more inclined to explain it by the supposition, that even at this time Pausanias had been intriguing with Persia, and that he put the Theban oligarchs to death in order to conceal the evidence which they might have given against him, had they been brought to trial. (See notes 8, 24, and 34, above.) His dismissal of the allies before destroying the accused is a very striking feature in the story; and so is the liberation of Attaginus's children, the father being himself at large, and therefore formidable.

ζεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῖσι μεταμелήσει." ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας, ἀπέλαυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηκῆς, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπενγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηκῶν τε κατακοπέντας<sup>222</sup> κατ' ὁδόν, καὶ λιμῶ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆσπερ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὸ τρώμα ἐγένετο, 90 συνεκύρρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἡλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδῳ καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρῳ, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάβρῃ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος<sup>223</sup>, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφεων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα· ὡς ἦν μόνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστίσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομένουσιν· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἂν αὐτοῖς·

Engagement at Mycale in Ionia on the same day as the battle of Plataea.

Overtures from Samos are made to the allied fleet stationed at Delos.

<sup>222</sup> ὑπὸ Θρηκῶν τε κατακοπέντας. In the time of DEMOSTHENES it seems to have been the common belief that the calamity referred to in the text was due not to the Thracians, but the Macedonians. He says: Περδίκκας τῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βαρβάρου ποτ' ἐπιστρατεῖαν βασιλεύοντι Μακεδονίας, τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας ἐκ Πλαταιῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡττῆς διαφθείραντι καὶ τέλειον τὰτύχημα ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἐφηφίσαντο [οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι] ἀγάνγιμον εἶναι, ἐάν τις ἀποκτείνῃ Περδίκκαν· ἀλλὰ πολιτεῖαν ἔδωκαν μόνον (c. *Aristocrat.* p. 687). But it appears that Alexander, the father of this Perdiccas, was still alive in B.C. 463, at the time when Cimon recovered Thasos; for PLUTARCH speaks of a suspicion which attached to Cimon of having been influenced by him to the detriment of Athenian interests. (*Cimon*, § 14.) To hypothesize a regency of Perdiccas during the life-time of his father is a less satisfactory way of explaining the variation, than to account for it by the ordinary

phenomenon, observable in every country, of the inaccuracy of popular traditions with regard to dates and persons. (See note 213 on i. 63, and 247, a, on vi. 108.) Nothing is more likely than that Alexander himself should have acted treacherously towards his Persian patron when he found him decidedly the weaker of the two contending parties. (See the provision he makes for such a contingency, above, § 45.) The ethnical affinity of the Thracians with the Macedonian commonalty, and the indefiniteness of the boundary between the two countries (see above, note 45 on v. 17; note 349 on vii. 127; and note 277 on viii. 134), would readily lead to the confusion of the two nations in common estimation.

<sup>223</sup> Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος. See note 170 on viii. 85, above. The manuscripts M, K have Θεομήτορος, and S, Θεομήτορος, but obviously from an error of transcription. In viii. 85 there is no corresponding variation.

θεοὺς τε κοινούς ἀνακαλέων, προέτρεπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας  
 "Ἑλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον εὐπετές τε  
 αὐτοῖσι, ἔφη, ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς  
 πλέειν<sup>224</sup> καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι· αὐτοὶ τε, εἴ τι ὑπο-  
 πτεύουσι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγειν, ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ  
 91 τῇσι ἐκεῖνων ἀγόμενοι ὁμηροὶ εἶναι. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσό-  
 μενος<sup>225</sup> ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἶρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἶτε κληδόνος  
 εἶνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι, εἶτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεύντος·  
 "ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ἡγησίστρατος"  
 ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὁρμητο λέγειν ὁ  
 'Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε· "δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνόν, τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρατον"<sup>226</sup>,  
 ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε· σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποιεῖς ὅκως αὐτός τε δούς πίστιν ἀπο-  
 πλεύσῃ, καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἔοντες οἶδε, ἥ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προ-  
 92 θύμους ἔσσεσθαι συμμάχους." Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον  
 προσήγε<sup>227</sup>. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο  
 συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς "Ἑλληνας" ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, οἱ  
 μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρα-  
 τον<sup>228</sup>, οἰωνόν τὸ οὔνομα ποιούμενος<sup>229</sup>. οἱ δὲ "Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες  
 ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιέροντο, μαντευομένου σφί

91  
 Leutychides  
 complies  
 with the  
 application,  
 and sails in  
 the company  
 of *Hegesi-*  
*stratus*, one  
 of the Sa-  
 mian com-  
 missioners.

<sup>224</sup> τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν. The greater part of the ships which the Persians had with them were probably those which had not been in the brunt of the battle at Salamis, of which Artemisia speaks so contemptuously: *Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὀφελός ἐστι οὐδέν* (viii. 68). It must be remembered that the estimate of their powers was made by Asiatic Greeks, who would be strongly prejudiced against them.

<sup>225</sup> ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος. See note 346 on i. 98.

<sup>226</sup> δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνόν, τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρατον. Valcknaer would exclude the words τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρατον as a gloss. I should be rather disposed to do so with τὸν οἰωνόν, if anything. But the two may well stand together. See note 285 on viii. 137, and compare ARISTOPHANES, *Plut.* 63: *δέχου τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὕρην τοῦ θεοῦ*.

<sup>227</sup> προσήγε. The manuscript S has *προήγεν*. If *προήγε* be retained, the words τὸ ἔργον *προήγε* must mean "acted thereupon."

<sup>228</sup> τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρατον. These words

do not exist in S and V.

<sup>229</sup> μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε . . . οὔνομα ποιούμενος. The name Hegesistratus was not merely lucky in itself, but even more so as suggesting *ἡγήτωρ στρατοῦ*, the title under which Apollo was worshipped in the *Carnea*, the festival in which the successful invasion of the Peloponnese was commemorated. Hegesistratus would be, in a manner, considered as an *avalar* of the tutelary deity sent for this special occasion. Hence the point made by the Spartan king not to let him add the name of his father, which he would naturally have done. (See note 265 on viii. 132.) CICERO tells a story of L. *Æmilius Paulus*, who, on going home from the senate-house just after having been appointed to conduct the war against the Macedonian king Perseus, found his little daughter in tears for the loss of her lap-dog. He kissed her and asked the reason. "Father," she said, "*Perseus is dead*." "Tum ille *arctius puellam complexus, 'accipio,' inquit, 'mea filia, omen.'*" (*De Divinatione*, i. 46.)

Δηϊφόνου τοῦ Εὐήνιου, ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ<sup>220</sup>. τοῦ τὸν πατέρα κατέλαβε Εὐήνιον πρῆγμα τοιοῦνδε· Ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἱρά ἡλίῳ πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ ποταμὸν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμωνος οὔρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρας ἐς θάλασσαν, παρ' Ὀρικὸν λιμένα· τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει δοκιμάτατοι τῶν ἀστών, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα, ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε καὶ κοτε αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν<sup>221</sup>, παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξήκοντα· ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήϊσε<sup>222</sup>, εἶχε συγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόφῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γεινόμενα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον<sup>223</sup> κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῇ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπὸν πρόφαντα<sup>224</sup> δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπειρώτευν τοὺς προφῆτας τὸ αἷτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον, ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν αὐτοὶ<sup>225</sup> γὰρ ἐπορμήσαι τοὺς λύκους· οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ, πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔληται καὶ δικαιοῖ<sup>226</sup>. τούτων δὲ τελομένων,

93

Anecdote of Evenius, father of the seer of the allies, Deiphonius, of Apollonia.

<sup>220</sup> Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. This clause is quite necessary to distinguish the town from the other of the same name in the Euxina,—which was probably more familiar to Herodotus than this. See iv. 90.

<sup>221</sup> κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν. This appears to be the reading of all the MSS except one (S), in which the word κατακοιμίσαντος is written, although corrected by the same copyist. But XENOPHON uses the expression κατακοιμίζειν τὸ χρησιμώτατον τῆς ἡμέρας (*Memorab.* ii. 1. 30); and the very phrase κατακοιμίζειν τὴν φυλακὴν is used in the sense of "to fall asleep" in ÆLIAN several times. If, therefore, there were the sanction of MSS, I should think κατακοιμίσαντος the better

reading.

<sup>222</sup> ἐπήϊσε. This is the sorist from ἐπαίω. "But he, as he perceived it."

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<sup>224</sup> πρόφαντα. The manuscripts S and V have πρόβατα, probably originating in a marginal gloss.

<sup>225</sup> αὐτοί. This word apparently refers to the θεοὶ in Dodona and Delphi, gathered by inference from the word προφῆτας.

<sup>226</sup> καὶ δικαιοῖ. I suspect these words to be an alternative reading to ἔληται, taken into the text from the margin.

θεούς τε κοινούς ἀνακαλέων, προέτρπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας  
 "Ἑλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον εὐπετές τε  
 αὐτοῖσι, ἔφη, ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς  
 πλέειν<sup>224</sup> καὶ οὐκ ἀξιωμαχοὺς κείνοισι εἶναι· αὐτοὶ τε, εἴ τι ὑπο-  
 πτεύουσι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ

91  
 Leotychides  
 complies  
 with the  
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 and sails in  
 the company  
 of Hegesi-  
 stratus, one  
 of the Sa-  
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 missioners.

τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὁμηροὶ εἶναι. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσό-  
 μενος<sup>225</sup> ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἶρετο Δευτυχίδης, εἶτε κληδόνας  
 εἵνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι, εἶτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεύντος  
 "ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὐνομα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ἡγησίστρατος"  
 ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὁρμητο λέγειν ὁ  
 Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε· "δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνόν, τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον"<sup>226</sup>,  
 ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε· σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποιεε ὅκως αὐτός τε δούς πίστιν ἀπο-  
 πλεύσειαι, καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες οἶδε, ἡ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προ-

92 θύμους ἔσσεσθαι συμμάχους." Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἡγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον  
 προσῆγε<sup>227</sup>. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο  
 συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, οἱ  
 μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρα-  
 τον<sup>228</sup>, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὐνομα ποιεύμενος<sup>229</sup>. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐπισχόντες  
 ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιέροντο, μαντενομένου σφί-

<sup>224</sup> τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν. The greater part of the ships which the Persians had with them were probably those which had not been in the brunt of the battle at Salamis, of which Artemisia speaks so contemptuously: Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν βφελὸς ἐστὶ οὐδέν (viii. 68). It must be remembered that the estimate of their powers was made by Asiatic Greeks, who would be strongly prejudiced against them.

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Δηϊφόνου τοῦ Εὐήνιου, ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ<sup>230</sup>. τοῦ τὸν πατέρα κατέλαβε Εὐήνιον πρῆγμα τοιούδε· Ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἰρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ ποταμὸν, δς ἐκ Λάκμωνος οὐρεὸς ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρας ἐς θάλασσαν, παρ' Ὡρικὸν λιμένα· τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει δοκιμάτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα, ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλλίζονται, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε· καὶ κοτε αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν<sup>231</sup>, παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξήκοντα· ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήϊσε<sup>232</sup>, εἶχε συγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόφ' ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γεινόμενα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον<sup>233</sup> κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῇ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπὸν· πρόφанта<sup>234</sup> δὲ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπειρώτευν τοὺς προφῆτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον, ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν αὐτοὶ<sup>235</sup> γὰρ ἐπορμήσαι τοὺς λύκους· οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ, πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλῃται καὶ δικαιοὶ<sup>236</sup>. τούτων δὲ τελεομένων,

93

Anecdote of Evenius, father of the seer of the allias, Deiphonius, of Apollonia.

<sup>230</sup> Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. This clause is quite necessary to distinguish the town from the other of the same name in the Euxine,—which was probably more familiar to Herodotus than this. See iv. 90.

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<sup>234</sup> πρόφанта. The manuscripts S and V have πρόβατα, probably originating in a marginal gloss.

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<sup>236</sup> καὶ δικαιοί. I suspect these words to be an alternative reading to ἐλῃται, taken into the text from the margin.



αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσω τοιαύτην τὴν πολλοὺς μιν μακαριεῖν  
 94 ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη· οἱ  
 δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι, προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν  
 ἀνδράσι διαπρήξαι· οἱ δὲ σφι διέπρηξαν ὡδε κατημένον Εὐηνίου  
 ἐν θώκῳ, ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῖντο, ἐς  
 δὲ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει<sup>237</sup>. ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάρχοντες  
 εἰρώτεον τίνα δίκην ἂν ἔλοιτο, εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας  
 ὑποστῆναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν; ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκῶς τὸ θεοπρό-  
 πιον, εἴλετο εἶπας· εἴ τίς οἱ δολὴ ἀγροῦς τῶν ἀστῶν, ὀνομάσας  
 τοῖσι ἡπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολ-  
 λωνίῃ, καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοις, τὴν ἥδε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει· τούτων δὲ, ἔφη, ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμή-  
 νιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες· “Εὐήνιε, ταύτην  
 δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεο-  
 πρόπια τὰ γενόμενα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποιέετο,  
 ἐνθεύτεον πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐξαπατηθεῖς· οἱ δὲ,  
 πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων, διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἴλετο. καὶ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ οὐνομαστὸς  
 γενέσθαι.

95 Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου, ἀγόντων Κοριν-  
 θίων, ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἥδη δὲ καὶ τότε ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ  
 Δηίφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου<sup>238</sup> οὐνόματος, ἐξελάμβανε<sup>239</sup>  
 96 ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου πωῖς. Τοῖσι δὲ  
 “Ἑλλῃσι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς  
 τὴν Σάμον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμῆς πρὸς Καλάμοισι<sup>240</sup>,

The allies  
sail from  
Delos to  
Samos,

<sup>237</sup> ἐς δὲ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει, “until at last they ended with expressing sympathy with his calamity.” For the explanation of the phrase καταβαίνειν, see note 316 on i. 90.

<sup>238</sup> ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου. Compare iii. 63: ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρβιος οὐνόματος.

<sup>239</sup> ἐξελάμβανε. This expression is a very singular one, and perhaps best to be understood by remembering that it is the correlative term of ἐκδοῦναι. It is used in that sense by ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ, of a painter who contracted to execute a drawing: ἐκλαβὼν γὰρ ἱππον ἀλινδούμενον γράφει,

and ἐκλαβὼν παρὰ τῆς πύλεως πίνακα γράφει μάχης ἑτέρας (*Pelopidas*, § 25); and so it is by BASIL, in reference to the parable in *Matth. Evang.* xxi. 33: τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν ἐκλαβόντων μὲν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς μὴ ἀποδιδόντων. Deiphonius seems to have travelled over Greece, and to have been consulted on special cases where there was a need for the exercise of his art. In fact he was a travelling fortune-teller.

<sup>240</sup> πρὸς Καλάμοισι. This is a conjectural emendation of Wesseling's. The MSS have ἐν Καλαμίσοις, except S, which has Λαμίσι. The name would

οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὀρμισσάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἑραῖον τὸ ταύτη, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφεας προσπλέειν, ἀνήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπήκαν ἀποπλέειν βουλευόμενοισι γὰρ σφί ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἐδόκεον ὁμοιοὶ εἶναι· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον εὐντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ· ὅς, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πληθὸς μὲν ἦν ἑξ μυριάδες· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τυγράνης, κάλλει τε καὶ μεγάλῃ ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τούτων μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ <sup>241</sup> ἀνείρυσαι τὰς νέας, καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος, ἔρυμα τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ 97 παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτινέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαῖσυνά τε καὶ Σκολοπίοντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἑλευσινίης ἐστὶν ἱρὸν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἰδρύσατο Νειλεὺ τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστὴν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἡμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν· καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νυκίσουντες, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα· ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο <sup>242</sup>.

where they find that the Persian fleet has gone to Mycale, to be under the protection of the land force under Tigranes, commanding in Ionia.

A fortified camp protects their gallies, which are drawn up on the shore.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν 98 ἡπειρον, ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότες· ἐν ἀπορίῃ τε εἶχοντο ὃ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου· τέλος δ' ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον· παρασκευασάμενοι ὦν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας <sup>243</sup> καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ

On the arrival of the allied fleet, Leotychides endeavours to excite the Ionians in the enemy's

seem to indicate the marshy nature of the site; and it is at first sight strange that the Heræum should have been built in such a situation. But perhaps it occupied the spot on which the first settlers located themselves, who, if a half commercial, half piratical race, as in such times was to be expected, would be more likely to remain in the marshes than to occupy the interior. ALEXIS OF SAMOS mentions a temple of Aphrodite at Samos, called by some Aphrodite ἐν Καλάμοις, and by others Aphrodite ἐν Ἑλείατικοῖς (*ap. Athenæum*, xii. p. 572). He is no

doubt speaking of the same locality as Herodotus. It seems not at all improbable that the Samian *Here* absorbed into her ritual both that of the Artemisium and that of the Aphrodisium. See note 143 on iii. 48.

<sup>241</sup> οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοί. These words are omitted in S.

<sup>242</sup> ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο, "for they made their preparations at their leisure." The meaning of ἐπιλέγεσθαι is "to think and talk any matter over."

<sup>243</sup> ἀποβάθρας. These are the gang-

army to  
revolt,

δὲ ἀγγοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλὰ ὧρων νέας ἀνελευσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκρίμενον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν<sup>244</sup>, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας<sup>245</sup> τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα Δευτυχίδης, ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ὑμέων τυγχάνουσιν ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνήσθαί τινα χρή ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἡβης· καὶ τὰδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσακούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἐπακούσαντος." αὐτὸς δὲ οὗτος ἔων τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ<sup>246</sup>. ἡ γὰρ δὴ λαβόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἡ ἔπειτα ἀνευεγχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ποιήσιν ἀπίστους [τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι<sup>247</sup>].

99

and then  
debarks his  
troops and  
prepares to  
attack the  
camp.  
The Per-  
sians, dis-  
trusting the  
Sami-ans,  
disarm  
them, but  
put the  
Milesians  
in an im-

Δευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένω, δεύτερα δὲ τὰδε ἐποίησεν οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσχόντες τὰς νέας, ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην, καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σάμιους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν, ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὄπλα· οἱ γὰρ ὦν Σάμιοι, ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελεμμένους οἱ Ξέρξης, τοὺτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω πολεμίων λυσάμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ

boards, which were laid out from a vessel's side to the shore to enable a landing to be effected. It was while passing along one of these, in order to get ashore at Pylos, that Brasidas received a blow which caused himself to fall backwards into the galley, while his shield dropped into the sea and so came into the hands of the enemy. (THUCYDIDES, iv. 12.) The same, or a similar, machine would probably be used to facilitate boarding when two ships engaged out at sea happened to fall foul of one another.

<sup>244</sup> πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκρίμενον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, "and a numerous land force which had been brought into position along the line of coast." See note 140, a, on viii. 70.

<sup>245</sup> ἐγχρίμψας. Several MSS have the

form ἐγχρίμψας, but in ii. 60 all but S have ἐγχρίμψαντες, which by inadvertence I have omitted to substitute for Gaisford's reading. Still nothing can be more uncertain than Herodotus's use of such forms; for S is one of the MSS which in this passage have ἐγχρίμψας. The verb is active, and καὶ οὗν or some such word is to be supplied. See ii. 60.

<sup>246</sup> ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ. See above, viii. 22.

<sup>247</sup> [τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι]. These words seem to have been a gloss from the hand of a scholiast who imagined the word ἀπίστους to be used in an active sense, and to refer to βαρβάρους instead of Ἴωνας. They however are in all the MSS, and are retained by Gaisford without suspicion.

τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστά-  
σουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοις<sup>248</sup> φυλάσσειν, ὥς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν  
μάλιστα τὴν χώραν ἐπόλευν δὲ τούτου εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ  
στρατοπέδου ἔωσι· τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον  
νεοχμὸν ἂν τι ποίειν δυνάμιος ἐπίλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοι-  
ούτοις προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ  
γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφι.

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο<sup>249</sup> τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, προσήϊσαν πρὸς  
τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἰούσι δὲ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπε-  
δον πᾶν, καὶ κηρυκὴν ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματογῆς κείμενον<sup>250</sup>. ἡ δὲ  
φήμη διηλθὲ σφι ὧδε, ὥς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν  
νικῶεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὲ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισι  
ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμ-  
πιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος  
ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο,  
ὥστε θαρσῆσαι τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον, καὶ ἐθέλειν  
προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν. Καὶ τότε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον,

portant  
place.

100  
On com-  
mencing the  
attack a ru-  
mour flies  
through  
the army  
that Mar-  
donius is  
beaten.

101

<sup>248</sup> τοῖσι Μιλησίοις. It does not clearly appear from the narrative of Herodotus who these Milesians were. After the suppression of the Ionian revolt, which had been caused by the intrigues of Histiaeus, Miletus was taken, and the surviving population transported to the islands in the Erythraean sea. The Persians themselves (Herodotus says) occupied the plain, and the highlands were given to a Carian population. (See note 54 on vi. 20.) But when the new settlement of Ionia was made by Darius (vi. 42), it is not unlikely that the cultivators of the soil for the Persian conquerors were allowed to acquire a beneficial interest in it, and that these are the "Milesians" referred to in the text. The conquerors would certainly not cultivate the soil for themselves, and the easiest method of deriving benefit from it would be to leave it in the hands of the natives, exacting in return a certain proportion of the produce. Probably at the time the arrangement was made, the pericraians found their situation improved, and were well disposed to support their new masters against their old. But after twelve or thirteen years had passed, the old hardships would be forgotten; and they would be glad of an opportunity to get rid of the burdens which were still

imposed upon them, and convert their tenancy into an absolute possession,—which of course would result from the expulsion of the Persians. Hence perhaps we may account both for the confidence placed in them, and for their abuse of it.

<sup>249</sup> παρεσκευάδατο. As this is the plural form, Bekker conjectures *παρεσκευάσαστο*. I should be more disposed to expunge the words τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. These may have been placed in the margin as a gloss of σφι, and from thence have been inserted in a wrong place of the text.

<sup>250</sup> ἰούσι δὲ σφι . . . ἐπὶ τῆς κυματογῆς κείμενον, "and as they advanced not only had they a rumour spread suddenly among the whole force, but there appeared on the edge of the beach a herald's staff lying." Diodorus makes Leotychides put a herald with a very loud voice into the galley which he sent along the line of the barbarian encampment, and order him to declare that the allies, having defeated Mardonius at Plataea, are come to Asia to liberate the Greeks of that continent. This conversion of the omen into a premeditated stratagem, is of a piece with his version of the escape of Sesostris. See note 301 on ii. 107.

Another strange coincidence occurred in the fact that both battles took place in the vicinity of a fane of Demeter.

Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγένετο (ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται) ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσσεσθαι· γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Πανσανίεω Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφί ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρῶτ' ἐτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγένετο· τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δειλὴν ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι, μὴνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφί ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγένετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίῃ σφί πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὕτω, ὥς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς· ὥς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφί ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπεινδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφί καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

## 102

After a very obstinate defence the enemy gives way,

Τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοις τεταγμένοισι, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐγένετο κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον· τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοις τεταγμένοισι, κατὰ τε χαράδρην καὶ οὖρεα· ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήϊσαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ κέρεϊ ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἕως μὲν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὄρθια ἦν τὰ γέρρα<sup>251</sup>, ἡμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατὸς, ὅκως ἐωυτῶν γένηται<sup>252</sup> τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι, ἔργου εἶχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα<sup>253</sup>. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι, φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἀλῆες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι, καὶ χρόνον συγχρὸν ἀμυνόμενοι, τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι, (οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι,) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ὥς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὗτ' ἐτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγὴν τε ὁρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων· οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι<sup>254</sup>, ἐμάχοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν

<sup>251</sup> ὄρθια ἦν τὰ γέρρα. See note 160 on § 61, above.

<sup>252</sup> γένηται. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the majority of MSS. The rest have γένοντο. See note 40 on i. 9.

<sup>253</sup> ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. Compare vii. 225, ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος.

<sup>254</sup> κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι, "forming into small knots."

Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταύτης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμέτης<sup>255</sup>, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες, ἀποφεύγουσι· Μαρδόντης<sup>256</sup> δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τυγράνης<sup>257</sup> μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι. Ἔτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο 103  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχειρίζον. the Ionians in his army turning against him,  
 ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυῶνιοι, καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων οἱ στρατεύόμενοι, ὄντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὄπλα, ὥς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκεία<sup>258</sup> 104  
 τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἡδυνέατο, προσωφελείην ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἕλλησι· Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροις. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν τῶν Περσέων<sup>259</sup> τὰς διόδους 104  
 τηρεῖν, σωτηρίας εἵνεκά σφι· ὥς, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνη οἷά and the Milesians proving the deadliest foes of all.  
 περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζονται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης· ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι, τούτου τε εἵνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρέοντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιεοίεν· οἱ δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἐναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίουν, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοι σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι αἱ δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἴωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθη- 105  
 ναῖον, Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθύνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας· τοῦ- Among the allies the most distinguished were the  
 τον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ὄντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι<sup>260</sup>, ἐν Κύρῳ τῆς Καρυστῆς

<sup>255</sup> Ἰθαμέτης. This individual was the nephew of Artayntes, and associated with him and Mardontes in the command of the fleet. (See viii. 130.)

<sup>256</sup> Μαρδόντης. Probably the son of Bagæus mentioned in vii. 80, and viii. 130.

<sup>257</sup> ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τυγράνης. In the roll of the grand army Tigranes is merely in command of the Medes. But we may perhaps suppose that a change of appointments took place after the arrival of Xerxes in Asia; and moreover the army at Mycale was composed almost entirely of Medes and Asiatic Greeks.

(See above, § 96.)

<sup>258</sup> ἑτεραλκεία. S and V have ὑπεραλκεία. (See note on viii. 11.)

<sup>259</sup> τῶν Περσέων. It does not seem necessary either to read ἐκ τῶν Περσέων, or to consider τῶν Περσέων to be governed by the preposition πρὸς in the compound verb προσετέτακτο. It is the genitive case after διόδους. Translate, "to the Milesians orders had been given to secure the communications of the Persians."

<sup>260</sup> πολέμου ὄντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι. THUCYDIDES, in his brief summary of the events between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, speaks of

Athenians,  
and of them  
one Hermo-

106

lycia.  
The allied  
fleet returns  
to Samos,  
and the  
future policy  
is discussed.

Rise of the

χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ, κείσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῶ μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους, Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἥρπτευσαν.

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τείχος ἅπαν, τὴν λήϊν προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ θησαυροὺς τινὰς χρημάτων εὖρον ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅπη χρεὸν εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι, τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπείναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἑωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι<sup>351</sup> φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ ἑωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων, Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν<sup>352</sup>. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει εὐοὺσι ἔδοκε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπόρια ἐξαναστήσαντας, δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἴωσι ἐνοικήσαι· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἔδοκε ἀρχὴν, Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον<sup>353</sup>, οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀποικιέων βουλεύειν ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτῳ προθύμως, εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ

this war as one in which no other of the Euboean towns took a part, and which was terminated by a pacific arrangement. This happened after the extension of the Athenian relations to Macedonia by the occupation of Eion on the Strymon (i. 98). From the site of Carystus and the character of its population (see note 227 on vi. 99), it appears likely that outrages would be committed on Athenian trading vessels going northward through the Euboean channel, and driven by stress of weather on the shore. In this case, satisfaction would be given by the extradition of offenders. Had it been a war of conquest of which Thucydides speaks, it could hardly have ended as it did. Themistocles had extorted money from Carystus after the battle of Salamis, and, after this, its territory had been devastated by the allies (viii. 112. 121).

<sup>351</sup> Ἰόνων προκατῆσθαι. See note 74 on viii. 36.

<sup>352</sup> Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. "They had no hope that the Ionians would be

quit of the business without suffering at the hands of the Persians." The fear of the allies was, that the Ionians would be utterly exterminated by the Persians as soon as their protectors had left; but to express this directly would have shocked the feelings of a Greek, who above all things avoided words of ill omen. Hence οὐ χαίροντας, being the substituted equivalent for τὰ ἔσχατα παθόντας or some similar phrase, is put in the regimen appropriate to that.

<sup>353</sup> Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον. Such a measure as that proposed, would, if carried out, have given the Lacedaemonians a predominance not only in the Peloponnese, but also in Boeotia and Thessaly, which would have overwhelmed all other interests. Naturally, therefore, it encountered an opposition on the part of the Athenians, which would be the more effective, as their contingent formed far the largest part of the fleet, and a refusal of their ships would have entirely baffled the project had it been resolved on.

Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἱ ἔτυχον συστρα-  
 τευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πῖστι τε  
 καταλαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι, ἐμμένειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι· τού-  
 τους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὀρκίοισι, ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντας· ἔτι  
 γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένως εὐρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντον  
 ἔπλεον.

permanent  
 confederacy  
 against  
 Persia.

Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τε τῆς Μυκάλης 107  
 κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγένετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδεις·  
 πορευομένων δὲ, κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης <sup>364</sup> ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχῶν τῷ  
 πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταύτην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ  
 κακὰ, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακῶ φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρα-  
 τηγίσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλεὺς οἶκον κακῶ-  
 σαντα· παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι γυναικὸς κακῶ ἀκοῦσαι δέννος  
 μέγιστός ἐστι· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιούμενος, σπᾶται  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκεια, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων καὶ μὴ ἐπι-  
 θέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλειω, ἀνὴρ Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς,  
 ὅπισθε ἐστὼς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύτην, ἀρπάζει μέσον <sup>365</sup>, καὶ ἐξάρας  
 παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι Μασίστew προέστησαν  
 ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστew τιθέ-  
 μενος <sup>366</sup> καὶ Ξέρξῃ, ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἤρξε, δόντος βασιλεὺς  
 τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων,  
 ἀλλ' ἀπικνεύονται ἐς Σάρδεις· ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἔων  
 βασιλεὺς, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεὶ τε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, προσπταίσας  
 τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, φυγὼν ἀπῖκετο.

A small  
 number of  
 the Persian  
 troops get  
 back to  
 Sardis, on  
 the road to  
 which a  
 quarrel  
 between  
 Masistes and  
 Artayntes  
 nearly costs  
 the former  
 his life.

Τότε δὲ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἔων ἄρα ἦρα τῆς Μασίστew γυναικὸς, 108  
 εὐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα· ὥς δὲ οἱ προσπέμπουντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο  
 κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσέφερε, προμηθεύμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν  
 Μασίστην· τῶντ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὐ γὰρ ἐπίστατο  
 βίης οὐ τευξομένη· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων,  
 πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τούτου <sup>367</sup> τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἐωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα

Anecdote  
 of the licen-  
 tious con-  
 duct of  
 Xerxes and  
 of the bitter  
 spite of the  
 sultana  
 Amestris.

<sup>364</sup> Μασίστης. See note 56 on § 20, above.

<sup>365</sup> ἀρπάζει μέσον, "seizes him by his waist." The idiom exists also in Latin. TERENCE, *Adelph.* iii. 2. 17:

Tum autem Syrum impulsorem, vah? qui-  
 bus illum lacerarem modis!

Sublimem medium primum arriperem, et  
 capite in terram statuerem,  
 Ut cerebro dispergat viam.

<sup>366</sup> χάριτα τιθέμενος, "putting under an obligation." See note 98 on vi. 41.

<sup>367</sup> πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τούτου, "he makes up this match."



- τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστew, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλαντε ἐς Σοῦσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἡγάγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ Δαρεῖω τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὲ τῆς Μασίστew μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμεινψάμενος ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτίγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς, Μασίστew δὲ θυγατρὸς· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ 109 ἦν Ἀρταῦντη. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐξυφθίνασα Ἀμυστρις, ἡ Ξέρξew γυνή, φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον, διδοὶ Ξέρξῃ· ὁ δὲ ἥσθεις περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταῦντην· ἥσθεις δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ, ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτήσαι ὃ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων<sup>266</sup>. πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίῃ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ· “δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω;” ὁ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνῃ αἰτήσαι, ὑπισχνέετο καὶ ὤμοσε· ἡ δὲ, ὡς ὤμοσε, ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος· Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο<sup>269</sup>, οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι· κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, φοβεῖ- 110 μενος δὲ Ἀμυστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσω<sup>270</sup>. ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἀπλετον, καὶ στρατὸν τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἀλλ’ ἡ ἐκείνῃ Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον· ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοὶ τὸ φᾶρος· ἡ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ, ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἡγάλλετο<sup>271</sup>. καὶ ἡ Ἀμυστρις πυθνάνεται μιν ἔχουσιν. Μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιούμενον, τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον· ἡ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτὴν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνῃ πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστew γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε δλεθρον· φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς Ξέρξῃ φασιλίῳ δείπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δείπνον παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασι-

<sup>266</sup> οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων. These words do not exist in the manuscript S, and the first not in F and D.

<sup>269</sup> παντοῖος ἐγίνετο. See note 340 on iii. 124.

<sup>270</sup> μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσω, “lest his intrigue should at last become known to her who even before had an inkling of what was going on.” Several of the MSS have κατεικάζουσα, which Gaisford adopts. In that case the sentence ought to have

ended, οὕτω καταλάβῃ πρήσσοντα. But wherever a sudden change of construction takes place, there is always in the older writers a motive, originating in the desire to express some shade of meaning which the sentence in its normal shape would fail to convey. Here nothing of the kind would be effected by the change, and therefore I prefer the old reading.

<sup>271</sup> ἡγάλλετο. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. But S, V, P, and F, which Gaisford follows, have the form ἐγάλλετο.

λεύς<sup>272</sup>. οὖνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ Περσιστὶ μὲν ΤΥΚΤΑ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ<sup>273</sup>. τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μῦνον βασιλεὺς<sup>274</sup>, καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἢ Ἀμηστρίς, χρήζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναι οἱ τὴν Μασίστω γυναικα· ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο, τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναικα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτήν ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἵνεκεν ἐδέετο. Τέλος μέντοι, 111  
 κείνης τε λιπαρεύσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος· ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν χρήζοντα οὐ σφί δυνατόν ἐστι βασιλῆτου δείπνου προκειμένου κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει· καὶ παραδοὺς ποιεῖι ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμφάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε· “Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός<sup>275</sup>. πρὸς δ’ ἔτι τούτοις, καὶ εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις, μὴ συνοικέε· ἀλλὰ τοι ἀντ’ αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν ταύτῃ συνοικέε, τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοὶ, μὴ ἔχε γυναικα.” ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα, λέγει τάδε· “ὦ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναικα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδες νηνίαι τέ εἰσι καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδί τῷ σεωντοῦ ἡγάγεο γυναικα, αὐτὴ τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα, ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα, θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ, βασιλεῦ, μέγα μὲν ποιεύμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα· σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώ πρήγματος τοιούδε δεόμενος<sup>276</sup>. ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἥσσω, ἐμέ τε ἕα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ

<sup>272</sup> ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς. The natural signification of these words would be, “in the day in which he became king;” but there seems little doubt that the day in question was the monarch’s birth-day, which was by far the highest feast of all among the Persians. (Above, i. 133, and DINON *op. Athenæum*, iv. p. 147.) PLATO (*Alcibiad.* i. § 36) says that the birth-day of the reigning sovereign was observed as a festival throughout the whole of Asia. Thus too the festival in which Herod could not refuse a boon was τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτοῦ. (*Marc. Evang.* vi 21.) But the word βασιλεὺς was commonly used without the article, just as if it were a proper name, when applied to the Persian king. (See

vii. 174.) This passage, therefore, may perhaps be rendered, “on the day on which *His Majesty* was born.”

<sup>273</sup> ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ. When Herodotus uses this word elsewhere, he adopts the form τέλειον, after the analogy of ἐπιτήδεος, ὑπάρχειος, &c., instead of the common ἐπιτήδειος, ὑπάρχειος.

<sup>274</sup> βασιλεὺς. S and V have ὁ βασιλεὺς. But see note 272, above.

<sup>275</sup> εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός. He was the brother of Xerxes by both father and mother (vii. 82).

<sup>276</sup> σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώ πρήγματος τοιούδε δεόμενος, “and do thou not think of pressing thy request for such a proceeding.”

τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται· Ἑρέξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε· “οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τοι δόρην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνῃ πλεῖνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις· ὥς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι.” ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἶπας τοσόνδε, ἐχώρεε ἕξω·

- 112 “δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κώ με ἀπώλεσας.” Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ Ἑρέξης τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμυστρίς μεταπεμφαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ἑρέξεω, διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Μασίστew· τοὺς τε μαζοὺς<sup>277</sup> ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε, καὶ ρίνα, καὶ ὄτα, καὶ χεῖλεα· καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα, ἐς οἰκὸν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην. Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδὲν κω ἀκηκοὺς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δὲ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπρίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι πασι, ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἐωντοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δὴ κού τισι καὶ ἄλλοισι, ὥς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον, καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἴπερ ἔφθῃ ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους<sup>278</sup> καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν τέ μιν, καὶ ἦν ὑπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἑρέξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκείνων πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν στρατιήν, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιήν τὴν ἐκείνων<sup>279</sup>. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ἑρέξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστew θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

- 114 Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὀρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ’ Ἑλλησπόντου

113  
Masistes is  
put to death  
by his brother.

<sup>277</sup> μαζοὺς. S and V have *μαστούς*. See note 516 on iv. 202.

<sup>278</sup> τοὺς Βακτρίους. The power of the Bactrians at the time of Cyrus's accession to the throne was very great indeed. See the passage of Ctesias cited in the note 441 on i. 130. And even after the accession of Cambyses, the country seems to have been only nominally dependent upon the Median sovereign. Κύρος δὲ μέλλων τελευτᾶν Καμβόσῃ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον υἱὸν βασιλέα καθίστη, Ταυροξάρκῃ δὲ τὸν νεώτερον ἐπέστησε δεσπότην Βακτρίων καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ Χοραμνίων (forte legendum Χορασμίων) καὶ Παρθίων καὶ Καρμανίων, ἀτελεῖς ἔχων τὰς χώρας διορισάμενος. (Ctesias ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 37.) Under such circumstances, it was not unnatural that it should have been comparatively little affected by the centralizing

policy of Darius, and furnish a ready instrument to any disaffected member of the blood-royal. It should not be overlooked, that Masistes, being the son of Atossa, would have in his veins the blood of Astyages's daughter, the representative of the old Medo-magian dynasty. And his enemy *Amestris*, whether the daughter of Otanes or Onophas, comes of the stock of one of the seven conspirators who slew the Magian. (See note 192 on -vii. 61.)

<sup>279</sup> τὴν στρατιήν τὴν ἐκείνων. There is no occasion to regard the word *στρατιήν* as a marginal gloss, or to change it into *θεραπήτην*. As satrap of Bactria, Masistes would undoubtedly always be attended by his guards, just as an English noble before the wars of the Roses was by his retainers.

πρώτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὄρμεον<sup>300</sup>, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες· The allies sail to the Hellespont, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀβύδον, καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὖρον διαλελυμένας τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας<sup>301</sup>. καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἤκιστα εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μὲν νῦν ἀμφὶ Δευτυχίδα Πελοποννησίοισι ἐδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· The Peloponnesians return home, but the Athenians, under Xanthippe, αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου<sup>302</sup>. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπέπλεον Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες<sup>303</sup> ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτης<sup>304</sup>, συλήθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρῆναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, ἐκ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περιοικίδων καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος<sup>305</sup> Οἰόβαζος<sup>306</sup>, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὄπλα ἐνθαῖτα ἦν κεκομικῶς εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνήσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχρὸς ὄμιλος. Ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὑπαρχος<sup>307</sup> Ἀρταύκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης<sup>308</sup>, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος· ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλῳ τοῦ Ἰφίκελου χρήματα ἐξ Ἑλαιούντος<sup>309</sup> ὑφελόμενος<sup>310</sup>. ἐν γὰρ Ἑλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλῳ τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν, ἐνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ, καὶ φιάλαι χρύσειαι καὶ ἀργύραι, καὶ χαλκός, καὶ ἐσθῆς, καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταύκτης

The allies sail to the Hellespont, where they find the bridges destroyed. The Peloponnesians return home, but the Athenians, under Xanthippe, αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου<sup>302</sup>. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπέπλεον Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες<sup>303</sup> ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτης<sup>304</sup>, συλήθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρῆναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, ἐκ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περιοικίδων καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος<sup>305</sup> Οἰόβαζος<sup>306</sup>, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὄπλα ἐνθαῖτα ἦν κεκομικῶς εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνήσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχρὸς ὄμιλος. Ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὑπαρχος<sup>307</sup> Ἀρταύκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης<sup>308</sup>, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος· ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλῳ τοῦ Ἰφίκελου χρήματα ἐξ Ἑλαιούντος<sup>309</sup> ὑφελόμενος<sup>310</sup>. ἐν γὰρ Ἑλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλῳ τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν, ἐνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ, καὶ φιάλαι χρύσειαι καὶ ἀργύραι, καὶ χαλκός, καὶ ἐσθῆς, καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταύκτης

<sup>300</sup> περὶ Λεκτὸν ὄρμεον. *Lectum* is a promontory formed by one of the roots of Mount Ida running down to the sea in a direction somewhat to the south of west. It is the most western point of the continent of Asia. Under it the allied fleet would be sheltered from the force of the Etesian winds.

<sup>301</sup> τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας. See note 212 on viii. 109, above.

<sup>302</sup> τοῖσι μὲν νῦν . . . τῆς Χερσονήσου. See *THUCYDIDES*, i. 89.

<sup>303</sup> διαβάντες. S has *διαβάλλοντες*. But although this latter word is sometimes used of a transit by sea, the former seems the true reading.

<sup>304</sup> ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτης. See note 76 on v. 30.

<sup>305</sup> ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος. See note 80 on vi. 33.

<sup>306</sup> Οἰόβαζος. This is the name of the Persian whose sons were, according to the story in iv. 84, barbarously put to death by Darius just before his expedition into Scythia. The son of an Oebasus also

has a command in the army in Xerxes's expedition (vii. 68).

<sup>307</sup> τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ . . . ὑπαρχος. For the nature of the Chersonese satrapy, see notes 64 and 76 on v. 25, 30, and 91 on vii. 22.

<sup>308</sup> ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης. His father's name was Chorasmas, or Cherasmas. See note 244 on vii. 79.

<sup>309</sup> ἐξ Ἑλαιούντος. For the position of *Eleus*, see note 91 on vii. 22.

<sup>310</sup> ὑφελόμενος. The manuscripts S and V, confirmed by Valla's translation, give the reading *αἰτήσας*, which some have preferred on the ground that when Artayctes was misleading Xerxes he had not as yet laid hands on the treasures of the fane. But this may possibly not have been the case; and, anyhow, the text as it stands means no more than that he both robbed Protesilaus and deceived the Persian king. Still it does not seem so likely that *αἰτήσας* is due to an arbitrary correction, as that this is another instance of an early variation of recensions.

ἐσύλησε, βασιλέος δόντος· λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξεα διεβάλετο  
 “δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν  
 στρατευσάμενος, δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον,  
 ἵνα καὶ τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι” ταῦτα λέγων,  
 εὐπετέως ἔμαλλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξεα δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν  
 ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκείνος ἐφρόνεε· ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρα-  
 τεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλειον ἔλεγε, νοέων τοιάδε τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν  
 νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι<sup>291</sup> Πέρσαι, καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος·  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη τὰ χρήματα, ἐξ Ἑλαιούντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε,  
 καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο· αὐτὸς τε ὅκως ἀπίκαιτο ἐς  
 Ἑλαιούντα, ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσητο<sup>292</sup>. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορ-  
 κέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε  
 προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφυλάκτῳ<sup>293</sup> δέ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

117  
 Sestos holds  
 out till the  
 autumn,

118  
 although  
 suffering  
 grievously  
 from fa-

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισι σφί φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἥσχαλ-  
 λον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀποδημόντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι  
 ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφεας  
 ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν, πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν  
 σφεας μεταπέμψηται· οὕτω δὲ ἔστεργον τὰ παρόντα. Οἱ δ' ἐν  
 τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους  
 ἐψόντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον,

<sup>291</sup> *ἑωυτῶν εἶναι*. The Persian kings considered themselves the representatives of the Median and Assyrian dynasties, and hence Xerxes is made to speak of Pelops as the vassal of his ancestors (vii. 11). Whether the Assyrian empire really ever extended to these parts is of little consequence. All oriental sovereigns of importance have probably regarded themselves, and been regarded by their subjects, as possessing a claim to universal dominion. PLATO, however, makes the dynasty of Priam vassals of that of Ninus (*Legg.* iii. § 6); and the name *Assuracus* (*Asur-ac*) is a decisive proof of some connexion of Assyria with the neighbourhood of Troy. The name of the builder of the N. W. palace in the mound of Nimroud is read *Asur-ac-bal*, as well as *Asur-adn-bal* (*Sardanapalus*).

<sup>292</sup> *ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσητο*. This is probably the Hellenic version of the fact that Artayctes converted the demesne and temple of Proteus into a paradise and seraglio. Such a secularisation of sacred lands would no doubt involve the

destruction of many rights of the citizens of Eleus,—for the whole town belonged to the hero (PAUSANIAS, i. 34. 2),—as well as cause enormous scandal. The contrast between the reckless proceeding of Artayctes, and the tenderness of Xerxes for religious institutions of exactly the same character as the Proteus-worship (see vii. 43), is not to be overlooked. The women whom Artayctes collected (*ἀγνέτω*, vii. 33) in his harem probably were, as they are at the present day, Circassians; for he commanded the contingent in Xerxes's army which came from that part of the Persian king's dominions. See notes 243 on vii. 78, and 274, 275 on iii. 94.

<sup>293</sup> *ἀφυλάκτῳ*. This reading is adopted by Gaisford on the authority of S and V. The rest of the MSS have *ἀφύκτως*, to which a very fair sense may be given; for the main gist of the story is to show the formidable issue of the vengeance of Proteus. That the word *ἀφύκτως* should be unusual is no objection, as it is formed according to analogy.

οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἰχονται ἀποδράντες οἳ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρ- mine, which  
ταύτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες τῇ ἡν at last com-  
ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων ὥς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσωνησίται Persia the  
ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς Garrison to  
πύλας ἀνοίξαν τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες ἐδῶκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν evacuate  
εἶχον. Οἰόβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφυγόντα ἐς τὴν Θρηκίην Θρήικες 119  
'Αψίνθιοι<sup>294</sup> λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστῶρφ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ, τρόπον They are  
τῷ σφετέρῳ τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου, ἄλλω τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ captured or  
ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταύκτην ὕστεροι<sup>295</sup> ὀρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὥς κατ- destroyed.  
ελαμβάνοντο. ὀλίγοι ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς Ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι  
χρόνον ἐπὶ συχρὸν, οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ  
συνδήσαντές σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἦγον ἐς Σηστόν μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ  
'Αρταύκτην δεδεμένον, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τῷ 120  
τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσωνησιτέων, τὰρίχους ὀπτῶντι Singular  
τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τὰρίχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλ- omen which  
λοντό<sup>296</sup> τε καὶ ἥσπαιρον, ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν befel Ar-  
περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ὥς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας taylor,  
τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς τὰρίχους ἔφη· “ξείνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ whose ran-  
τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαι- sion is re-  
οῦντι Πρωτεσίλειω, ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὺς καὶ τὰρίχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς fused, and  
θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι· νῦν ὦν ἀποινά οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω he himself  
ἐπιθεῖναι<sup>297</sup>. ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱού, ἑκατὸν crucified.  
τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ· ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωντοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς  
ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι, περιγενόμενος.” ταῦτα  
ὑπισχόμενος, τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ  
'Ελαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλειῳ τιμωρόντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρη-  
σθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ ὁ νόος ἔφερε· ἀπαγαγόντες  
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον<sup>298</sup>, (οἱ δὲ

<sup>294</sup> Ἀψίνθιοι. These are perhaps the perioeci of Ænus. See note 81 on vi. 34, and note 183 on vii. 58.

<sup>295</sup> ὕστεροι. S, V, and F, have ὕστερον. In the next line S alone has ὀλίγοι, and the rest ὀλίγον, which Gaisford prints.

<sup>296</sup> ἐπάλοντο. This word has nothing to do with ἄλλεσθαι, but is the imperfect passive of πᾶλλω. Compare δαίματι παλλόμενοι in the oracle (vii. 140), and the word παλλομένους applied to the leaping of fish just drawn out from the water

(i. 141).

<sup>297</sup> ἀποινά οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι. The more usual phrase would be ἔποινα διδόναι or ἐκτίνειν. (See vi. 79, above.) But what Artayctes is doing is to impose a penalty on himself for his impiety. Translate, “Now therefore I am willing to fix this satisfaction for him.” He uses indeed the phrase which would be appropriate to the arbiter, not to one of the parties in the case.

<sup>298</sup> ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον. In the description which the

ἐσύλησε, βασιλέος δόντος· λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξεα διεβάλετο  
 “δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν  
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 σφεας μεταπέμψηται· οὕτω δὲ ἔστεργον τὰ παρόντα. Οἱ δ' ἐν  
 τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους  
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ταύκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες τῇ ἡν- at last com-  
ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων ὥς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησῖται Persians gar-  
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Ἀψίνθιοι<sup>294</sup> λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ, τρόπῳ They are  
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ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταύκτην ὕστεροι<sup>295</sup> ὁρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὥς κατ- destroyed.  
ελαμβάνοντο. ὀλίγοι ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς Ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι  
χρόνον ἐπὶ συγχόν, οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμβησαν. καὶ  
συνδῆσαντές σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἡγον ἐς Σηστόν μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ  
Ἀρταύκτην δεδεμένον, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τεφ 120  
τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων, ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι Singular  
τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλ- omen which  
λουτό<sup>296</sup> τε καὶ ἥσπαιρον, ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν befel Ar-  
περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ὥς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας tacytes,  
τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη· “ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ whose ran-  
τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαι- sion is re-  
οῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως, ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὺς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς fused, and  
θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι· νῦν ὦν ἄποινά οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω he himself  
ἐπιθεῖναι<sup>297</sup>. ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἑκατὸν crucified.  
τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ· ἀντὶ δ' ἐμευτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς  
ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι, περιγενόμενος.” ταῦτα  
ὑπισχόμενος, τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ  
Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεω τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρη-  
σθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ ὁ νόος ἔφερε· ἀπαγαγόντες  
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον<sup>298</sup>, (οἱ δὲ

<sup>294</sup> Ἀψίνθιοι. These are perhaps the periecians of *Ænus*. See note 81 on vi. 34, and note 183 on vii. 58.

<sup>295</sup> ὕστεροι. S, V, and F, have ὕστερον. In the next line S alone has ὀλίγοι, and the rest ὀλίγον, which Gaisford prints.

<sup>296</sup> ἐπάλλουτο. This word has nothing to do with ἀλλεσθαι, but is the imperfect passive of πάλλω. Compare δελματι παλλόμενοι in the oracle (vii. 140), and the word παλλόμενος applied to the leaping of fish just drawn out from the water

(i. 141).

<sup>297</sup> ἄποινα οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι. The more usual phrase would be ἄποινα δίδουαι or ἐκτίνειν. (See vi. 79, above.) But what Artayctes is doing is to impose a penalty on himself for his impiety. Translate, “Now therefore I am willing to fix this satisfaction for him.” He uses indeed the phrase which would be appropriate to the arbiter, not to one of the parties in the case.

<sup>298</sup> ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον. In the description which the



121  
The Athenians return home.

λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος,) σανίδα προσπασσαλεύσαντες, ἀνεκρέμασαν τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω κατέλευσαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν γεφυρέων, ὡς ἀναθήσαντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά· καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

122  
Anecdote of Artembares, the grandfather of Artayctes.

Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσης· ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον, τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες Κύρῳ προσήνευκαν<sup>299</sup>, λέγοντα τάδε “ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ, Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυγέα φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὅλην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέην, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην ἔχωμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστέρῳ τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι· οἶκος δὲ ἄρχοντας ἄνδρας τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον, ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης;” Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν ταῦτα· οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε, κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ’ ἀρξομένους· φιλεῖν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια· ὥστε συγγόντες Πέρσαι οἷχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες<sup>300</sup> μᾶλλον, ἢ πεδιάδα σπεύροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

author gives of the bridges (vii. 33), he assigns this locality to the scene of Artayctes's punishment, without mentioning any other.

<sup>299</sup> Κύρῳ προσήνευκαν, “attributed to Cyrus.” It is the view of Artembares: ἐκ μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὶ ἄνδρες, which is the λόγος of the text,—the argument.

<sup>300</sup> ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες. The facts scarcely bear out this statement; for Cyrus, as well as Cambyses after him, appears to have made Agbatana his capital, and in fact to have placed himself in

every respect in the position of the Median sovereigns whom he succeeded. (See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 429.) The ruffianly conduct of Artayctes is very much of a piece with the violence which is imputed to some individuals of the old Persian party. (See iii. 118, and note 435 on iv. 166.) And the opinion ascribed in the text to his grandfather is just such a one as might be expected from a man brought up under the influences of barbarism, and endeavouring to find a reasonable justification for his prepossessions.

## EXCURSUS ON IX. 19.

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### CTESIAS AND THE BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

THE account which is given from CTESIAS of the expedition of Xerxes, while in its main features it agrees with the narrative of HERODOTUS, yet differs in some respects so remarkably from it, that it is worth while to present it in a connected form; in order to show what widely different stories had obtained currency in Greece respecting events occurring scarcely more than a generation before. It is only fair to a writer who has been somewhat unduly depreciated, to state, that there is in his account less exaggeration of numbers than in that of Herodotus, while at the same time there appears no tendency to disparage the extraordinary success of the Hellenic efforts at resistance.

According to him the whole force collected by Xerxes for the expedition consisted of 1000 triremes and 800,000 land troops, besides war-chariots. While these were crossing the bridge of boats at the Hellespont, Demaratus, the exiled king of Lacedæmon, met the invader, and endeavoured to dissuade him from directing the expedition against his native country; but whether this attempt was made by arousing Xerxes's fears or by deprecating his anger, the brief notice of the summary does not allow us to determine. At Thermopylæ the first resistance appears. Artabanus is sent on thither with an advanced body of 10,000, but effectually resisted by Leonidas. His force is doubled, and afterwards increased to as many as 50,000, but with no better success, and the attempt is given up at the time. Afterwards, however, by the agency of two Trachinians, 40,000 troops are brought into the rear of the Lacedæmonians, and the whole of them cut to pieces. After this, another army 120,000

strong, under Mardonius, is dispatched against Plataea at the instigation of the Thebans. Pausanias the Lacedæmonian meets them at the head of 300 Spartans, 1000 Lacedæmonian pericecians, and 6000 allies, totally defeats them, and compels Mardonius, who is himself wounded in the engagement, to retreat in disorder. Then follows the account of an expedition for the purpose of despoiling the temple of Apollo, headed by this same Mardonius; but his success is no greater in this instance, and he loses his life by a storm of enormous hailstones in the attempt,—an event which (Ctesias remarks) occasioned extreme grief to Xerxes.

By the way in which these events are related, one is induced to believe that, in the story of Ctesias, the main army was represented as occupying some portion of Greece north of Thermopylæ, while strong expeditionary detachments were sent forward for special purposes. After the death of Mardonius, however, Xerxes is represented as himself marching upon Athens, and burning, first the city, and afterwards, when deserted by its defenders, the acropolis also. Then, descending to the coast to the neighbourhood of the Heraclæum, he attempts to carry a mole across the strait between Salamis and the main, the Athenians from the city having in the mean time taken refuge in the island and carried over to it 120 ships. It would seem as if this operation was interrupted by the aid of a subsidiary force of bowmen brought from Crete by the advice of Aristides and Themistocles. Next follows the great naval action, between more than 1000 vessels on the side of the Persians under the command of Onophas (the father, according to Ctesias, of the sultana Amestris), and 700 on that of the allies. Five hundred of the Persian gallies are destroyed; and Xerxes, under the influence of the intrigues of Aristides and Themistocles, retreats, having in the course of the expedition lost 120,000 men in battle. Once arrived in Asia, and on his march to Sardis, he sends another expedition to lay waste the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and insult the deity. Megabyzus, to whom the command is offered, declines it, and the expedition is put under the orders of an eunuch named Mataces, who, after executing his commission, returns back to Xerxes<sup>1</sup>.

It is a singular circumstance that, in the above account, while the

<sup>1</sup> See note 80 on viii. 39, above.

main historical events constituting the turning points of the war, appear in nearly the same important light as in the narrative of Herodotus, their chronological arrangement is entirely different. Plataea, Thermopylae, Salamis, and the retreat of the Persians through the intrigues of Themistocles, are with both historians the salient features of the picture; in both, too, Athens is represented as having been burnt, and a temple of Apollo attacked without success. But the prolongation of the war by Mardonius after the retreat of Xerxes is peculiar to Herodotus, being not merely unnoticed by Ctesias, but altogether incompatible with his notion of the progress of events.

Few persons will be disposed to renounce that long-standing belief as to the details of this celebrated campaign, which has grown up on the basis of the description of it by Herodotus; but nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the account of Ctesias is not only more in accordance with verisimilitude, particularly as regards the numbers attributed to the invaders, but likewise favoured to some extent, in one or two particulars, by the contemporary poet ÆSCHYLUS<sup>1</sup>. The precipitate retreat of the Persian king *immediately* after the battle of Salamis is a point strongly put forward by the dramatist, and is quite compatible with Ctesias's view of the attempt at forming the mole to the island, but not so with that of Herodotus. The great panic, too, which accompanied the return of the army through Thrace is difficult to understand, if their retreat was covered by an entire army under the commander-in-chief. Again, that there should be no allusion whatever in the drama to the calamity at Plataea is somewhat strange; but less so if the battle there was on the scale and at the time represented by Ctesias, than if we are guided in our estimate of it by the account of his rival. In the one case it certainly challenges attention as the first successful repulse of the invader; but after all it does no more than oppose a temporary check to his advance. He moves on, weakened indeed by losses, and discouraged by minor failures, but still on the whole quite irresistible, until he has overrun the main, and wants nothing to complete his triumph but the command of the strait of Salamis. Then, the destruction of half his fleet there, and with it the loss of the command of the sea,

<sup>1</sup> See ÆSCHYLUS quoted in note 191 on viii. 97, above.

becomes an overwhelming calamity, and justifies the cry of woe which Æschylus puts into his mouth on seeing the "depth of his misfortunes." Under such circumstances the Hellenic triumph at Plataea obviously bears so small a proportion to that at Salamis, that it might well pass unnoticed in a performance devoted to the magnifying the latter. But as Herodotus represents the matter, the case is altogether different. Mardonius was so formidable, that in spite of the misfortune at Salamis, he still expected to conquer Hellas<sup>3</sup>. The scoff of Xerxes to the Spartan herald in Thessaly shows that in the mind of the king himself this expectation amounted to an undoubting conviction<sup>4</sup>; and the apprehensions of the troops at Mycale are an evidence that the probability was considered a very great one even by the Greeks themselves<sup>5</sup>. Add to these circumstances the attempt to carry the mole across to the island of Salamis,—if we accept the time which Herodotus assigns to the operation,—and we have a state of things which would render panic on the part of the Persian army nearly inconceivable.

The movements of the Hellenic army antecedently to the battle of Plataea are, in the narrative of Herodotus, extremely difficult to understand. Mardonius appears to have occupied the whole of Attica, or at least to have had it in his power to do so. The rapid advance of the Peloponnesians takes him by surprise, and he withdraws his army into Boeotia, with apparent difficulty, by the aid of Theban guides, through the easternmost passes only of Cithæron<sup>6</sup>. The most direct road would have been by Œnoe and Eleutherae to Hysia, which was the position really occupied by the extreme right of his army when the allies came into the presence of it<sup>7</sup>. It is by this road that they themselves marched, and compared with that by which Mardonius is represented as retiring, it is as the chord to the

<sup>3</sup> viii. 100.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ δὲ γελάσας καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρστέως Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε· τοιγάρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας ὅας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει. viii. 114.

<sup>5</sup> ix. 101. Compare the argument of Alexander on his embassy (viii. 140), τί μαινέσθε πόλεμον βασιλεῖ ἀνταειρόμενοι, κ.τ.λ., the force of which is not questioned in the reply: καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῇ Μήδῃ δύναμις ἢ περ ἡμῖν (viii. 143).

<sup>6</sup> ix. 15.

<sup>7</sup> For the great strength of Œnoe as a position commanding the access to the Plataeis from Attica, see LEAKE quoted in note 197 on v. 74.

arc of a segment of a circle. If then we are guided by Herodotus's description, the rapid movement of the allies must be viewed as an attempt to cut Mardonius's army in half, by an attack upon that portion of it which occupied the line of the Asopus, before the return of the remainder from Attica through the eastern passes. But it must be remembered that such a supposition implies the possession of the whole line of approach from Eleusis to Hysiaë; and that this should have been left uncovered by Mardonius seems inconceivable except upon some hypothesis to which Herodotus's narrative gives no clue, such, for instance, as the previous occupation of Cœnoë by a Hellenic force, or the inability of Mardonius to hold it for want of magazines. The attempt of Pausanias however is foiled by the superiority of the enemy in cavalry; which obliges the Lacedæmonian general to halt as soon as he debouches from the passes on to the northern incline of Cithæron<sup>8</sup>. Unable to contend against this superiority even on the flanks of the hills, he retires to the Gargaphian spring, and the immediate vicinity of Platæa<sup>9</sup>, where ultimately the decisive action takes place. But this site is undoubtedly one where we cannot conceive a force any thing like that mentioned by Herodotus capable of being drawn up<sup>10</sup>. The numbers of Ctesias, on the other hand, whatever may be his general authority, are such as occasion no difficulty.

The retirement of the allies from their first position appears to have put the debouchement of the road by Cœnoë and Hysiaë into the command of the Persians; for the convoys which they eight days afterwards succeeded in cutting off were advancing not by that route, but by the *Oakheads*, a pass which must certainly be looked for to the west of it<sup>11</sup>. Now the maintenance in an advanced position of a sufficient force to command this road, and at the same time to keep up a continual galling attack upon Pausanias in his new station, may well have occasioned difficulty to Mardonius; and thus we may possibly understand the discussion between him and Artabazus which Herodotus mentions<sup>12</sup>. The numbers of the Greeks would "daily increase,"—not indeed in Pausanias's *camp*,—but on the line of Cœnoë and Hysiaë, thus rendering it necessary for Mardonius to continually

<sup>8</sup> ix. 19, 20.<sup>9</sup> ix. 25.<sup>10</sup> ix. 28.<sup>11</sup> ix. 39, where see note 109.<sup>12</sup> ix. 41.

strengthen the detachment from the fortified camp at Scolus which masked those two burghs, and to supply it with forage and provisions. If it were in any material degree diminished, opportunity would be afforded the allies for striking a heavy blow, by a simultaneous advance of Pausanias and of the garrisons upon it. The plan of Pausanias seems to have been, to draw more and more of the enemy into this false position, and at last oblige them to fight with the Asopus at their back; that of Mardonius, so to annoy the division of Pausanias by his cavalry, as to oblige him either to retire from the north side of Cithæron, or else fight a pitched battle in order to drive the Persians from their lines, which of course could not be done without crossing the Asopus and engaging under circumstances which would have given a decided superiority to them. Artabazus appears to have thought that in this trial of patience Pausanias would be the successful party, and accordingly to have recommended Mardonius at once to withdraw his advanced division within his lines, where there would be a facility of supplying them, and within which he might remain secure to try the effect of temporising. That this advice should be in after times represented as counsel to break up the camp and retire within the *actual city walls* of Thebes is not at all surprising.

In the narrative of Ctesias, the advance of the enemy being supposed to be altogether from the north, and before a footing had been gained by him in Attica, any hypothesis to account for his non-occupation of the strongholds in it becomes unnecessary. But this advantage adds little to the presumption in favour of the correctness of the arrangement of events. Pausanias could hardly have been in command of the Lacedæmonian army during the life-time of his father Cleombrotus; and there is nothing in Ctesias contradictory to the account which Herodotus gives of the time and circumstances of Cleombrotus's death.

If the actual history of Ctesias still existed, we might perhaps be able with tolerable confidence to point out the origin of the difference between the two historians, and decide upon the exact particulars in which credence should be attached to each. But as all our knowledge is derived from an extremely meagre compilation of the work, little more can be done than to call attention to the fact of the difference between them, and to the amount of variation in the cur-

rent opinions of the day which that difference indicates. It seems not unlikely that in the times immediately following the repulse of the invaders, Salamis was the one triumph which occupied the attention of the Athenian people. The share which they had in the victory at Plataea was—as may be gathered even from Herodotus's partial narrative—a very small one indeed. On the other hand it was quite obvious to all, that at Salamis they were the saviours of Greece. Hence it would not be wonderful if at first it was the fashion to say very little at Athens about Plataea; and thus perhaps the silence of *Æschylus* is to be explained. The Lacedæmonians on the other hand, accustomed to look upon naval warfare with little respect, would not unnaturally regard the whole of the proceedings by land, from the occupation of Thermopylæ by Leonidas to the final defeat of the Persians by Pausanias at Plataea, as so many parts of one continued campaign, and think of the operations of the fleet both at Artemisium and Salamis as merely affairs incident to its function of flanking and supporting the army. Hence it is very conceivable that in Lacedæmonian traditions there should be a connected account of the proceedings by land, independent of any allusion to the engagement at Salamis; just as at Athens (if we may regard *Æschylus* as the representative of public opinion) the possession of that city was represented as the real object of the Persian invasion, and the victory of its citizens at Salamis the only important event of the war. Time, however, reducing all things to their proper position in the world's history, would soon put a stop to the prevalence of either of these exclusive views. Even the Lacedæmonians themselves were revolted by the arrogant pretension of their own king to have destroyed the common enemy; and the popular admiration of the victory at Salamis, which had led to such signal distinctions being at once conferred on Themistocles, soon produced a recognition of the services of his countrymen. On the other hand, the battle of Plataea, when its important consequences showed themselves, not only in the immediate expulsion of the Persians from the whole of Greece south of the Strymon, but eventually from almost every position on the European continent, could no longer be ignored by Athenian vanity. It had clearly been a decisive battle: this it was no use to pretend not to see. The best course then was to magnify the share which the Athenians had in it; and from this feeling sprang (I conceive) most



of the details which Herodotus has embodied in his account of the action, the very doubtful character of which, in a historical point of view, has been pointed out in several of the notes on the Ninth Book. He may throughout his account of the invasion be considered as the representative of the views current at Athens, while Ctesias may perhaps in the same way be regarded as a Lacedæmonian authority. In the original work of the latter it is indeed possible that the account of the battle of Salamis was not really chronologically displaced, but that, being related in an insulated manner, after the completion of the history of the land operations, its position in the written work led a hasty compiler to assign it to a wrong place among the actual events.

The above solution of the difficulty arising out of the variations of the two Greek historians is, undoubtedly, one which can only be regarded as a hypothetical suggestion, enabling us to understand how their differences *may* have arisen, without rashly branding either with the charge of wilful falsification. It is however an hypothesis which is entirely in accordance with the habits of the time in which the events described occurred; and it will (I believe) be received with some favour by those who have been careful to examine the nature of the authorities on which our acquaintance with the early history of Greece reposes.

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